COPY

BOARD OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS --- THE METHODIST CHURCH

740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Ill.

A. Dudley Ward
Executive Secretary

December 21, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am awfully glad to get yours of December 12th as a follow-up to our conversation over the telephone. We will keep very carefully in mind Mr. John Hope. As a matter of fact, yesterday I did talk to our people in Nashville about the preparations for our two proposed conferences in Atlanta next year, so that your word came in good time.

With best regards and good wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

(s) A. Dudley Ward

Crow

MEMORANDUM

10 Oct.'55

To: GSM

From: Fred B. Routh

Re: GSM Training Program budget

After conversations with C. H. Parrish it was agreed that the ~~$12,000~~ 8,000 to be spent on the training program would be divided as follows:

1) John Hope, Assistant Director 1/2 time for eight months (@7,500) $2,500 Nov. 1--June 30)	2,500
2) Travel for John Hope $1,500	1,500
3) Consultants (travel & Salaries) $4,000	4,000 *
4) Held in reserve (priority to training program $4,000	4,000
Total	12,000

If this is your understanding too would you so indicate by initialing this memo.

* "Up to" 4,000.00

GSM

Otherwise O. K.

GSM

Note: No. 4 is actually $2,800

GSA information

+ Over all figure is $10,800

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SRC

EXPENSE AND COMPENSATION REGULATIONS

1. An honorarium of $35.00 per day for actual days of service (excluding travel time) will be paid by SRC. Compensation at this rate for half a day will be paid for participation in an afternoon or evening occasion. The minimum pay unit will be one-half day. Income tax ~~WH~~ and social security contributions will not be withheld by SRC but will be the personal responsibility of the individual consultant.

2. Consultants will be reimbursed for their travel and actual living expenses for the period they are away from their homes on authorized SRC business. Such trips are to be authorized in advance by the Assistant Director for Program. Voucher Form C S P 1) should be prepared in duplicate: original to the Secretary-Treasurer at the Atlanta office, copy to John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, c/o Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

A CONSULTANT REPORT

(Form No. C S P 2) should be filled out immediately after completion of an assignment and should accompany Voucher Form No. C S P 1. This form will provide for a report of basic information about the completed assignment and may be supplemented by such narrative reports as the consult deems desirable. (Copies of these forms will be sent you in the near future.

3. Consultants are expected to use the most appropiate mode of travel for the assignment — train, plane, bus, or private car. When your private car is used, the SRC will reimburse you for expenses at 6 cents per mile travelled. The SRC does not assume any ~~responsibility~~ responsibility beyond this , e.g., car repairs, accident liability, etc.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

10 Oct 55

To: GSM
Re: Training program budget

After conversations with C.H.Parrish it was agreed that the $12,000 to be spent on the training program would be divided as follows:

1) John Hope, Assistant Director 1/2 time for eight months (@7,500) $2,500 Nov.1--June 30)	2,500
2) Travel for John Hope $1,500	1,500
3) Consultants (travel & Salaries) $4,000	4,000*
4) Held in reserve (priority to training program $4,000	4,000
Total	12,000

If this is your understanding too would you so indicate by initialing this memo.

* "up to" 4000.00

GSM.

Approved OK

GM.

note: No #4 is actually $2,800 yssA info

∴ Over all figure is $10,800

October 17, 1955

Mr. Philip Weidenhouse
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Weidenhouse:

Could you spare John Hope for part-time work with us for the next few months? We would like to use the skills he has acquired generally and with your organization for furthering our job, which is also your job.

We have got hold of a good device. We want to bring to bear on the staff and board members of our twelve new state organizations, (mostly called councils on human relations), the ablest social science brains. Many of the best people at unraveling this matter of the schools are at Fisk or Dillard or Howard or Atlanta University. In ordinary course, these skilled persons are sometimes directly consulted. A know-how eager to be used is being by-passed. An omission to use Negro know-how is a failure to enlist an important segment of Negro responsibility toward the joint solution of the problem of integrating the schools.

Our plan is to bring some of the talents of the ablest social science consultants to bear, for periods of two or three days, on training conferences of our state staffs and board people. The consultants would also, in a good many situations, be brought into contact with state and local school officials.

We need somebody to plan the program and put it through. It isn't a full-time job. It is a job for a special consultant. After a good deal of thinking about it, we are convinced that John Hope is the right man. Problem is whether you can let him give up to a maximum of ten days a month for the next five or seven months? We could carry him as a consultant at whatever figure may be agreed upon -- he proposes $40.00 a day plus his travel -- and his consultant's fees for those particular days of service to the Southern Regional Council ought to lighten your budget a bit.

Unfortunately, we began with big-ish plans, calling for an expenditure of around $40,000 a year. We had not been able to find that much, but I think we have $12,000, and we would give John Hope the use of so much of that as may be needed.

Working with us on this part-time basis for a while would broaden his experience, and would give him many new opportunities to do in new places and with another whole layer of people the things your program is after. In any case, the problem of the schools in the South is going to be critical for at least the next few months. I am, therefore, the bolder in asking if you can let Mr. Hope spread his talents in this way.

We do not propose for the program to begin until November 1st or thereabouts. We could undertake to ask for his release for a period not to extend beyond the end of May, 1956. I don't covenant not to ask for slight further extension, but I don't foresee the need for it.

We will be extremely grateful if you will balance your needs against this one and let me know whether we might count on establishing such a working relationship with Mr. Hope and the American Missionary Association.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. John Hope
Mr. Herman Long
Mr. Marion Wright
Mr. Rufus Clement
FBR
GSA
RA

PROPOSED JOB DESCRIPTION FOR ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR PROGRAM

USING AN EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNITY PROGRAMS AND SOUTHERN MOVEMENTS, UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR STATE ORGANIZATION AND ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER STAFF MEMBERS, TO COORDINATE THE TRAINING OF STATE SATFF PERSONNEL AND THEIR BOARDS AND PROGRAM COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN PROGRAM DESIGN, DEVELOPMENT, AND EXECUTION. TO RECRUIT HIGHLY SKILLED PROFESSIONAL PERSONS TO SERVE AS CONSULTANTS IN SUCH TRAINING PROGRAMS. TO DEVELOP STANDARDIZED CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING EFFECTIVENESS OF STATE PROGRAMS. TO USE SUCH CRITERIA IN EVALUATING PROGRAM IN THE STATES. IN COOPERATION WITH THE REST OF THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF, UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, TO ORIGINATE AND DEVELOP SUITABLE PROGRAMS ~~OF~~ ACTIVITIES FOR THE CENTRAL OFFICE.

31 Oct 55

To: GSM

In compliance with your request to me this morning, I have written this proposed Job Description. It is a combination of the memo from Dr. Parrish and the job description found in the mimeographed MS "List of SRC Staff with Salary Rate and Job Description." I will be glad to confer with you and make any changes you desire.

ZBR

C.C. Fred Routh
C. H. Parrish
G. S. Alexander
R. M. Alexander
G. S. Mitchell
John Hope of Fisk Univ.

November 18, 1955

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement,

John Hope came down to-day, to give us some of the involvements of his prospective assumption of a head-consultant's duties with us, on the Program job.

The main thing I come out with is that it is apparaently going to be necessary for SRC to compensate AMA by a payment of a thousand dollars, for the loss by AMA of the full-time aspect of Hope's services, under AMA's existing arrangement with Hope. In addition to that lump-sum amount direct to AMA (which thousand dollars would not by AMA be taken out of AMA's salary payments to Hope), SRC would give Hope $35.00 a day plus his travel for each day of Hope's services to SRC.

We have the money (and a bit to spare, in the reserve for this program), and on reflection I do not think the arrangement unreasonable. So I would recommend it. But I do not feel that I should take this decision without the agreement of the Personnel Subcommittee of the Executive Committee.

May I have your wishes, at such time as you and Marion Wright have had opportunity to correspond?

A second item: Here is a proposed job description for John Hope, carefully worked out originally by C. H. Parrish, and moderately revised by Fred Routh and GSM., and acceptable to John Hope. I would like decision on this, also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:rh
Encls.

c.c. MRW

GSM

M E M O R A N D U M

MEETING WITH JOHN HOPE, NOVEMBER 18, 1955, GSM's OFFICE

GSM — Sent Parrish a copy of the letter to Weidenhouse "How to limit your budget a bit."

JH — That complicates matters.--A family problem within AMA

GSM — Other people in John' Hope's position would be getting less if he received full AMA salary plus SRC salary.

JH — I called you--As a result, you called or wrote Weidenhouse; financial complications came up but no financial allowance. Herman Long O. Kayed the idea and recommended it to Weidenhouse. It didn't help to bat it about on the SRC Board.

GSM — It wasn't batted about at the Board but at the Executive Committee Meeting where they limited payment to $35.00 a day.

JH — Would I alone be responsible or would I work with a team?

GSM — We would work as a team but you would be in charge and therefore chiefly responsible.

FBR — This is an outgrowth of much thinking--Grace Hamilton's, the AU meeting, etc.--Parrish is the chief architect of the final proposals.--It is not sufficiently solidified so that John Hope's ideas couldn't hold sway.

JH — What commitments were made to consultants at the AU meeting?

FBR — They understand the possibility of a per diem consultants relationship.-- No formal comitments made to any individuals. $35.00 a day suggested salary.

GSM —
1. The diamonds in Africa illustration.
2. The demonstration of qualified Negro professionals.
3. The involvement of Negroes in getting responsible assignments.--Negro committees more responsive with Negroes participating--in decision making.

GSM — Pay Hope his per diem plus his expenses.--Reimburse AMA $1,000 for John Hope's time; sweeten the deal.

JH — Weidenhouse needs to be protected if charges brought re: lost time and services. Actually this is a creative responsibility that will absorb most of my thoughts and time? Question. If this baby is in my lap and I am supposed to come through, do the other consultants get the same amount -- $35.00?

GSM Yes, but they get far less in the overall picture--for you are fairly regular but they are only occasional.

JH I feel that either of us should be able to sever our relations on a two weeks notice. In other words if I felt I was getting no where, or if you thought I was getting no where, we could talk it over and decide to either modify or drop the project.

GSM Yes. That sounds reasonable.

JH We should review the project in May which is the end of the AMA fiscal year and determine at that time what should be our future relation and what should be the future of this special project.

cc: John Hope
GSM
CHP
FBR

For Mr. Routh.

JOHN HOPE.

Called December 9th.

Proposes now to write to the key ones of those who were at the A.U. Conference, and say that we are moving again, and they or some of them should look to be called on for occasional jobs.

Asks Fred and CH to speed to John Hope the memos they undertook at NAIRO meeting.

Learned with interest of possibility of use of our John Hope machinery by the various religious denominations.

Received my authorization to use Robert Johnson as a consultant for some preliminary work toward standards of evaluation - "a few days", GSM said.

c.cs.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.
C.H. Parrish.
GSM.
RA.
GSA.

Mr. H.B. Sissel,
Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,
830 Witherspoon Building,
Philadelphia 7, PENN.

December 9th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Sissel,

This confirms my telephone call about the possibility of getting hold of consultants in social science, for work with local groups on matters of school desegregation.

We have engaged John Hope, who works mainly for the AMA in the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, to serve SRC part-time as a Chief Consultant. He will manage a program that will make available to local groups (for our own purposes mainly SRC-called groups of citizens or of interested school officials or of SRC staff and State Board people), social science people from various Colleges and Universities, on a one or two day basis. If your group, working with some local unit, should wish to make a direct arrangement with John Hope I am sure he would welcome it. I think the arrangement would be that suitable social science people could be used at a cost of thirty-five dollars per working day, plus the travel expenses involved. He will have both white and Negro persons available; our recommendation would be favorable to the use of Negro persons in many instances.

If we can be helpful on it we would want to, but what Mr. Hope is setting up is available to you without our intermediacy.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
C.H. Parrish.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.

Mr. A. Dudley Ward,
The Methodist Church,
Board of Social and Economic Relations,
740 Rush Street,
Chicago 11, ILLINOIS.

December 12th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Ward,

I intend to telephone you further on Monday about the possibility of getting hold of consultants in social science, for work with local groups on matters of school desegregation.

We have engaged John Hope, who works mainly for theAMA in the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, to serve SRC part-time as a Chief Consultant. He will manage a program that will make available to local groups (for our own purposes mainly SRC-called groups of citizens or of interested school officials or of SRC staff and State Board people), social science people from various Colleges and Universities, on a one or two day basis. If your group, working with some local unit, should wish to make a direct arrangement with John Hope I am sure he would welcome it. I think the arrangement would be that suitable social science people could be used at a cost of thirty-five dollars per working day, plus the travel expenses involved. He will have both white and Negro persons available; our recommendation would be favorable to the use of Negro persons in many instances.

If we can be helpful on it we would want to, but what Mr. Hope is setting up is available to you without our intermediacy.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
C.H. Parrish.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.

Rev. Malcolm P. Calhoun,
Board of Church Extension,
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.,
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 5.

December 12th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Calhoun,

This confirms my telephone call about the possibility of getting hold of consultants in social science, for work with local groups on matters of school desegregation.

We have engaged John Hope, who works mainly for the AMA in the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, to serve SRC part-time as a Chief Consultant. He will manage a program that will make available to local groups (for our own purposes mainly SRC-called groups of citizens or of interested school officials or of SRC staff and State Board people), social science people from various Colleges and Universities, on a one or two day basis. If your group, working with some local unit, should wish to make a direct arrangement with John Hope I am sure he would welcome it. I think the arrangement would be that suitable social science people could be used at a cost of thirty-five dollars per working day, plus the travel expenses involved. He will have both white and Negro persons available; our recommendation would be favorable to the use of Negro persons in many instances.

If we can be helpful on it we would want to, but what Mr. Hope is setting up is available to you without our intermediacy.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
C.H.Parrish.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.

FR

RECEIVED DEC 13 1955

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. George S. Mitchell; Mr. Harold C. Fleming; Dr. C. H. Parrish; Mr. Fred B. Routh

From: John Hope II

Subject: Plans for Meeting of Prospective Consultants

At a conference in Milwaukee including Parrish, Routh, and Hope, it was agreed that a conference of consultants (after receiving their acceptance) should be held preferably no later than January 15, 1956, that certain materials should be prepared in advance of this meeting and circulated to the consultants for their thoughtful consideration in order that they might react to it at the meeting; that such materials should as far as possible be completed and sent to Hope far enough in advance of the conference date to allow "the team" to consider them together and make such adjustments, revisions, and additions as seem necessary before presenting them to the consultants.

Certain specific responsibilities were accepted by each of those present at this conference and the assistance of Mitchell and Fleming will be requested as our plans develop.

I am trying to get all basic materials in hand as soon as possible for the January meeting and to this end expect to confer with Dr. Robert Johnson next week on one phase. I would like to know from C. H. and Fred whether their materials can be expected by Christmas and if not when I may expect them.

There are certain types of information and guidance which the co-ordinator and the consultants will need in order to establish an efficient service which only you experienced insiders can give. Since it is quite probable that as the program develops more and more persons will be involved who have not had the advantages of the briefing given at the August meeting

and before they assume the role of consultant for the Southern regional Council or other co-operating agencies, I believe it would be valuable to reduce the useful results of your experience to writing so that all subsequent consultants would have the benefit of your experience and wisdom in a fairly standardized form.

I can think of three major types of information which would be helpful to me as coordinator or consultant. Insofar as such information could be classified by sub-groups of states and individual states, e.g., hard-core, waiting, and desegregating states when comments for each state within these three categories, its value for briefing purposes would be increased.

These are listed as follows:

1. A clear picture of the major program needs at the state level. If the top two or three of these could be listed in descending order of importance it would be helpful.

2. The principal problems, barriers, obstacles, etc., to the attainment of program goals whether from internal or external sources. Again, if these can be rated roughly it would be helpful.

3. The major positive attributes, resources, conditions, etc., favoring the achievement of program goals and on basis of these and other considerations the specific program developments considered most urgent and also achievable in the immediate or near future.

It would be helpful to us to have information of these three types separately and independently from the points of view of the various staff and board member groups on the one hand and from the central staff point to view on the other. C. H. has agreed to analyze and evaluate the reports received from the state offices last summer and thus it is expected that the types of information mentioned, from the point of view of the state staffs and boards and other valuable information, will be forthcoming in this report.

If it is at all possible, I would like to have both C. H. and Fred independently give their reactions to items 1, 2, and 3 above on the basis of their personal experiences and reactions in the various states since they have

probably been more closely associated with the field groups as a whole than anybody else except George who is probably too busy with other matters for this. For neophytes like myself, it would probably facilitate our comprehension of this rather complex material if these reports are framed in terms of the three group division (hard-core, waiting, desegregating) or some other more satisfactory division which you are much better able to make than I am. However, I would hope that the same classification can be used by C. H. and Fred (and any others who add to our stock of knowledge in this regard) so that the materials can be put together easily.

If any of this seems presumptuous or if my expectations are based upon error, please bear with me and accept the will for the deed. The only way to swim is to get in the water. I am depending heavily upon "the team" to see that I "swim" with you -- not drown.

I am leaving for Philadelphia and New York tomorrow and expect to be back in Nashville Thursday or Friday (December 15 or 16). May I hear from you. Then as soon as I have a clearer idea when all materials needed for the meeting of consultants will be ready, we can proceed with the setting of a definite date. If possible, I would like to be able to suggest two or three alternative dates to the consultants when I call them.
alternative I have dictated this memorandum to the soundscriber and am asking that it be typed and mailed without my reading it. If it is not clear I will be in Nashville and ready to assist in any way I can after December 15.

Mr. Routh.

Mr. Albert Vorspan,
Executive Secretary,
Commission on Social Action,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
838 Fifth Avenue,
New York 21, N. Y.

December 19th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Vorspan,

Here are copies of the letters I sent to Dudley Ward, for the Methodists, and Malcolm Calhoun, for the Presbyterians in the U.S.A. They will explain more formally than my 'phone call what we have in mind.

John Hope is now getting together his string of people, and in any present pinch could supply competent people now. We pay Hope $35.00 a day plus his travel for those days on which he serves as consultant to us, and I suppose that John Hope will be using that same figure for the others who assist him. Some of the people will be white and some Negro.

If you can use this machinery it is wide open to you. John Hope can be reached by mail at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., and his office telephone in Nashville is 42-3396.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

P.S. In a pinch John Hope's ultimate boss is Weidenfeld, at the Congregational Church's headquarters, down there on Fourth Avenue.

6.cs. John Hope,
C.H. Parrish. Fred Routh.

~~6 orig. typings~~

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. George S. Mitchell; Mr. Harold C. Fleming; Dr. C. H. Parrish; Mr. Fred B. Routh

From: John Hope II 20/56.

Subject: Suggestions and Procedures for Launching the Consultant Service Program and the SRC career of one John Hope II

I am attaching in tentative form, double spaced to facilitate revision, three suggested letters: one from Mitchell to the state directors; one from Mitchell to the prospective consultants; and one from me to the consultants which should follow Mitchell's letter to them.

I have thought of various approaches and have considered carefully suggestions made at Milwaukee. In light of the organization and the highly mobile character of all members of the team, it seems to me that the channels of regular communication between the person immediately responsible for program and the field group and consultants, respectively, should be very clear and definite in order to avoid delays. On the other hand, the director should be fully and promptly advised of all program developments in order that they may always be in complete harmony and proper perspective with the total program of the Council. Thus, the suggestion that communications from these two sources come to me at Fisk with copies to Mitchell, this copy being readily available to other members of the team.

I have suggested that the initial letters to consultants and field staff come from Mitchell because they involve matters of policy and executive decision which I believe should be clearly distinguished from the details of procedure and administration. On the other hand, it is my belief that after details of procedure and administrative decisions have been discussed with the team and cleared by the director, they should properly be communicated by the assistant director for program to field staff and consultants in order that the administrative functions and responsibilities might rest firmly upon him and thus relieve the director and others of many details, some of them troublesome, which might interfere with their more important duties. Thus, the third letter which, I hope, will establish a permanent line of communication between these groups and the Assistant Director for Program on matters of a routine administrative nature.

It will be noted that I made no reference to the part-time nature of my relations with the Council or to my present position as Director of Industrial Relations or to the temporary tenure of my employment. While I would not hide these facts if questions were asked, I do not believe that they strengthen my position as a coordinator and motivator of others and in some cases they might weaken it. In the same vein, I would suggest that "Mr." be freely used before my name in communications to the field and to outsiders in order to promptly get rid of the erroneously assumed "Dr." so that I won't be parading under false colors. I might also add that such an omission in light of southern racial etiquette still in vogue, though not within the family of the Council I Hope, might be misconstrued as a status difference based on race made by you. Obviously, all of us know that this is not the case but such a precaution might avoid difficulties for me in dealing with less enlightened persons removed from SRC and its philosophy.

In the letter marked Exhibit I, it will be noted that I did not spell out the prospective functions of consultants in as much detail as C. H. suggested because I felt that your statement should be more flexible in light of recent developments among the religious denominations and other needs that might arise. Likewise, the details of size and qualifications governing consultant fees is omitted in all letters until we can jointly draw up a clear statement that can be used universally.

With regard to the consultants to be used, it is my suggestion that for the present the names of the consultants not be disclosed but rather that we take the position that they are being sought on the basis of qualifications to meet particular program needs of the Southern Regional Council and their availability for assignments, and within the limits of funds now available. On the other hand, I think it quite appropriate for members of the staff or others to feel free to suggest the names of prospective consultants including clear statements of their qualifications. This may seem strange to you but knowing something of the plans of the Society for Applied Anthropology, as a member of a committee considering the prospects of a consultant panel service by this group, I think it important for us to avoid as far as possible outside pressures and the necessity for having to defend our choices before our program is well under way.

The copies of the three suggested drafts are attached. It is strongly urged that the two letters from Dr. Mitchell be sent at the earliest possible moment, particularly those to the consultants. If copies of these are sent to me promptly, I will follow-up with telephone calls to consultant prospects.

The list of prospective consultants who attended the August meeting are - - Dr. Robert Johnson, AFSC, 20 South 12th St. Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Louis Killian, Dept. of Soc., Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.; Mrs. Preston Valien, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. Harry J. Walker, Howard University, Washington, D. C.,; Dr. G. D. Wilson, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky; Dr. Whitney Young, Atlanta University, Atlanta; Miss Irene Osborne, ~~AFSC, 104 "C" St., N. E.,~~ SRC Washington, D. C.

Please advise, if I have omitted any names.

Does to these

each a separate typing!

To Irene give a copy (of this) to body else's & explain viva voce. Why type needlessly?

December 30, 1955

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Yes, please do come to New Orleans January 20-21.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

cc: C.H. Parrish
Fred Routh

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dec. 30, 1955

Through a loan arrangement with the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches, Mr. John Hope II has assumed the duties of Assistant Director for Program. He will be in touch with you in the near future with specific reference to your program needs and how the central office can best assist you in meeting them. You may feel free to write Mr. Hope on any other matters concerning program and training on which he and the central office staff may be of assistance.

For the present he will maintain his base at Fisk University though he will spend considerable time at the Atlanta office and in the States. In order to speed all communications with him about program, he has suggested that for the present all letters to him be mailed to --

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program,
SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

and that a copy be sent in my care to the Atlanta office in order to avoid unnecessary delays. His office telephone number in Nashville is Chapel 2-3396.

You will be interested to know that an arrangement has been made for the employment of the limited number of highly qualified consultants who will be available to you for the purpose of con-

ducting workshops for your staff and board members and such other uses as their talents can be put for the further development and extension of your program and its further coordination with the overall program and objectives of the Southern Regional Council.

Specific planning of this consultant service will begin with the new year. Any comments and suggestions that you feel will assist us in making these plans of maximum efficiency and assistance to you should be directed to Mr. Hope at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

December 30, 1955

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Killian:

You will recall that at a meeting last August 10th under the guidance of Dr. C.H. Parrish, several distinguished social scientists took a look at the work being attempted by the Southern Regional Council and developed some fruitful suggestions for the expansion of council activities. Since that time I have been able to arrange payment for the occasional services of a limited number of consultants. They will be charged with responsibility of conducting workshops for board members of state groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, staff training institutes, and such other purposes as appear necessary for the successful prosecution and extension of the council's program.

These consultants are to be compensated on a per diem basis in addition to their traveling expenses. I would like very much to have you serve as one of these consultants. A preliminary meeting of the consultants is planned for a convenient time early in January.

Through a loan arrangement with the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches, Mr. John Hope II has assumed the duties of Assistant Director for Program and he will have the responsibility of coordinating the work of the consultants. He will be in communication with you shortly concerning plans for the January meeting and other matters relative to the consultant service program.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

December 30, 1955

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Killian:

You have received, no doubt, Dr. Mitchell's letter of December 30 asking your participation in a consultant service program. I cannot urge too strongly my personal wish or that of the central office team of which we hope you will be an important member that you join us in this important service to the Southern Regional Council, the South, and thus to the nation.

It seems imperative that we get a good start by attending a conference of all consultants early in January and, consequently, I am asking you to advise me promptly whether you will serve, and whether you can attend such a conference for the planning, orientation, etc. on Saturday, January 14 in Atlanta. If you cannot attend on this date, please indicate on which of the following dates you can attend: January 13; January 18; January 28.

Your travel expenses will be borne by the Southern Regional Council and per diem at the rate (not yet decided) for consultant services will be paid. I am sorry I cannot indicate this rate at this time, but we expect it to be a reasonable figure.

Answers to the attached list of questions are necessary for further planning and scheduling this service. Please return them to me immediately so that they can be tabulated and analyzed prior to this conference. Do not delay in returning this sheet because you cannot immediately answer all questions. Send it back promptly and supplement it, if necessary, by letter as soon as you can fill in the gaps. Mail all communications to:

Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

I shall look forward to seeing you at the January conference and to a closer association thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

December 30, 1955

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Valien:

You will recall that at a meeting last August 10th under the guidance of Dr. C.H. Parrish, several distinguished social scientists took a look at the work being attempted by the Southern Regional Council and developed some fruitful suggestions for the expansion of council activities. Since that time I have been able to arrange payment for the occasional services of a limited number of consultants. They will be charged with responsibility of conducting workshops for board members of State groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, staff training institutes, and such other purposes as appear necessary for the successful prosecution and extension of the council's program.

These consultants are to be compensated on a per diem basis in addition to their traveling expenses. I would like very much to have you serve as one of these consultants. A prelimdnary meeting of the consultants is planned for a convenient time early in January.

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Sincerely yours,

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

December 30, 1955

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Nashville, Tennessee

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Nashville 8, Tennessee

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Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

December 30, 1955

Mr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Walker:

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Nashville 8, Tennessee

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Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

December 30, 1955

Dr. G.D. Wilson
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Wilson:

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c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

I shall look forward to seeing you at the January conference and to a closer association thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

December 30, 1955

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Young:

You will recall that at a meeting last August 10th under the guidance of Dr. C.H. Parrish, several distinguished social scientists took a look at the work being attempted by the Southern Regional Council and developed some fruitful suggestions for the expansion of council activities. Since that time I have been able to arrange payment for the occasional services of a limited number of consultants. They will be charged with responsibility of conducting workshops for board members of State groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, staff training institutes, and such other purposes as appear necessary for the successful prosecution and extension of the council's program.

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Sincerely yours,

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

December 30, 1955

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Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

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c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

I shall look forward to seeing you at the January conference and to a closer association thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

December 30, 1955

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

The girls are a'typing up the letters to go out to exactly those consultants listed on page 2 of your memo to me of 12/20/55, (Exhibit I as altered by GSM's letter to you of Dec. 23); Directors of affiliated SRC outfits (Exhibit II of your memo, as altered by my letter of Dec. 23); Hope to Consultants (Exhibit III, as altered)

Unsolved problem: fee for consultants. Hope you will resolve and early notify.

The girls dated the letters as they did them.

Here comes the batch for you to sign.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef
Signed by Mary Elizabeth Friedman, Secretary.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

28 Dec '55

GSM -

John Hope called:

He would like you to get out the two letters prepared for your signature; one to the Consultants and one to State Exec. Dir's. on Thursday — he will send his the 1st of the week and yours should be there first.

In the letters where there is a space for alternative dates beside Jan 14th he suggested Jan 13th, 18th or 28th

We should indicate any questions should be directed to Mr. John Hope Fisk Univ -

He asked about coming to the Exec. Com. meeting since you sent him a copy of a letter to C.H.

Lewis

since the ruling was that
ast. Dir's be invited and he
holds that position (see
job description) I said I
thought he should probably
come. Suggest you write him
re: this - He could out-line for
Exec Com this important new
phase of our work.

I am off to N.C. see
you Friday -

FBR.

Mr. John Hope,
Fisk University,
Nashville 8,
TENNESSEE.

December 23rd., 1955.

Dear John,

Fred and H.C.F. and I have read your letter of December 20th, and its proposed outgoers.

I like the plan in general.

I am sorry you can't write and say what fee they will get. They will want to know. Why don't you give them $35.00 a day, plus their travel?

Exhibit 1: OK, except that I doctored to read "to arrange payment for the occasional services of a limited number", and split that great long sentence by a period after consultants, and changed state board into "members of state groups affiliated with SRC".

Exhibit 11: OK, except that I changed "field" to "States". If I were field I would hate to be field. Also, being GSM, I changed expedite to speed and relative to about. Forgive.

Exhibit 111: At end of third paragraph I added "but we expect it to be at a reasonable figure". I would prefer that you announce it, but do as you please. If there's money enough to do the job at all we should do it right, and make people feel they are being worthily compensated. Otherwise OK.

Questionnaire I leave to your technical judgment.

We will type any or all of these letters any time you say go, and supply appropriate dates and figures, if supplyable.

Mr. John Hope,
Fisk University,
Nashville 8,
TENNESSEE.

December 23rd., 1955.

Excellent scheme on copies of letters.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

P.S. Copies, shown, to Fred, C.H.P. & H.C.F. G.S.M.

RECEIVED DEC 22 1955

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

RE:

DATE: 12/20/55.

The memoranda and attachments are all quite tentative.

Am giving C.H. a set and will send copies to Fred and Harold later.

All stenogs. gone. No stenog. help here until January 3rd.

After specific dates can be put in my letter, it may be desirable to have them typed there and sent to me for signatures and mailing.

JHII

MEMORANDUM

January 4, 1956

TO: Staff

FROM: GSM

I have asked Mr. G.S. Alexander to serve as deputy in this office for John Hope. ~~Final~~ Policy determination will be in John Hope's hands, but Mr. Alexander will collect and service administrative matters for Mr. Hope's part of the program.

January 4, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I balanced between Fred Routh and Gabe Alexander to serve clerically hereabouts for your things.

Fred Routh has to be out so much that I have asked Mr. Alexander to take on the job.

Except as advised by you, none of us here would undertake policy decisions on your matters; neither will Mr. Alexander. But when you need minor details handled, lean on him to do it. Such matters as totting up who could come to what meetings when; letting Zipkins know that a June 3rd meeting changed to June 8th, and so on.

If you have other wishes, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy: C.H. Parrish

Staff
Hope

January 4, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Re: your call today. We are sending one copy of the questionnaire to each consultant.

We have added Bill Jones and Kenneth Clark to the official list of consultants and have written them and asked them to serve. Also they got questionnaire.

We have ordered two copies of Rosen-Dean book.

Routh is sorry he forgot to pass on the info about the $35.00 for this time.

Everybody will be here Friday and is waiting for you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

January 5, 1956

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Clark:

You will recall that at a meeting last August 10th under the guidance of Dr. C.H. Parrish, several distinguished social scientists took a look at the work being attempted by the Southern Regional Council and developed some fruitful suggestions for the expansion of council activities. Since that time I have been able to arrange payment for the occasional services of a limited number of consultants. They will be charged with responsibility of conducting workshops for board members of State groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, staff training institutes, and such other purposes as appear necessary for the successful prosecution and extension of the council's program.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

January 5, 1956

Dr. William Jones
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Jones:

You will recall that at a meeting last August 10th under the guidance of Dr. C.H. Parrish, several distinguished social scientists took a look at the work being attempted by the Southern Regional Council and developed some fruitful suggestions for the expansion of council activities. Since that time I have been able to arrange payment for the occasional services of a limited number of consultants. They will be charged with responsibility of conducting workshops for board members of State groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, staff training institutes, and such other purposes as appear necessary for the successful prosecution and extension of the council's program.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

HCF

MEMORANDUM

To: John Hope II January 9, 1956

From: C. H. Parrish

Subject: Agenda for meeting of consultants, January 14, 1956.

Over the week-end, I have been mulling over our Friday conversations. Specifically the work of the consultants would seem to be related to the following situations:

1-Meeting with a state board for the purpose of evaluating its program.
2-Subregional strategy conference, e.g., "The Hard-Core States."
3-The staff institute or workshop involving the staff members from all twelve SRC-affiliated states.
4-Servicing conferences, institutes or workshops held under other than SRC auspices, as for example, a church group or the school board of a community wishing to effect a smooth desegregation of its schools.
5-Occasional "trouble-shooting" when full-time state or Atlanta staff persons are otherwise engaged.

Perhaps it would be desirable to devote most of the time to a discussion of these situations. When would the consultant likely work as a member of a team? When would he be completely on his own? What are the objectives of a board institute as contrasted with a staff institute? When consultants work as a team, what is a desirable division of labor? To put this another way, what are the areas in which we would be prepared to offer professional service?

Offhand it would appear that the work with the state boards promises most in the way of immediate tangible results. An effort should be made to define more clearly what the responsibilities of board members are. Much of the burden is theirs for finding and involving new people, assessing the readiness of a community for constructive action, getting the story out and for inducing other organizations to which they belong to move in the right direction. Particular stress should be placed on techniques for counteracting the propaganda of the WCC and other pro-segregation outfits. Here it should be recognized that state board members themselves may be puzzled and confused about the nature of race; about whether or not desegregation will lower the standards of the schools; about the dangers of miscegenation; about the role of the NAACP; about whether or not Negroes really want to "go to their own schools." Consultants must be prepared to discuss all of these matters dispassionately from the point of view of recent scientific research. In such discussions the professional manner of presentation has equal importance with the materials presented.

I agree with GSM on the importance of reaching that large segment of the South's people who want to do something but who are not sure what. They would like to do the right thing but cannot bring themselves to enter upon the immediate drastic changes which are being proposed. My notion is to get them into a situation in which the process of attitudinal change can be initiated. Start with the area of agreement, however small, then expand it. If anybody can do this job, our professional consultants can do it.

RECEIVED JAN 11 1956

January 9, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program
Southern Regional Council
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hope:

A letter under date of December 30, 1955, from the desk of George Mitchell in the Central Office, informs of your association with "us" on the Central Office Staff as Assistant Director for Program. We were more than pleased to hear this, and want to make it a part "of the record" that we in Arkansas bid you welcome to the fold.

We, the Arkansas legates, had a chance to get to know you at the Institute this summer, and quite frankly were impressed with your keen insight and sincerity, and are enthusiastic about the contribution you can make to the efforts of Southern Regional Council and its affiliates.

The letter suggests that you be contacted on any matters concerning program and training wherein a need for assistance was felt. Though everything in Arkansas couldn't be considered as "peaches and cream," we don't have at present any specifics to casue us to immediately holla "H-E-L-P!" However, we are looking forward to strengthening our program through increased "know-how" on the part of both members and staff--and to this end could very well utilize your services. We anxiously hope that this might not be too far in the distant future--and may do just a bit of scheming. (Smiles) Of course, your contact with us does not have to await our invite, we would welcome your suggestions and instructions, in fact, we encourage them.

We expect a good "harvest" from this newly inaugurated service by SRC, of which you are an integral part, and hereby declare the availability of all our facilities.

Nat Griswold, my co-worker, whom I am sure you remember from his stay at the Institute, joins me in this whole message, and

in wishing you every success in your new endeavor.

You will please find enclosed a brochure which we use as an introduction for the Arkansas Council. Just thought you might be interested in this aspect of local color which you might not have had access to.

Sincerely yours,

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director

CCM:vwp
Enc. 2
cc - George Mitchell

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Conference on the Consultant Program Service
Atlanta University - January 14, 1956

Mr. John Hope II, presiding

AGENDA

9:00 AM - Registration

9:25 - Preliminary remarks by chairman

9:30 - "SRC: Policy, Aims, and Methods"

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Harold C. Fleming, Asst. Director for Information

9:55 - Discussion

10:25 - "SRC and the State Organizations"

Fred B. Routh, Asst. Director for State Organizations

10:45 - Discussion

11:00 - Coffee Break

11:15 - "Background and Rationale of Program"

C. H. Parrish, Asst. Director for State Organizations

11:35 - Discussion

11:45 - "Intergroup Programs: Evaluation and Action Techniques"

Robert Johnson, Consultant

12:05 PM- Discussion

12:20-1:30 - Luncheon at Atlanta University Dining Hall

1:30 - Consultants' reactions to proposed program

2:30 - "Plans, Prospects, and Procedures"

John Hope II, Asst. Director for Program

3:00 - Other Business

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FILE COPY

January 18, 1956

EXPENSE AND COMPENSATION REGULATIONS

An honorarium of $35.00 per day for actual days of service (excluding travel time) will be paid by SRC. Compensation at this rate for half a day will be paid for participation in an afternoon or evening ocassion. The minimum pay unit will be one-half day. Income tax and social security contributions will not be withheld by SRC but will be the personal responsibility of the individual consultant.

Consultants will be reimbursed for their travel and actual living expenses for the period they are away from their homes on authorized SRC business. Such trips are to be authorized in advance by the Assistant Director for Program. Voucher (Form CSP 1) should be prepared in duplicate: original to the Secretary-Treasurer at the Atlanta office, copy to John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, c/o Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

A Consultant Report (Form No. CSP 2) should be filled out immediately after completion of an assignment and should accompany Voucher Form No. CSP 1. This form will provide for a report of basic information about the completed assignment and may be supplemented by such narrative reports as the consultant deems desirable.

Consultants are expected to use the most appropiate mode of travel for the assignment -- train, plane, bus, or private car. When your private car is used, the SRC will reimburse you for expenses at 6¢ per mile travelled. The SRC does not assume any responsibility beyond this, e.g., car repairs, accident liability, etc.

To GSM

(1st Revision 1/31/56)

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR STATE WORKSHOPS

	Suggested Consultant Team 1st Choice	Alternate	Time*	Place
1. Virginia	Walker Johnson	Coleman	2/17-18	
2. North Carolina	Hy. Lewis Coleman	Johnson	2/24-25	
3. Alabama	B. Valien Coleman	Killian	3/2-3	
4. Arkansas	Young Clark	Jones Killian	3/9-10	
5. Texas	Hy. Lewis Johnson	Young Killian	3/16-17	
6. Florida	Walker B. Valien	Jones	3/23-24	
7. Tennessee	Young Hy. Lewis	Killian	3/30-31	
8. S. Carolina	Coleman Walker		4/6-7	

*All dates Friday night and Saturday (all day)

Original Copy in Office of Director

Cons. Serv. Prog.

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

RECEIVED FEB 2 1956

RECEIVED FEB 2 1956

TO: Miss Ruth Alexander and Mr. G. M. Alexander
(copy to George Mitchell)

RE: Bob Johnson's Technical Memoranda for Consultant Service Program

DATE: January 31, 1956

Please send check for $150 to Dr. Robert Johnson, 705 Wallace Street, Apartment B, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for services rendered in preparing two memoranda for consultant service program meeting of January 19, 1956.

This figure is well within the range of $150 to $350 suggested at a meeting on January 18 with GSM, HF, FR, CHT and is quite satisfactory with Bob.

This is a confirmation of a verbal authorization given to Dave Alexander.

(FORM No. CSP 1)
2/1/56

FILE COPY

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

(PREPARE IN DUPLICATE)

DATE _____

TRAVEL AND EXPENSE VOUCHER

NAME: _____

TRAVEL FROM: _____ TO: _____

DATES: _____ TO: _____

NUMBER OF DAYS SPENT ON ASSIGNMENT (EXCL. TRAVEL TIME): _____

NUMBER OF DAYS AWAY FROM HOME: _____

TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES (AIR, TRAIN, OR BUS; AUTO AT 6¢ PER MILE): $ _____
(INDICATE TYPE USED) _____

EXPENSES (INCLUDING TRAVEL TIME)

HOTEL _____ $ _____

MEALS _____ $ _____

TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH _____ $ _____

OTHER EXPENSES: (ITEMIZE) _____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

TOTAL TRAVEL EXPENSES $ _____

DEDUCT TRAVEL ADVANCE IF ANY $ _____

NET TRAVEL EXPENSES $ _____

CONSULTANT'S FEE (EXCL. TRAVEL TIME) $ _____

TOTAL AMOUNT DUE $ _____

SIGNED: _____

ADDRESS TO WHICH CHECK SHOULD BE MAILED: _____

_____

PLEASE FORWARD ONE COPY OF THIS VOUCHER TO SECRETARY-TREASURER, SRC, ATLANTA OFFICE; (ADDRESS ABOVE) AND ONE COPY TO JOHN HOPE, II, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR PROGRAM, c/o FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HCF

Copy of Memo # 4 (Jones) and letter to CHP
to each Assistant Director.

February 6, 1956

Mr. C.H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

Lewis Jones submitted this, among other items, to foundation friends of ours, who opined that this one had implications for our program. I agree. Will you ponder, and in so far as you think fit, try to feed the idea into our States?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

MEMORANDUM # 4
TO: Mr. Hallock Hoffman
FROM: Lewis W. Jones
Re.— Manipulation of Community Resources: Education in the Practice of Democracy.

This notion probably belongs within the province of adult education but I don't have access to that organization to get a hearing on it. I am also a little leary of professionals who reject the unorthodox.

It is amazing how little Negroes and other low-income groups know about the manipulation of community resources. They may not even think of public and private agencies as "resources". Rather they get a little cynical about the democratic system and attribute the failure of their interests to be served to having no "pull" or to not "knowing the right people" rather than to the fact that they simply are ignorant of what to do and how to do it. This circumstance seems to foster the development of political machine control and in a measure may account for the influence of non-democratic organizations. The informed leadership of an organization can do for adherents what they cannot do for themselves because the leadership has the requisite knowledge and may find it to be to its advantage to restrict such knowledge to the hierarchy. Little research has been done on the "withholding" of knowledge and the importance to a system of social control of withholding knowledge. (A neat research project could be designed on this subject but from unstructured observation we know enough to propose a simple action program.)

A couple of incidents mayillustrate what I am getting at. In politics, Negroes are very happy to be able to vote but are not aware of the importance of the "Precinct Convention" which the political organization likes to control. The Eisenhower supporters in Texas, you may remember, caused quite a furore by appearing en masse to take over precinct conventions in 1952 to the consternation of the small "organization" groups that had previously controlled them. Negroes in Alabama periodically make appeals to the Governor and resort to the courts to secure the suffrage. They don't realize that the County Democratic Committee controls the Registrars who enroll or fail to enroll voters on the eligible lists. It is to the advantage of the county committee to keep their influence hidden when in their roles as merchants, professional people, and neighbors they might feel pressure and called into account for their actions in their roles as committeemen. Catholic pastors, labor union leaders, NAACP officials, et al, as sophisticates who know how to manipulate community resources, may find it desirable to "do" for their rank and file rather than informing them.

The poorly informed seeking action in their interest may appeal to a school superintendent, to a hospital administrator, to a FHA supervisor without realising that these are administrative personnel rather than policy makers. Actually these administrators may influence policy but ultimately policy decisions rest with the "boards" to whom these administrators are responsible.

What about an educational program on effective democracy providing study materials that may be used by all sorts of groups and organizations. I am not sure that political leaders would appreciate having people know how to hold them responsible for their stewardship and to know how to interfere with their effective practices in engineering the consent of the governed in support of their practices.

If people know how to proceed to use the resources of the community there might be reduction in the explosive mass action that dissatisfied people engage in when they know no other way to express their wishes. Effective education is regarded here again to mean not simply literacy but information that familiarizes people with the community in which they live and instructs them in the manipulation of the resources of the community in an orderly manner.

Harold

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

TO: Consultants - SRC Consultant Service Program

FROM: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

RE: State Workshops for Boards and Staffs

First, I want to repeat in writing the very sincere personal thanks which I expressed at the January 19th meeting for your important contribution to my thinking on SRC program and to express on behalf of the Council our appreciation for your initial guidance in launching the Consultant Service Program in which you have agreed to participate. We look forward with confidence and satisfaction to the positive results of the professional "know-how" and stimulation which you will inject into the various state SRC affiliates which you will service in the coming months and, I hope, years.

I wish to report that the State Organizations have been advised of the Service and tentative workshop dates have been offered with the request that they give alternative dates if ours are not convenient for them. We hope to hear from them within a week. Immediately thereafter, tentative consultant assignments will be made and I will write you indicating where and when we will want each of you to serve in State Workshops. We are hoping to have our first workshop on February 17 and 18 and then to hold at least one each week thereafter so that we can complete this phase of program by mid-April and look to the next steps. I am also hoping that "next steps" for consultant services will be in a sense generated out of the valuable contributions that you make to the state affiliates that you serve.

You will find enclosed the following documents for your use:

1. Expense and Compensation Regulations
2. Travel and Expense Voucher
3. The second of Bob Johnson's Technical memoranda which I fell is most pertinent as background for your thinking as you plan for the workshops. The other will follow as soon as it can be mimeographed. These memoranda should be considered as confidential until you are advised to the contrary.

Other pertinent information will be made available about the situation in the state, agenda, etc. before your Workshop dates but I would caution you not to expect too much or lean too heavily upon these expected data. From your wide knowledge and experience, I think you will agree that the fundamental needs are pervasive and that they will probably differ more in degree and emphasis than in kind and quality from state to state in the 6 or 8 states being considered. Bear in mind the concensus of the January 19th discussions that the major need of the state organizations in program development is expert knowledge of How? not Why? though expert knowledge of the latter is a valuable basis for effective guidance regarding the former.

I shall welcome any comments you may have from time to time or suggestions for program development which occur to you as you think about the various aspects of the cause we serve.

rh:
Encls.

2/7/56

To: GSM; HF; CHP; and FR

From: JHP

February 7, 1956

I am attaching Dr. LaViolette's letter about our role in the Southern Sociological Society meeting.

I have suggested as nominees for our consultant group the names of-- Mrs. Bonita Valien, Dr. Lee Coleman.

I have indicated that we will designate a third (or more if desired) a little later after our program gets under way.

The emphasis on case material "observed directly" in their work seemed to me a limiting factor for some of our consultants. As far as possible, these should involve descriptions of the desegregation process in communities where is near completion.

As I see it now, we may want to "draft" Irene Osborne to tell about Washington or get descriptions of cases in West Virginia, Arkansas, or in other states where we may have a story to tell by April. George Mitchell, Fred Routh or some other member of the staff might do this "off the cuff" if necessary. Suggestions welcome.

COPY

February 7, 1956

Dear John:

This letter has been delayed a little, but not for reasons which you would predict! A few hours after talking with you on Thursday evening, I had a very violent gastrointestinal upset; hence with registration, Friday was a rather gruesome day; Saturday somewhat better. Then on Sunday I chopped my left big toe with an ax! We rushed some 12 miles to the hospital and doctor. It was really doubtful if I should have gone, but a bleeder is a bleeder, and since my coagulating time is always a little slow, and since it is always nice to avoid osteomyelitis, I went down and had to washed up and sutured with about eight statiches. All this is, from my perspective, rather humorous.

Now to the main point. The plan which we wish to work out for the Race Relations section of the Atlanta meetings is this:

First, we shall have Dan Thompson give a fifteen minute statement on the significance of studies in race relations to general sociological and social psychological theory. In view of his work on the Children of Bondage project, I felt that he would be almost an ideal person to do this; furthermore, his residence here makes it possible for us to talk over in some detail the plans for the content of the whole session.

Second we plan a panel of about three people. These people we wish to select in terms of their ability to present a series of problems which they have observed directly in their own work. It occurred to us that the magnitude of the change in the South and the fact that some have been engaged in consulting work and in community action--it occurred to us that your group would be a good place to look for people to work on the panel.

The panel personnel are to deal with problems defined by a community or communities, the procedures undertaken for working on those problems, the kind of personnel involved in solving the problems, the response of the various segments of the community to the solution of the problem. We are interested in some concrete evidence and data.

Third, we intend after the panel has completed its statements, to have a concluding speaker pick up the major points of the panel and relate it to theory and to opportunities for research and theory testing. At the present moment this person is Leonard Reissman, of this department, who is a social stratification theorist and research man, extremely able and highly verbal, and very quick on his intellectual feet.

We have chosen the general to pick of Stratification and Community Action. Several years ago I looked over a widefield of literature and decided that it was time to 1) look again at the significance of studies in race and ethnic relations as they had directed sociological theory in the United States, and 2) to see what the trends of theory were in stratification as they related to community organization.

When we did the Mobile study for Civil Defense, we approached Mobile from the perspective of stratification and community action, It is a very effective perspective.

We need to secure from you nominees for the panel. I am deeply impressed with the idea of inviting Mrs. Valien to join it. I suppose that we should have a list of six, so that those who are not going to Atlanta will let us know at once. We would hope that each would prepare a short paper or extensive notes; we will plan to have at least one meeting before the session after we get to Atlanta.

Again, we want to have you suggest names with respect to actual work on problems--direct consulting with responsible community leaders, advising with consultants, the news reporting service, etc. I will telegraph individuals as soon as I hear from you.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially,

Memorandum

To: Consultants - SRC Consultant Service Program

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

Re: State Workshops for Boards and Staffs

First, I want to repeat in writing the very sincere personal thanks which I expressed at the January 19th meeting for your important contribution to my thinking on SRC program and to express on behalf of the Council our appreciation for your initial guidance in launching the Consultant Service Program, which you have agreed to participate. We look forward with confidence and satisfaction to the positive results of the professional "know-how" and stimulation which you will inject into the various state SRC affiliates which you will service in the coming months and, I hope, years.

I wish to report that the State Organizations have been advised of the Service and tentative workshop dates have been offered with the request that they give alternative dates if ours are not convenient for them. We hope to hear from them within a week. Immediately thereafter, tentative assignments will be made and I will write you indicating where and when we will want each of your to serve in State Workshops. We are hoping to have our first workshop on February 17 and 18 and then to hold at least one each week thereafter so that we can complete this phase of program by mid-April and look to the next steps. I am also hoping that "next steps" for consultant services will be in a sense generated out of the valuable contributions that you make to the state affiliates that you serve.

You will find enclosed the following documents for your use:

1. Expense and Compensation Regulations
2. Travel and Expense Voucher
3. The second of Bob Johnson's Technical memoranda which I feel is most pertinent as background for your thinking as you plan for the workshops. The other will follow as soon as it can be mimeographed. These memoranda should be considered as confidential until you are advised to the contrary.

Other pertinent information will be made available about the situation in the state, agenda, etc. before your Workshop dates but I would caution you not to expect too much or lean too heavily upon these expected data. From your wide knowledge and experience, I think you will agree that the fundamental needs are pervasive and that they will probably differ more in degree and emphasis than in kind and quality from state to state. Bear in mind the concensus of the January 19th discussions that the major need of the state organizations in program development is expert knowledge of How? not Why? though expert knowledge of the letter is a valuable basis for effective guidance regarding the former.

I shall welcome any comments you may have from time to time or suggestions for program development which occur to you as you think about the various aspects of the cause we serve.

Memorandum

To: Directors of State SRC Organizations

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

RE: State Workshop Prospects

In my memorandum of January 3rd, I described our plans for State Workshops for Board members and staff in those states where it is actually left by the state affiliate and the central office that such a device would be workable and highly valuable in giving effective Program Assistance.

I shall appreciate your answering the attached list of questions at your earliest convenience and returning them to me so that we can put this service into operation at the earliest possible moment.

I realize that some of these questions will require communication with your Board members and that some of you will need more time than others. If some cannot reply with assurance by February 9th, do so as soon thereafter as possible. I know the full schedule that you are carrying and I certainly do not want to seem unreasonable in my requests. The only motive is to serve you as efficiently and promptly as is realistically feasible.

INFORMATION SHEET
for
State Workshop Scheduling

1. Does the Human Relations Council want such a State Workshop helpd for its Board and Staff? Yes____; No____; Uncertain____.

2. Can you arrange for such a one day workshop within the next two months? Yes____; No____.

3. If so, where should it be held?

_____

4. The best date for your workshop from our point of view is Saturday (all day). Is this date satisfactory? Yes ____: No____. If so, give your appraisal of the number of Board members we may expect____.

Please advise me whether this date is satisfactory at your earliest convenience — on or before Thursday, February 9th if at all possible. We hope to prepare a final schedule in Atlanta on Friday, February 10th so that we can advise the consultant teams by mid-February when and where their services will be required. Bear in mind that the success of this workshop depends upon your finding a date when virtually all of your Board can be present for a full day's session. Only financial limitations restrain us from making it a two day meeting.

5. If this date cannot be met, please suggest two alternative dates, one on a Saturday and one on some other day in the week (preferably but not necessarily Wednesday or Thursday) and indicate your estimate of the number of Board members who will attend.

What Saturday?_____ Number of Board

Members expected?_____

What other date?_____ Number of Board

Members expected?_____

Consultants

TO: GSA

FROM: RHA RHA

RE: Status of Training Program Account

Total amount available for Training Program		$ 10,800.00
John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program		
American Missionary Association for time given SRC	$1,000.00	
Consultant's Fees	1,085.00	
Travel and other expenses	399.64	
	$2,484.64	
Consultant's Workshop, Atlanta University, January 14, 1956		
Travel, Consultant's Fees and other expenses	962.79	
TOTAL SPENT TO DATE		3,447.43
Balance in Training Budget		$ 7,352.57

February 9, 1956

Cons. Sur. Program

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM February 9, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

To: GSM; HF; CHP; FR (copies-PA & GMA)
Consultants: Dr. Robert Johnson, Dr. Harry Walker
Host: Reverend John H. Marion, Executive Director, Virginia Council

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

Re: Virginia Workshop for Staff and Board

The first state Workshop will be held in Richmond on February 17 and 18, at the Central YMCA, First and Fourshe. Reverend Marion suggests that we meet at Virginia Council office (100 E. Franklin Street, Phone No. 3-8538) between 5 and 6 p.m. Friday, February 17th. We will go over to the YMCA where he has arranged for us to have dinner with his staff and Executive Committee. We will then go to the evening meeting of this group.

This meeting will be of an exploratory and stock-taking character. I consider the full attendance of participating central staff members and consultants at these Friday evening gatherings essential to the success of the Workshop and therefore suggest that all of us arrange to arrive in Richmond no later than 5 P M, Friday, February 17th. Unless you hear to the contrary, I suggest that you go directly to the Council office where Reverend Marion will advise you about your lodging arrangements.

It is my understanding that Hope, Parrish, and Routh from the central staff will definitely attend. Please advise me whether Fleming and Mitchell can attend.

Fred - - the Briefing statements should reach the consultants as soon as possible.

I can be in Atlanta Tuesday - Thursday (2/14-16).
Can you & Fred work with me on planning brief process for all state workshops, Agenda, and begin planning of Hard Core Conference, etc. ??
I also need to discuss the public relations aspects of these Workshops. Do we give "handout" on interview, or keep real quiet? We should anticipate possibilities & prepare.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Fred -- the Briefing statements should reach the consultants as soon as possible.

I can be in Atlanta Tuesday-Thursday (2/14-16). Can you + Harold work with me on developing briefing procedures, agenda, and begin planning of Hard Core Conference, etc.??

February 10, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear John:

Just received your latest memorandum (February 9) and I write you hastily to say that I will, for once, not be here when you come Tuesday to Thursday of next week. I am to be in New York on SRC business for precisely that period. I don't expect this to alter your plans for coming, but I thought you should know.

You asked about Central Staff attendance at the Virginia Workshop. I assume that Fred and C. H. Will represent us. Certainly the public relations of the workshops should be given careful consideration. My own notion would be that each state executive, with such lay advice as he may wish, should recommend the degree and nature of publicity or non-publicity that is advisable. In general, I should think the best thing to do in most cases would be to forego publicity, since the object is to get full and uninhibited participation by state board members. In places where the press is quite friendly, state staff might arrange for interviews or other types of stories based on the Consultants.

If you do come and I am not here, I hope you will discuss with Florence Irving the question of background briefing to be done for the Consultants by this office.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

February 10, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program.
SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hope:

Our Executive Committee met this morning and agreed that it would be very helpful to have you come to us for a one day work conference. We think the staff and as many board people as can arrange to attend will gain inspiration and a sense of direction for facing our situation in Mississippi.

In the meantime we are open to guidance from the Central Office as to the most practical approach to utilizing your services.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

RSL:epw

cc: Fred Routh

February 16, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Hope:

This letter will confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday and supplement the information passed along to you at that time. We are notifying members of our board of the work conference asking them to reserve the date. As soon as possible we would like information about who the consultants will be and thoughts you may have as to program.

Last Monday our Executive Committee discussed the matter of emphasis for the conference. The following topics were listed:

1. Solution of school problems and the economic development of Arkansas.
2. How to influence state officials toward real leadership responsibility.
3. How to reach people with facts.
4. How to make more responsible citizens vocal.
5. How to get action from school boards.

In addition to these, our conversation with George Mitchell leads us to believe that this would be an excellent opportunity to formulate a wise public policy statement for the state officals which might be called "The Arkansas Way."

I believe there was most enthusiasm for the first topic listed. Undoubtedly, business men are vulnerable at the point of profits. As Edwin Dunaway pointed out, Arkansas has a real opportunity to go ahead in the race among southern states toward industrialization. They can do so only if they exploit their present advantage in the matter of sane and calm approach to the school problems. You get the drift of the thinking. We are enclosing a copy of a letter in this morning's paper which indicates that we are not the only ones thinking in these terms.

I trust this will help you in your thinking and planning about the Arkansas work conference. We look forward to it with real hope.

Sincerely yours,

nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD, Executive Director

NRG:vwp
cc - Fred Routh

MEMO

March 1, 1956

TO: RHA

FROM: GSM

February 29 in conversation with John Hope, I told him this office would be responsible for providing for the consultants' program a further one-thousand dollars over and above sums heretofore agreed to to be made available to this program.

I suppose in a pinch we could provide this from this year's unused State balances.

Copies: GSA
JH

Dr. Lee Coleman,
Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Coleman,

In connection with the consultant program, Mr. Hope has requested that we send to you the following material:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

Encls.
GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope II.

MEMO

March 16, 1956

TO: STAFF

FROM: GSM

John Hope called. It appears that it will be many weeks before meetings for training can be held in North Carolina, Florida and Tennessee. Would it be well to invite the staffs from those States, plus the usual Chairmen and State Representatives, from those States, to the Hard Core meeting?

GSM said invite NC; and not the others. Cheaper to train Tennessee's consultants in Tennessee than here. Florida seems to me not yet Hard Core.

John Hope says he half forgot and half misunderstood my ruling that for getting to the Hard Core meeting, State staff people would have to have half their expenses borne be the State organizations. Whereupon, good old uncle, SRC, agrees to foot the bill for all their travel (which comes, John Hope hopes)to just about the thousand extra that SRC made available).

Asked John Hope to develop a conscience as prickly as mine about using SRC money.

Upshot: NC will be here. Others (except old-designated Hard Core ones, won't).

John Hope says now he is not going to pull in North Carolina on Hard Core.

M E M O

March 20, 1956

TO: FBR

FROM: GSM

The other day you gave me as John Hope's home telephone number CHapel 2-1025. I called that number March 19. Pleasant young lady said it was not Mr. Hope's telephone number. Checked to see if I had the correct number and I did so have. Race Relations outfit at Fisk looked up in Nashville telephone book and saw John Hope's home telephone number listed as CHapel 2-1025. Whereupon I expostulated.

First man that gets wind of a correct home phone number for John is asked to please signify.

Subsequently talked this over with John Hope. He says he has a party line. Thay may be it. Will investigate.

GSM

March 21, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I congratulate you on what you wrote. The hardest thing in the world is contriving such hunch-producing language. Admirably contrived.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:bf

RECEIVED MAR 2 1 1956

Race Relations Department

OF THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICES
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MEMORANDUM
FROM
JOHN HOPE, II

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

RE: Texas Workshop

DATE: 3/19/56.

I hope this is what you want. Obviously, appraisal is hazardous at this early date and particularly by one so closely involved.

Of one thing I'm certain -- we got down to cases and they seemed to accept what was said & like.

JH

GSM ✓
HCF ✓
FBR ✓
GSA ✓
CHP ✓
MET ✓
RHA ✓
JC ✓
FI ✓
~~AS~~
~~RH~~
~~B~~

Note: copies sent to JHH & CHP

Staff

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March 30, 1956

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

RECEIVED APR 4 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Inasmuch as the Southern Regional Council paid a portion of my expenses to attend the NAACP Social Scientists Consultants' meeting, I am, therefore, inclosing a brief report of this meeting for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

WMY/ww

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

March 30, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: George Mitchell
Guy H. Wells

From: Whitney M. Young, Consultant

RE: MEETING OF NAACP SOCIAL SCIENCE CONSULTANTS, NEW YORK, MARCH 3, 1956

The Committee of the Social Science Consultants for the NAACP met on March 3 at the Hotel Martinque. Inasmuch as there was a joint conference with the Society for Study of Social Problems and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues meeting at the same time, practically all the consultants were at the special closed committee meeting. Some of the top people in the social science field that have contributed much through their meetings, teachings, and research to this whole program of prejudice and discrimination were present. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Brooklyn College.

The agenca included (A) Statement of purpose and procedure; (B) Summary statements of status of public school desegregation; (C) Round table discussion - 1) what can school authorities accomplish even in a hostile community--to what extent can desegregation depend upon administrative decision - 2) for guidance in strategy, what are typical weaknesses in organized resistance to desegregation - 3) how can standardized tests be used to evade desegregation - 4) other questions; (D) Consideration and authorization of a brief statement for public release on the work of the Committee.

The first item on the agenda was covered rather quickly by the chairman stating that this committee's purpose was to provide the NAACP with the best thinking of social scientists as gathered from their research and experiences and to channel this information to the appropriate person in the organization.

The second item on the agenda as to present status of desegregation presented nothing new on the subject, and in fact, I was able to bring them even more up to date on the basis of information which Southern Regional Council had gathered.

Item C, which was supposed to have been the real meat of the meeting sort of bogged down on items one and two, but finally came out with the almost general concensus that while we would not ignore those so-called "hard core" states, greater emphasis would be placed on getting those states that seem to be moving to complete the job and in this way it was felt that efforts of the "hard core" states would be weakened. While I generally accepted this point of view, I indicated that SRC felt that it was important to recognize that the reverse is also true, i.e., if the "hard core" states were able to successfully and completely, without any difficulty, defy the Supreme Court's decision that it would give aid and comfort to the law defiant elements in the other so-called desegregated states.

There also seemed to be general concensus that more success could be obtained in getting the school authorities and administration officials to move if our attack was beamed at grass root organizations rather than the so-called power structure. There was some disagreement on this however, though Washington and St. Louis were cited as two cities that had successfully integrated through the education of the many clubs and organizations who in turn influenced the Board of Education and others in authority,

Item D related to the possible use of standardized tests to evade desegregation. It represented what I considered to be the most important thing that came out of the meeting and some thing which will be of great value to us here in the South on the local firing line. It was a report of a meeting attended by the top people in educational testing in the country where they met for the expressed purpose of discussing how the test which they administer might be misinterpreted and used to delay efforts in integration. Dr. Stuart Cook gave the report.

Dr. Cook indicated that the test would reveal an average grade level difference of two years between Negro and white students in the South, especially in the area of reading and arithmetic. He also indicated that attitude seruveys would reveal that the overwhelming majority of people would be in favor of maintaining the status quo. In neither case did he feel that this offered any scientific argument for the continuation of segregation. He further stated that there was ample research to prove the latter contnetion. At the committee meeting he attended, he said representatives from these various tests disciplines suggested that in order to avoid their findings being misinterpreted and misused it might be well if a pamphlet was compiled and given wide distribution interpreting the meaning of these various tests.

There was considerable discussion around this point and after I indicated our experiences here in Atlanta where Dr. Finley of Princeton University had been brought in to give these achievement tests, and our fear of how they might be used, the group felt that this brochure should be immediately compiled and distributed. Incidentally, Dr. Finley was in attendance at our meeting.

On many occasions, during the course of the meeting, where questions were raised as to what was happening and by whom, I had the opportunity of interpreting the program and efforts of the Southern Regional Council. Suprisingly, there were some few present who were unaware of the organization and the majority as might be expected was not completely aware of the great job which I feel we are doing.

I believe that my attendance at this meeting was highly significant and important, not only for what I was able to receive but from the standpoint of giving us representation and the opportunity of interpreting our program on a national level.

May 1, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

The Highlander people are hollering for the letter. The draft I sent you is bum. How about a speed-up of a better one?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 2, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I thought what I wrote to you was foggy, and I was surprised and in no wise prideful when you let so much of the foggy language stand.

I took a couple of sharp words out of your draft ("rash and presumptuous") and otherwise smoothed up a phrase or two. Here's the revised draft.

I have sent an original of it directed to Myles, and an original of it directed to Henry and Betty Shipherd, plus an extra copy for each. I do not know what the school will do for a statement on which they can base any news release. But I will let them worry about that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

5/15/56

GSM -

John Hope called with two messages for you:

① He poked Valien on the Jasper County matter + Valien is writing you.

② He thinks it would be wise for you to call Herman Long + tell him you are approaching Widenhouse - a question of relationships.

HCF

May 16, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

George Stoney makes movies. Good egg. Outfit is called Potomac Film Producers, Incorporated, at 1536 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., telephone NOrth 7-7094.

Bee in Stoney's bonnet about doing some kind of Southern movie. Stoney would do a honey if he did one. I told Stoney what you and C.H. are doing with consultants. Stoney says it sounds good. Says can Stoney have any reports available? I don't know what reports you have got, but it would be valuable and in no wise hurtful to let Stoney have anything that is revelatory of the methods of the Consultants' Services.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 16, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: JH

FROM: GSM

I got the message of May 15th. Thank you for talking to Preston Valien. Preston wrote me but I couldn't figure out how he wanted the information from Jasper shaped. So I called Fisk and got Herman Long who said he would talk to Preston and get Preston to call me. Which brings me to:

item 2 of your message. Herman and I discussed the matter of Weidenhouse, and I have sent Herman a copy of the letter to Weidenhouse, all sassy though it be.

eab/

May 17, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Some money review, as I want to nick you!

As of today here are Mrs. Alexander's figures on what balance remains to you. Observe that the hard core conference thousand has not yet been spent.

I have highly credible rumors by the grapevine that we will get some more money for your show, to keep it on at least for some months to come, and hopefully beyond that.

'Tis a principle of these things that projects get nicked for overhead. Specifically: general telephoning, bookkeeping, money-begging, and that lightly-resting finger of informed and assisting administrative care -- to speak with tact. How much to get nicked? Five per cent is little, more than ten is high. Considering the general need hereabouts I would like to nick your project a thousand (before it gets spent). Sure, call it "Injun Giver" -- that would be about right. But obviously the whole show has to live, and it has made some contribution to what your part has accomplished. So I red-ink off a thousand from the balance of $4,280 shown as of today. I hope you will find the project's life in no wise shortened or straitened thereby. But at all times the show can be argued with, and often into agreement with what ought to be done!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming

RE:

DATE: 5/23/56.

You will find attached the list of questions from Valien re: Jasper. I am relieved that these came to me unsolicited yesterday. George told me to send them to you and that you would get in touch with McCain.

I planted the "seed" of grant-in-aid, tactfully I hope, with Valien.

Have done all I know how to do about TCHR matter, am leaving for N.Y. & Cambridge tomorrow -- my fingers crossed!

Will see Murauchik in N.Y.

John

QUESTIONS RELEVANT
TO THE
JASPER, SOUTH CAROLINA SITUATION

It is desirable that as full an account as possible be made on the Jasper situation, but these are some special points which should be given attention.

1. What was the background of the protest incident, i.e., the keeping of children out of school? Had there been any other racial incidents within the past one or two years?

2. How did the protest incident take place? Had there been a recent approach to the school board? If so, what requests were made and what were the results? Was there an organized plan to keep the children out of school starting on a certain date?

3. Who are the leaders in the present protest? What are their occupations and what is their status in the community? Have there been other leaders before the present ones?

4. What are the goals of the protest?

5. What has been the reaction of the whites toward the protest? Are there any known white sympathizers? What has been the attitude of the press?

6. Are there any Negroes who are opposing the protest? Who are they, as to occupation and status in the community? What are their stated reasons?

7. What are the channels of communication between the whites and the Negro protesters?

8. How do the Negroes communicate with one another? Through mass meetings? Through small committee meetings? Is there any formal organization supporting the movement?

9. What temporary arrangements, if any, have been made for the children involved?

10. Has there been any pressure (economic or social) applied on Negroes or on whites since the beginning of the protest? If so, what form has it taken?

11. Has there been any outside help to the protest?

12. How long will the protest last? If it does not produce action, what will be the outcome?

Preston Valien
May, 1956

June 18, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF
FBR
DT
GSA
RHA

FROM: GSM

John Hope called June 15th. Can GSM be at Fisk July 11th? Answer - no. Can Fred come? Answer - yes, so far as GSM is concerned. SRC would be willing to pay Fred's fare to Nashville and back, but would expect FIRR to feed and sleep Fred free.

Hope is pressed for time and has a little trouble giving the Consultants' Services program as much time as he should. Now additionally he gets pressed for this or that service to Muravchik; and he can see looming up considerable policy consultations as to the labor movement in the current situation. What does SRC want him to do?

Answer - GSM distinguishes between John Hope as a research practitioner and as a policy brain. GSM sharply discourages John Hope's being a research participant, and pressingly encourages John Hope as policy consultant on labor things.

There is the possibility that if John Hope would get substantially used on fact-finding, some of the funds of that program could cover (HCF agreeing). But Hope agreed that he, Hope, ought not to be doing more than advising on method of research. I gave Hope every encouragement to feel free as an SRC person to advise the labor movement on policy at SRC expense.

Was pleased with Florida meeting.

Had finally had conversation with the Mayor of Nashville, who is not yet ready for effective use of consultants. However, His Honor did think that maybe before long Nashville would be ready to move.

eab/

June 29, 1956

Report circulated 6/29/56

Mr. John Hope
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Many thanks for report which is good, and which is woven into our quarterly report.

You are a main grow-point for SRC.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 1, 1956

Letter to John Hope (and Frank Loescher)
about proposed book on intergroupings.
letter dated 2-7-56

Filed under ~~John Hope~~ FFR - Frank Loescher

Frank Loescher

Tickler - July 1, 56

Jones
Hope

RECEIVED FEB 23 1956

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1956
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

February 7, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

The other day I was reading Dean and Rosen's book, A Manual of Intergroup Relations. I was struck again with the skimpiness of any illustration and example from these Southerns. Cornell and Chicago have poked into intergroupings. Nobody down here has. So nothing is in writing.

In the wondrous workings of fate you sit at the center of a network of about-to-be-written memos on intergroups in the South. Why don't you turn the memos into a bang-up book?

A little skill in the way you set up the form of the memos will write the bloomin' book for you.

How about it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

2/10/56

Dear George, Good idea.
No commitment from Fund.
Let's see what John puts on paper.
All the best
Frank

Sorry I couldn't stick around. Had a 6 pm dinner meeting of Commission on Race and Housing in New York. Sorry

RECEIVED FEB 23 1950

See if you can get Dean Lu Entire's interim report to Commission. The facts really make our patterns look like South Africa's.

July 3, 1956

Keep together unless John's answer
Geo

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Back in February I wrote you with the notion that you might so set your collecting of info. as to yield you a book on intergroupings in these Southerns. I kept a tickler to trail the idea. Alive or dead?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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JOHN HOPE II, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Rec'd 6/18/56

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

John Hope

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 17, 1956.

Dear Fred,

First let me repeat my personal appreciation and deep satisfaction for the excellent job you did in organizing and handling the SRC panel at the institute.

I am enclosing the appraisal form with many gaps. Some of the categories are completely omitted because without reading the monthly reports, I felt that judgments on these would not only have been subjective as in the case of the others but really unfair to the affiliates. Likewise, for the states that I have not visited, I doubt whether my guesses would have been even "reasoned guesses" and thus I refrained.

My appraisal of N.C. is probably questionable since it is based upon my short visit with the director.

Sincerely,

John

FLR

as of
8-22-56
mef

CONSULTANTS

in

CONSULTANTS SERVICE PROGRAM
(John Hope II)

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Asst Prof. of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

* Dr. A. Lee Coleman
Dept. of Sociology and Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dr. William Jones
Dept. of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dr. Lewis M. Killian
Dept. of Sociology
Fla. State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Dept. of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Preston Valien (Bonita)
Dept. of Sociology
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Harry J. Walker
Dept. of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

* Dr. G. D. Wilson
Dept. of Education
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
Atlanta University School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

* Consultant also for John Hope Program

Memorandum

8/29/56.

To: Dr. George Mitchell

From: John Hope, II

Re: Developments to date and anticipated programs for the fall, 1956

Since the initiation of the ~~Consumer~~ Consultants' Service Program with the Virginia State Board and Staff Workshop on February 17th, certain conclusions may be drawn. In the first place the idea is sound, it seems to have been successfully "sold" to the state affiliates, and the effectiveness of the panel of consultants has fully lived up to our expectations for them. By October 1st, consultant service programs workshops will have reached all state affiliates except North Carloina, Kentucky, and Tennessee and individual state board and staff two-day workshops will have been held in seven states, e. g., Virginia, Arkansas, Texas, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia. In three of these, South Carolina, ~~xx~~ Georgia, and Alabama, these sessions have been in addition to their participation in the hard core ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ conference of five deep South states -- Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana. Plans for such a workshop in Kentucky in early fall are in the making and internal problems of the North Carolina and Tennessee affiliates may account for their inability to use this service to date.

Despite the vigorous pro-segregationalist atmosphere of South Carolina, our April board and staff workshop in that state provided the impetus to board members which resulted in the scheduling of a community workshop by the Sumter, South Carolina unit of the South Carolina ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ Council during mid-summer.

Don't know outcome??

State Board ~~xxx~~ and Staff Workshops Since May, 1956

On June 10~~xx~~-12, 1956 a highly successful workshop was held by the Florida Council on Human Relations at ~~xxxx~~ Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida~~x~~ with eighteen people in attendance. A professional staff included John Hope, II, chairman, and ~~Dave~~ Fred R. Routh, as representative of SRC and Dr. A. ~~xxx~~ Lee Coleman, University of Kentucky, and Dr. Harold Walker, Howard University, serving as consultants. This

meeting was noteworthy for several reasons: first, the depth, penetration, and candor with which the specific problems of Florida were discussed; second, the place of the workshop on the beautiful campus of a small private white college in central Florida ~~this being the first mixed conference held at this college~~ and the partially successful attempt to obtain meals in a mixed group in a downtown restuarant; and third, the successful joining of the regular business meeting of the board and the workshop confined solely to the discussion of program without harm or confusion of the problems of organization and program. Because the Consultant Service Program is confined to assistance in the development of state program, not problems of finance and organization, assistance has previously been offered to the affiliates on condition that these workshops would be confined solely to problems of program and consequently the board members had to be convened at the expense of the state affiliates for an additional meeting over and above the regular business meetings of the board. During this period of rather limited funds, this specification has been a major obstacle for some states. By conducting a workshop of a day and a half (three sessions) confined to program followed by a business meeting of the board on the second day, it was found that the discussions successfully complemented each other and at the same time utilized the services of consultants fully on matters of program in which their maximum skills were applicable. This plan has been offered to the remaining states and will, no doubt, facilitate the scheduling of the remaining State Board and Staff Workshops.

Complete plans for the state workshops at Chapel Hill, North Carolina and Tuskegee, Alabama had to be cancelled a few days prior to the meeting dates because the number of board members who were able to attend was insufficient to warrant the expenditure. The canvas of board members by the directors in Alabama and Kentucky indicated that a large turn-out of board members would be impossible during the summer months but both are planning early fall workshops at times mutually satisfactory. A large attendance is promised at an Alabama Board and Staff Workshop to be held at Tuskegee

Institute on September 25th and 26th and a similar workshop will be held by the Kentucky Council as soon after as a mutually satisfactory date can be found.

The services of SRC consultants and three SRC central staff members are being provided to the Georgia Committee on Interracial Relations for a two-day conference to be held at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia on September 28th and 29th. Indicative of the flexibility with which the Consultants Service Program attempts to work and its desire to assist and facilitate the program of the state affiliates rather than to impose its program, may be seen in the fact that this conference is the culmination of several steps taken by the Georgia Committee in consultation with the assistant director for program and other SRC staff members over a period of several months. Unlike the State Board and Workshops sponsored by the Consultant Service Program, this conference is sponsored by the Georgia Committee and in addition to board and staff members, will include carefully selected local community leaders, white and colored, from many communities scattered over the state. Some thirty-five to forty persons are expected and of necessity the content of the program will differ from our workshops. Services of Georgia State consultants as well as SRC consultants will be utilized and through the joint planning of program details it is expected that the particular specialties as well as the overall compentencies of our consultants will be fully utilized.

Other Offerings of the Consultant Service Program

While our services are not confined to the boards of state affiliates (see my report of March 31, 1956, pp.3-4), primary attention has been given to this group to date because it was felt that maximum improvement in the Council program throughout the South could be achieved by beginning with the top echelon of liberal leadership represented in the boards and staffs of the several state affiliates and then moving progressively as rapidly as possible to the next level of leadership,

community leaders both within and outside of the local units of state SRC affiliates, thus providing the largest amount of transfer and acceleration of liberal ideas and action throughout the region. Thus, it is no accident that this program has been in a sense " underwraps" with no publicity given to its availability until July 21st, when the executive committee of SRC authorized the assistant director for program to prepare an article for New South which would describe the service and indicate its availability to the general public. If the level of acceptance of this service by community leadership inside and out of the SRC family is anywhere near the level of acceptance enjoyed from the state affiliates, we may anticipate a greatly increased demand for our services in the fall of 1956 and thereafter and will be seriously faced with the need for greater resources, both financial and manpower. However, it must be emphasized that this service is not imposed even upon SRC affiliates but must be "marketed," and that quite tactfully.

At the community level some of our major targets include the following:

(A) Local community units of state SRC affiliates
(B) Community human relations organizations not affiliated
(C) Local organizations or local units of regional and national organizations having broader interests one of which is intergroup relations, e.g. churches, labor unions, race organizations, etc.
(D) Government and quasi-government bodies or committees of such bodies specifically concerned with the implementation of the public school desegregation decision, e.g. school boards or study groups of school boards, PTA groups, teachers and other education officials, etc.

Despite limitations of resources and time, services have been rendered in some of these areas and cautious canvassing of prospects in some others. The request for a Negro consultant as a speaker at a dinner meeting at a down town Daytona Beach Hotel sponsored by the Daytona Beach unit of the Florida Council was successfully met with quite favorable reactions. The speech was well received and favorably reported in the daily press. The consultant spent a day thereafter in consultation with officials of this

organization. The services of another consultant were requested by the Tennessee Council to train and supervise a group of about five interviewers who conducted professional interviews with white and colored leaders in various phases of community life and public officials concerned directly or indirectly with the desegregation process in Nashville and other communities in middle Tennessee over a period of six months. The analysis and report of these interviews is to serve as a basis for action by the Tennessee Council. The services of a consultant as the speaker at the regular monthly meeting of the Birmingham unit of the Alabama Council was requested during June but could not be provided. Assistance will definitely be provided to the Birmingham group as soon as the best use of our resources there can be determined.

On July 12th a panel of six representatives of the Southern Regional Council conducted a four-hour seminar on the subject "Role of the Southern Regional Council in a Changing South" at the annual Race Relations Institute of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches at Fisk University. The membership of this Institute numbering about 125 persons is composed primarily of persons professionally involved in human relations problems of varied, race, religion, and national origin from all over the country many of whom are working in the South. The participants included the following: Fred Routh, chairman; Dr. C. H. Parrish; Miss Irene Osborne; Miss Florence Irving; Mrs. Bonita Valien; and John Hope, II.

While no direct request for consultant services has come from governmental bodies, the directors in at least three states where such a prospect is most imminent are canvassing this possibility and watching for an appropriate opening. I have conferred with the Mayor of Nashville who is also President of the Tennessee State Organization of Mayors. Efforts in this direction will be continued.

An intensive two or three day conference of all staff members of SRC and its affiliates in early or mid-fall is, in my opinion, a "must".

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY September 14, 1956

Mr. John Hope, II
Hotel Douglas
Newark, New Jersey

Dear John:

This was somewhat delayed but you should get it sometime Saturday, thus giving you some bedside reading for the weekend. Also the delay enables me to report that Fred and CH reviewed it in Mississippi and have approved it with some enthusiasm as you see it.

If you have any major thoughts, please communicate as soon as you can. Otherwise we will count on your being prepared to amplify your views as necessary at the Executive Committee meeting.

If any significant changes occur here, I will let you know.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo
Enc.

November 8, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I can see that you are entering into a period when budgets will be demanded of you.

Partially there will be questions as to how you will spend the roughly $15,500 that remains to the account of the consultants' service project from the 1956 New World Foundation grant. Partially there is the matter of figuring out how you would use say another $25,000 of New World Foundation money that we would try to get you for calendar '57.

To help your scratchings Mr. Alexander will send you soon an analysis of your past expenditures. I don't know how soon we will be calling on you for exact figures, but these things always come sooner than you expect, so please begin to figure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: GSA
HCF
RHA

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AVAILABILITY FOR SRC CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

1. Are your services available as consultant in SRC Consultant Service Program? Yes___; No___.

2. If so, during what periods of 1956? Answer (a), (b), or (c).

   (a.) January through December, 1956? Yes___; No___.

   (b.) January " " " excluding vacation period? Yes___; No___.

   Please indicate vacation period._____

   (c.) If not available for the entire year, indicate for the following periods (1956) whether you will definitely or probably be available, or not available:

	Available Definitely	Available Probably	Not Available
January thru March			
April " June			
July " September			
October " December			
Other single months or combinations: (List them)			
_____			
_____			
_____			

3. In general, during what part of the week can you accept consultant assignments in another city from yours?

   Any time in week, if planned in advance? Yes___; No___
   Week-end - Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday morning? Yes___; No___
   All of Saturday and Sunday morning? Yes___; No___
   Other days in the week (List them):_____

4. What week or weeks in the month are acceptable for assignments?

   Any week Yes___; No___
   First week (or beginning of month) Yes___; No___
   Second " Yes___; No___
   Third " Yes___; No___
   Fourth (or end of month) Yes___; No___

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5. Indicate any specific dates during 1956 that are now definitely filled or are customarily filled on which you could not take a consultant assignment, e.g., examination period, registration, professional or other meetings, etc._____

_____

_____

6. Do you have a car available for transportation to out-of-town assignments? Yes___; No___.

If not, do you have a driver's license? Yes____; No___ or, could you readily obtain one? Yes___; No___.

Would you be willing (and able) to use a rental car, if available, for such assignments? Yes___; No____.

Do you have any objection to travel by scheduled airlines for such purposes? Yes___; No___.
Trains? Yes___; No___.
Buses? Yes___; No___.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

January 8, 1957

To: The New World Foundation
From: The Southern Regional Council
Subject: Report on SRC's Consultant Service Program

The aim of this memo is to give a more comprehensive picture of SRC's Consultant Service Program. In previous reports to the New World Foundation, we dealt mainly with the "process" of the workshops held with our state affiliates' boards and staffs; here we seek to spell out the "content" of those sessions. This, along with our letters dated May 21st, September 10th, and November 20th, 1956, will provide an overall summary of our experiences with the program.

CONSULTANT SERVICES TO SRC STATE AFFILIATES

Each of the sessions described in this report followed a general pattern. (1) Early in the session a resource inventory was taken; this included resources in staff, in board membership, and in other key individuals and organizations in the area considered to be (as a minimum requirement) "for law and order." (2) The next step was to divide the listed resources into potential and active categories. (3) A problem census was taken, including the listing of resistance groups. (4) An attempt was made to relate particular resources to specific problems.

Stress was laid on the importance of developing local integrated councils to work on a variety of local problems such as health, sanitation, recreation, education, law enforcement, employment, etc., on a community-wide basis. Care must be taken, it was pointed out, that Negro members of such groups truly represent the Negro community and are not merely "window-dressing."

Each state group was warned against political activity as a tax-exempt organization; it being recognized, however, that board and general members could be politically active as individuals.

Two of our state affiliates, Kentucky and Tennessee, started operations using a consultant staff plan of their own. Since the development of SRC's Consultant Service Program, the idea and practice have been adopted by four more states - Alabama, Georgia, Texas and Virginia - testimony, we believe, to the effectiveness of the program.

INDIVIDUAL SESSIONS:

Virginia: The consultant session with the Virginia Council on Human Relations took place on February 17 and 18, 1956, shortly after the passage of the Grey Amendment. Those attending felt depressed because the organization had been unable (due to its tax-exempt status) to take an active part in the political fight which had raged across the Old Dominion. The two basic questions asked were: (1) What can we do that is effective, other than political activity, at this time; and (2) What can be done by a volunteer group when the power of the state government is being used to maintain segregation?

The consultants suggested that intensified effort to move some "soft spots" toward desegregation would prove fruitful. The group listed communities which had previously announced plans for desegregation and others which seemed inclined to accept it, such as Arlington, Charlottesville, Hampton, Norfolk, Richmond, and Waynesboro. Since the workshop, "locals" have been

formed or strengthened in most of these key communities. The Charlottesville Council made national headlines when it brought Louisville School Superintendent Charmichael to the community and again when John Kasper (later of Clinton infamy) sought unsuccessfully to disrupt a meeting.

Arkansas: The work conference was held March 9 and 10, at a Methodist camp outside Little Rock. Hoxie, Arkansas, with the aid of our state affiliate, had successfully weathered opposition to school desegregation, but no further communities were moving toward desegregation of their schools. Arkansas is predominently a rural and agricultural state. Thus, a real problem is how to proceed in rural areas where there isn't regular community organization structure.

The consultant team suggested several approaches, among which were: (1) working with such groups as do reach rural people, e.g., church groups, the Grange, PTA's, teachers associations; (2) working out from county seats; (3) picking for concerted effort key areas which are pace-setters for surrounding areas; (4) picking strong personalities who influence others in rural areas; (5) getting news releases to all rural weeklies; (6) concentrating effort in Little Rock to move the entire state; (7) raising with appropriate state authorities the question of what effect defiance was having on incoming industry.

The Arkansas Council, which has an unusually good Board and able staff, had been doing many of these things, but some Board members who had been inclined to "let George (George being the staff) do it" agreed to take a more active role themselves. A committee visited the Industrial Development Commission and the Chairman of the IDC, Winthrop Rockefeller, later publicly warned that prosegregation activities would jeopardize the state's industrialization.

Texas: The Lone Star State is almost an empire of itself. In recent years it has been facing more and more to the West, but the Old South still tugs at it - particularly in East Texas. The main problems confronting the state organization are covering so vast an area and planning a sufficiently varied program for a state with such great diversification of racial attitudes and practices.

At the meeting March 16 and 17, the consultants suggested (1) using the "locals" which existed as information gathering centers for the central office at Austin and as disseminating centers for information from Austin. This provides a two-way pipe line into key communities and provides information on which to base program planning. Further, it was suggested that programs be planned around these "locals," each seeking to move ahead as rapidly as possible. It was also suggested that special effort go into the soft spots to attain as much integration as rapidly as possible.

As a result of the recognized need for staff assistance to each of these local groups, the Texas Commission has adopted a consultant plan, making use in each of these communities of professionals who work on a per-diem basis, with the Executive Director serving as coordinator.

Hard Core Conference: This was a sub-regional meeting held March 23-24th in Atlanta for board members and staff from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The bringing together of these people so that each knew he was not alone, that others shared his problems, was of great value in itself. There were both general sessions and individual state sessions.

Generally it was recognized that one of the chief problems in the Hard Core Area is keeping open the lines of communication between whites and Negroes. Small, informal, integrated groups were suggested as a help in this direction. It was also suggested (and this has since been put into practice)

that workshops should be quietly held with "locals." The problem of maintaining law and order was also heavily stressed by consultants and much discussion was devoted to the mobilization of the "moderates" to this end. The problem of documenting and counteracting reprisals against whites and Negroes who favor, or are purported to favor integration, led to various suggestions for getting their story out through the national media.

South Carolina: This is one of the five hard-core states which are in open defiance of the Supreme Court decision. When they met on April 25-26, the board and staff of the state group had a sense of frustration, for it seemed impossible to work directly on the problem of school desegregation.

The consultant team quickly recognized the need for a more elemental program aimed at mobilizing public opinion for the defense of the basic rights of freedom of speech, association, and assembly. After considerable round-table discussion it was decided: (1) that special effort should be made to document incidents of economic and social reprisal against Negroes and whites who favor compliance; (2) to get the story of these reprisals out to the national press through SRC (this has been done with considerable success); (3) that considerable attention should be given to work with church and civic groups and newspapers to support law and order, for it was recognized that without this support no progress was possible; and (4) that with the cooperation of SRC an attempt would be made to relocate the new class of "D.P.'s" - displaced parsons. (We have since played a modest part in assisting several such "D.P.'s.")

Florida: This meeting was held on June 11 and 12 at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, shortly after the Democratic primary in which a retired general from the Florida National Guard had campaigned for the governorship on the single plank of white supremacy. Though he lost, things were not all orange blossoms in the "Sunshine State," for a special session of the state

legislature to consider means of preserving "our way" of public education was in the offing.

The Florida Council's Board is sophisticated and the integrated staff works well as a team. After deliberation with the consultants it was decided: (1) that special effort should be made to reach friendly elements in the major dailies of the state to have them editorially urge preservation of law and order and, where possible, compliance with the decision; (2) to undertake renewed and concerted effort with "locals" to keep open the lines of communication between the racial groups; (3) to help develop local interracial groups which would work to relieve tensions but which might not - or might not care to - formally affiliate with SRC; (4) to prepare for a joint meeting of all agencies in the state concerned with human relations. (This has been done with considerable success and the Florida Council continues to play a coordinating role.)

Alabama: This is a hard core state, but one with some liberal influences at work in several areas, notably TVA in the Tri-City area (Florence, Sheffield, and Tuscumbia) and the coastal influence of the deep sea port of Mobile. Alabama was also the site of the Montgomery bus protest, which was peaceful, and the Miss Lucy affair, which was not.

At the session with Consultants on September 25 and 26, considerable time was spent discussing means of preserving law and order and winning recognition for national public policy. A careful analysis of how law broke down in Tuscaloosa during the Miss Lucy affair was undertaken and plans were made to work with the ministerial association in that town to prevent similar disturbances when the next Negroes apply for admission. (This is in progress.) Differing roles of Board members were discussed. These were identified as (1) safe roles - white church women, retired white ministers, Negroes who were independent of the white community; it was recognized that

these people were more free to act and take public stands than most; (2) one-shot roles - the use of a person from out of town who could say things that needed to be said but which no local person felt safe in saying; (3) continuing role - the use of a person over a period of time in a given area calling for more discretion and sophistication than the "one-shot" role, etc.

Georgia: For a more complete picture of what happens at one of these Consultant Service Program workshops, we attach a copy of the rough summary of this conference, prepared by the conferees themselves.

Kentucky: The Bluegrass State is moving rapidly ahead with desegregation; indeed, the state board of education reported this fall that 84% of the school systems were in the process of integrating their schools. The Kentucky Council therefore is turning toward problems of teacher integration and non-discriminatory employment practices. The state group itself makes use of consultants in its community relations work.

The SRC consultants met on November 17-18-19 with the Kentucky Board members, Executive Director, and state consultants. Some time was spent defining the role of consultants as professional advisers, rather than as "advocates." There was general concensus that advocacy should be left to the Board, the Executive Committee, and the Executive Director. The problem of opportunities for professional training for Negroes was next on the agenda. (As a result of this, a survey of nurse training facilities done by the Kentucky Council has received wide newspaper coverage.) The Kentucky Council is now surveying employment practices by industries in Kentucky. They are cooperating with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

BROADER APPLICATIONS OF CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

As part of the expanded activities of the Consultant Service Program, three special consultant services have been undertaken. The first two should be regarded as confidential. More such strategic consultative

approaches are anticipated.

Montgomery, Alabama. Just prior to the issuance by the Federal District Court of the bus desegregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, Emory Via (SRC's labor consultant) and Fred Routh (Assistant Director) went to Montgomery. There they conferred with local white and Negro leadership to ascertain what preparations were being made for the peaceful acceptance of the order. A second purpose of the visit was to stimulate thinking and action on the part of these leaders to prepare the community for the order. Among those conferred with were Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, and E. D. Nixon of the Montgomery Improvement Association; Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery Advertiser; Rev. Thomas Thrasher, key white minister; E. C. Pippen, AFL-CIO labor leader; Dr. James Pierce and Dr. Council Trenholm, (President) of Alabama State College.

This service helped bolster the plans of local leaders to prepare the public for peaceful acceptance of the Court order. It also helped SRC's Information Service prepare the background story on the Montgomery bus protest movement which was widely distributed to Southern newspaper editors just prior to the implementation of the decisions.

Nashville, Tennessee: John Hope II, G. H. Parrish, and Fred Routh attended an "off-the-record" meeting with some key leaders of the Nashville area to assist them in their thinking on how to move the Nashville Conference (a local interracial group of influential people who identify themselves as "moderates") ahead more rapidly. There was also the question of supporting the governor in his previous stand of opposing all pro-segregationist attempts to influence public opinion in the state. Committees from two influential non-SRC groups have since called on the governor. When the legislature convened, members found a letter from the Tennessee Council of Churches on their desks asking them to act in moderation and Christian

humility.

Davidson College, N.C.: Fred Routh attended the sessions of the USCC - United Student Christian Council at Davidson on December 28-29 as a consultant and as leader of the section on race relations on the campus. Some 350 students from across the South met on an interracial basis to consider "Our United Campus Witness." The sessions in race relations were well attended and well received. Great concern was manifested by students over the dichotomy between their position and that of their parents. This was a first step toward communication and concerted planning among college student groups in the South.

FBR:mm

C O P Y FILE COPY

Memo to Harold Fleming
From: C. H. Parrish
Re.: SRC Consultant Program

Our conversation some days ago concerning the SRC consultant program prompts me to comment briefly on what I conceive to be its rationale.

At the risk of underlining the obvious, mention should be made of the superordinate-subordinate character of the relations between whites and Negroes in the United States. In the South this relationship has been crystallized by law. However, in other parts of the country where there are few discriminatory laws, the prescribed behavior patterns are generally recognized and observed. Segregation by statute (as pointed out in The Strange Career of Jim Crow) is of relatively recent origin but the status relationship itself goes back to the early Colonial period. It is small wonder that people brought up to accept the traditional pattern should find it difficult to reorder their relations in terms of equality.

The old committees on interracial cooperation never succeeded in making the shift in approach that would challenge directly a relationship that had for so long been taken for granted. SRC has struggled manfully with this problem and some progress has been made but among many of the state groups the old attitudes persist.

Because of its heritage and its essential nature SRC has relied heavily upon the "appeal to conscience" and the morale-building effect of the high class reporting of the "happy Story" through the pages of New South. There has been no real opportunity to provide people on the field with the specialized "know-how" so urgently demanded for dealing with concrete problems at the local level. And not always has the distinction between advocacy and professional service been sufficiently clear.

Another facet of SRC's problem is the difficulty of securing the services of qualified Negroes for top level, full-time staff positions. Whatever the reasons for it may be, the lack of Negro personnel in responsible regional jobs has hampered the Council's efforts to operate as an integrated agency. It is easier to teach by example than by precept.

The consultant program is a partial answer to all of these problems. With deliberate intent the consultant group has been overbalanced a little in favor of Negroes. Thus the status relationship is attacked by indirection by presenting the Negro expert in a unique relationship of equality with his white colleagues.

In their contacts with state boards and staffs the consultants act on the assumption that the people attending such an institute do not need conviction on the basic matter of desegregation but rather want advice on the best social techniques for achieving their goal. This has the wholesome effect of diverting attention from unproductive disputations at the ideological level to concrete problems of implementation.

As is true of most operations of this sort there is no adequate statistical measurement available of the results of the consultant service. However, those of us who have been intimately associated with it are convinced of its crucial importance. The initial involvement and continued interest of the consultants themselves constitutes an increasingly valuable asset to SRC and the whole South. Because of the consultants there has been more attention paid to the "soft spots" thus through concentrated efforts making more efficient use of limited resources. There is a clearer understanding of what needs to be done and more willing acceptance of responsibility for doing it. There have been several instances reported of individual consultants being called back to communities for specific jobs. This perhaps is the real test of worth.

January 31, 1957

Mr. J. H. Hope
1808 Morena Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Here is the report of expenditures of funds for the Consultant Service Program under the grant from the New World Foundation.

Copies have been sent to Burton Eagle and Katherine Taylor. This one is for your files.

Note the slight change in Consultant travel costs - due to some U-Drive-It bills which just came in for you and C.H. on Consultant activities.

My best, in haste,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

7BR

Consultant Service Program

EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS — CONSULTANT PROGRAM

Grant from New World Foundation (1956)			$17,000.00
Expenditures:			
Administrative Costs:			
*SRC Overhead Charge 10%	$1,700.00		
Direct Supervisory Services	$3,380.00		
Communications (Estimate)	$ 324.37		
Sub-total		$5,404.37	
Consultants' Costs:			
Fees Paid for Cons. Serv.	$3,395.00		
Consultant Serv. Travel	$3,049.61		
Sub-total		$6,444.61	
Reserve:			
*State Staff-Cons. Conf.	$2,500.00		
*Consultant Workshop	$2,500.00		
Sub-total		$5,000.00	
Total Expenditures and Reserves			$16,848.98
Balance 1/31/57			$151.02

* See explanatory notes on attached sheet.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

"SRC over-head charge of 10%." This is the percentage allocation for overhead which the Council customarily charges against the budgets of special projects. In one way or another, all of the resources of the organization are involved in the planning and implementation of the consultant program. SRC's Administrative Assistant handled much of the paper work and routine administrative tasks for the project here at the Central Office in Atlanta (Mr. Hope's headquarters are in Nashville). The Research Assistant spent considerable time pulling together and editing pertinent background about each state which consultants were to visit. This material, distributed in advance, saved as much as half-a-day's time usually needed for on-the-spot orientation and briefing of consultants. All of the professional staff have spent considerable time working with Mr. Hope in planning and evaluating each of the activities. Included in the overhead allocation, of course, are such routine costs as secretarial help, mimeographing services, use of office facilities and local phone calls.

"Held in Reserve." Both of the items listed under this section were planned for execution late in the last calendar year but had to be postponed because SRC was in the process of important change. Dr. Mitchell had retired as Executive Director and Harold Fleming had been chosen his successor. The Council began to rethink its own program focus in terms of greater centralized and regional emphasis. Until the new administration and emphasis had "shaken down" a bit, we felt it wise to postpone these two crucial meetings.

"State Staff-Consultant Conference." This is the last year SRC's state affiliates will receive aid under the grant from the Fund For the Republic. We hope, during this last year, to give them a real push toward self-sufficiency in program planning, development and execution; and in fund raising ability. Careful

consideration has been given to this task. The most important step, we believe, will be taken in bringing their professional staffs together to talk through their problems with a battery of our best consultants. We have also obtained from the American Friends Service Committee the offer of services, on a gratis basis (except for travel), of a fund raising expert. Chief emphasis, however, will be placed on further developing a program worthy of local support.

"Consultant Workshop." It has been almost eighteen months since we last drew together all of SRC's consultants. There is a real need now to bring them together to evaluate the program as it has developed, to examine where we are, and to plan where we are going. There is an increasing demand for consultant services from other agencies and from community leadership. We must enlarge both the number of consultants and the range of specialties represented to meet these demands. New consultants must be orientated in our approach and methods. As more and more Southern communities meet the stress of social transition, the availability and ability of such consultants may well determine the course these communities follow.

February 5, 1957

Mr. John Hope
Race Relations Dept.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

While we never sent you a formal thank you note after our Consultants Workshop in November I want to say again that we very much appreciated your help. I think you played an extremely difficult role in our meeting but you did it with great skill and made a substantial contribution.

In response to your request for a Superintendent I would suggest Dr. Turpin of the Fayette County schools. I think they have done more than any other system including Louisville. Lee Coleman has worked closely with the Fayette County schools, particularly those located in Lexington. If you haven't asked Lee about this, then one of us should. Lee would probably be more effective but I judge you want a superintendent. We will soon have a four page report by lee on what the County system has done. Mr. John M. Ridgway, the Lexington Superintendent might also be good, but they haven't done as much. Best bet is Dr. N.C. Turpen, but lets contact Coleman first.

For a minister you couldn't do better than Rev. C. Sumpter Logan (Presby) and Rev. Ted Braun (Evangelical and Reformed). Logan was the leader at Henderson but Braun is a very effective speaker, whom I got to know at the recent FOR meeting in Atlanta. Both can be addressed at their churches. Lewis S.C. Smythe of the College of the Bible in Lexington (Disciples of Christ) and KCHR Board member Rev. Olof Anderson (Presby) would be good. Anderson's address is, 4213 Church Way, St. Matthews, Ky.(Louisville suburb).

I hope this is what you want. Let me know if I should contact Lee Coleman. Tell me of other ways I can help.

Sincerely,

Galen Martin

cc: Routh
Fleming

JH II

For your information.

P.S. I understand from C.H. that we are meeting 3/15-16 rather than 3/11-12. O.K.!

February 20, 1957

Mr. Harry S. Jones,
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council
on Human Relations
Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

I have just returned to Nashville and wish to hasten to congratulate you on a job well done in making the plans for the North Carolina board and staff workshop. You brought together not only a large but a rather diversified group despite the adversities of bad weather. As always, I had the feeling that there were many important things that we did not get a chance to discuss thoroughly. However, I hope that it was successful in stimulating, prodding, and positively challenging your board group and visitors to more positive support of your program and a more active role in their respective communities. You have done an effective job in strengthening and broadening your board membership since we last talked in Charleston last spring. I was further encouraged by the meeting at High Point on the following Tuesday. I spent sometime that evening in further conversations with John Alexander and the following morning with Mayes Behrman and left with the feeling that there were many points at which your respective programs might effectively complement each other and thus through the type of co-operation and co-ordination discussed at this meeting that some significant tangible goals might be achieved in the next several months. For instance, through your valuable connections with business interests in Charlotte and the skills and resources which Mayes has in the field of merit employment, significant "breakthroughs" in merit employment in the metropolitan area of Charlotte are possible. I suggested to Mayes that it is possible that

the consultant service program might be of assistance at some point in the merit employment field. I further suggested that he talk with you further on basis of our discussions.

Back to the workshop, I would appreciate your giving me some summary information for our files. I would like to have the names, positions or occupations, and addresses of all persons who attended the workshop whether they attended on Friday evening or Saturday with a designation as to whether they were board members or visitors. It would also be very helpful to us in future planning if you could indicate as far as you know organizational connections of significance to our interest which are held by the various participants in their cities or in the state whether in educational, business or service, civic, professional, or religious organizations. For instance, it was very valuable for me to know that Mr. Clark was a member of the school board and that Mrs. Holiday was an official of the PTA and I am sure that there are many other connections of value to us represented in this excellent group of people.

It will also be helpful to me for purposes of reporting our developments to the foundation and for improving our services in the future if you would indicate to me what, if anything, of value to your program was derived from the workshop, give me any criticisms and suggestions which you have on basis of observing the workshop in action (please be quite candid), and indicate next steps, if any, which you think the consultant service may take to be of assistance to you and to the general situation in North Carolina.

Again, thanks for your co-operation and feel free to call on us when you feel that we can be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

John Hope II, Chief Consultant
Consultant Service Program

JH:RTF

P.S. Please make original and three copies of this statement for me so that I can pass some on to the Atlanta office.

~~State Louisiana~~
Consultant
Service
Program

March 11, 1957

Air Mail - Special Delivery

Mr. J. H. Hope II
1808 Moreno Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Enclosed is a letter from Milton Vigo of the Louisiana Council inquiring about your services.

You will recall that I sent you a copy of Harold's letter placing the Louisiana Council on provisional status. One of the stipulations for the Louisiana Council was that the state administrative committee hold a work session with you and the consultants.

Would you please indicate to Milton when we can meet in New Orleans, taking into account, of course, that provisional status extends to May 1 and the work session should be held prior to that time.

See you soon.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL SRC CONSULTANTS April 8, 1957
FROM: JOHN HOPE II, Chief Consultant

The main purpose of this memo is to ask you to mark the dates May 10 and 11 on your calendar. We want to convene all consultants who have been involved in our Consultant Service Program in the past year for a meeting in Atlanta on these dates. The purpose is to appraise our past and plan our future program. The effectiveness of your important contribution to the effort is apparent in many ways but one of the most obvious of these is the fact that a Foundation has seen fit to underwrite this phase of the SRC program for another year. Thus, we are "in business" with greater opportunities before us and at the same time more of a challenge to our ingenuity, training, technical skill and "horse sense" to find the best ways of using this apparently effective tool for the best interest of the South and the nation during this crucial transitional period.

Please hold these dates open for us. I will advise you further about the specific plans for this meeting in the near future. It will probably begin with dinner at 6:00 p.m. May 10 and end the next day (Saturday) about 4:00.

In the meanwhile, if you have suggestions or criticisms that might be helpful to us in planning this conference, they will be gratefully received.

Finally you will be interested to know that we hope to give greater emphasis to servicing local communities in the coming year and assisting within the limits of budget organizations and groups unaffiliated with SRC as well as our affiliates on the basis of need and the prospect of improving and enriching their contribution to the objectives which we seek. This may necessitate the broadening of our consultant panel both as to number and range of training and experience. To this end, I will welcome your suggestions of the names (address and brief statement of qualifications, etc.) of persons who are qualified by training, temperament, and interest to serve as consultants. These may include persons with the more specialized skills pertinent to particular problem areas as well as those with the broader qualifications for general consultative purposes such as our present panel demonstrates, e.g., professional educators; persons trained and experienced in religion but with training and/or experience in the area of community organization and social action; industrial and labor relations persons; functionaries in and students with training and experience in dealing with law enforcement, municipal administration, school boards and administrators, etc. However, I must emphasize that this request does not imply resources for major expansion of our services but rather the somewhat selfish interest in adding a few of the very best persons available to fit the needs of our service while compiling a much larger list from which we may comfortable suggest competent persons to others seeking consultant services, some of which are outside of the scope of our program. Such requests are on the increase and any contributions that can be made toward furnishing qualified technical resources to points of need is itself an important service at this time.

Please advise me promptly whether you are free to attend this meeting on May 10th and 11th.

Consultant Service Bro.

April 30, 1957

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John,

What material or information is already available on this Summer's Institute? I've discussed with Ben the idea of getting labor participation and think it a good one. We would like to get out a letter immediately. If printed matter is available, then about fifty (50) copies would serve as a starter for me.

If nothing is in print, then I would like such information as you now have about program participants, costs, exact dates, program schedules and whatever else you feel is pertinent.

For the labor groups, we were thinking of covering such topics as the background of resistance groups; activities of pro-segregation groups, how to counteract the resisters, educational programs in Southern unions, resources available to union staff persons, and the use of racial issues against unions. Comments from you are welcome.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via,
Labor Consultant

EFV:cj

May 9, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
1908 Morena Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

I think it would be helpful if you would prepare a memorandum for distribution to our state staff when they come together May 21-22. The purpose of the memo would be to put down in writing our ideas of the expanded consultant program. It could detail some of the possible uses of consultants in this new phase of program development. It could also contain the types of opportunities we particularly seek.

Nothing too elaborate. Certainly no longer than Myrdal's An American Dilemma.

Best regards.

Your buddy,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

EAB —

Copy (tomorrow)
to John Hope.

Vernon Eagle letter(dtd 5/13/57)
reporting on activities
of Consultant Service
Program mailed 5/14/57
EAB

COPY TO ALL STATE DIRECTORS, INCLUDING TENN. & MISS., 6-6-57

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 23, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES AND CONSULTANTS

FROM: JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT, CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUBJECT: THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM -- PURPOSE, REQUISITES FOR EFFECTIVENESS, AND SCOPE

The major purpose of the Consultant Service Program (CSP) is to provide technical assistance in program development to SRC affiliates and other groups whose objectives are similar or compatible with those of SRC, e.g., the elimination of segregation and discrimination based upon race in the Southern economy. It seeks to provide professional guidance on how to achieve democratic race relations; not persuasive advocates to foster and promote acceptance of the principle. Effective implementation of the policy, not its establishment, is emphasized.

Such assistance is provided by a panel of consultants highly qualified by formal training, experience, and temperament, who are available on a part-time basis to organizations, community groups, official bodies concerned with and/or committed to the desegregation process. Initially, the service was confined primarily to the SRC state affiliates as an SRC service without cost to them, though it was available to outside groups on a cost or partial cost basis. From the start, this restriction in scope of service was simply based upon limitations of resources and the recognition of a priority to members of the SRC family. But the operations of the first few months clearly demonstrated a broader need for such aid to unaffiliated local groups and official bodies if the common aims of these and SRC affiliates were to be achieved expeditiously and efficiently.

Foundation aid was sought and obtained which now allows us to provide technical assistance to non-SRC as well as SRC affiliated local as well as state or regional groups on basis of need and their ability to effectively use such resources either without cost or on basis of their ability to pay for it. This, it is believed, has greatly extended the range of potential availability of technical assistance in program development, community organization, etc. to groups fostering the goals and spirit of the Desegregation Decision in the South and has further increased the flexibility and efficiency with which these professional talents can be allocated so as to gain maximum positive results for the region as a whole.

On the other hand, it places a heavier burden upon SRC and state affiliate staff members to publicize the CSP and in a sense "selling" the services to potential users. Figuratively speaking, the writer and, indeed, the SRC as a whole, is a broker whose function is to bring together in the most effective way those groups or key individuals who have need for such professional services and those who possess the talents required but are not organizationally situated so as to focus them where they can be most fruitful in gaining SRC objectives. Since the resources of the CSP are limited, all requests for assistance cannot be accepted however deserving they might be. Rather, our role appears to be that of choosing from the requests submitted those which appear to be most promising and most likely to be multiplying and accelerating in their impact upon the productivity and sophistication of leadership, those which will not only render needed high level scarce services to groups involved in our cause but may activate and encourage other groups to similarly employ and finance such skills. Ours is the task of complementing and supplementing existing (and sometimes dormant) resources in the community, not competing with them; of providing the additional element that may motivate liberal groups to constructive action and prevent frustrating inertia in the face of complex and discouraging obstacles; of supporting the dedicated and effective volunteer layman with limited technical skill and advice at the time and point of need and getting out of his way when he is ready to move forward unaided,with skill, understanding, and courage.

But the function of administration of the CSP goes far beyond mere brokerage of a given service. The service itself though requiring a definite level and type of formal training as social scientists or practitioners, must be subtly and deftly tailored to the individual needs of each group and frequently is not separable from a particular consultant. Such a person through temperament, personality, or experience may give as a part of his total professional contribution a unique element (or spark) that gives his service a plus value in particular situations -- and, indeed, may conceivably provide a negative one in others.

Consequently, if the CSP is to be equal to the varied types of present demands and ready to meet new ones as they arise, the panel must be varied enough in its composition to provide maximum flexibility without

loss of the basic common qualifications necessary for overall efficiency. On the other hand, if lofty standards are to be maintained, the consultants should receive frequent enough assignments to motivate their continuous awareness and study of new developments in the Southern situation and periodic re-evaluation of the situation as scholars. Thus, in terms of present limits of resources and consultation opportunities, very real restrictions on panel size are necessary, while pressure for overall competence and flexibility seem to increase as the demands move closer to the specific friction points, e.g., the local community with a pending court order, the school board, the park commission, etc. Under these conditions, the consultant is challenged to give rather specific suggestions to fit the particular conditions, advise as to whether particular plans or strategies seem sound or not.

Therefore, effective administration of the CSP, in addition to bringing consultant and consultee together, depends upon the extent to which the composition of the panel includes and the program utilizes the blend of specialties and high professional qualifications needed to meet varied demands; the extent to which the individual consultants are able to accept assignments when requested; the amount and quality of their preparation for assignments, and the support given by SRC research and information facilities.

A clear distinction should be made between efforts aimed at gaining adherents and achieving acceptance of the <u>principle</u> of equality and the <u>policy</u> of desegregation and integration, and those directed to the application of these principles and policies with maximum speed and efficiency and a minimum of overt conflict. Both of these are necessary and should be pursued by staffs of all state affiliates but the emphasis given to each will vary from state to state at a given time and in each state from time to time. It is imperative that the director always have clearly in mind which of these aims he seeks, or the relative significance of each, in every project developed -- policy acceptance or effective implementation of policy in specific program areas chosen to fit the needs of a particular community -- because the best techniques for achieving these respective goals are not necessarily the same.

The primary field of operation and usefulness of the CSP is the latter -- implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. Its major sphere of operation is among organizations and strategically placed individual community leaders who have accepted in principle, at least, the Desegregation Decision and those who, without regard to their personal attitude, are by their positions impelled to seek its

implementation (or to maintain order and avoid illegal opposition) -- willingly or unwillingly. The CSP should prepare to assist those who are working for implementation whether through personal conviction, organizational involvement and consequent implicit acceptance of group discipline, or administrative responsibility to implement laws, court orders, etc. applied to their employer.

Its prime target is thus leadership, not rank-and-file membership; those in a position to motivate, multiply, and accelerate affirmative action, not followers. Therefore, efforts at "selling" the CSP should be aimed at leadership groups who for some reason are ready to at least consider action. This is where the state and SRC staffs should cooperate as broker. The success of this operation requires rifle shot, not shotgun, methods of promotion; careful choice of persons or groups who can most profitably use consultant service; and specific promotional efforts, mainly personal, aimed at encouraging them to seek such help. Mimeographed general mailings are not likely to be effective and may alert the opposition thus generating counteractive efforts which may unnecessarily cause the diversion of some of our efforts to defensive channels.

The following are some of the organizational frameworks through which, it is felt, the CSP can be effective in the next two or three year period which may be used as a basis for determining where it can be useful in strengthening and broadening program:

I. SRC state affiliates and their local units, with emphasis upon more promising local community situations. (Utilize the assistance and other organizational contacts and associations of board members in developing opportunities.)

II. Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies insofar as they are promoting activities with goals similar to ours, including purely local groups and local units of national, regional, or state organizations.

A. Religious groups, e.g., United Church Women, Council of Jewish Women and other Jewish groups, the Catholic Interracial Committee, the organizations of various religious denominations and/or their subordinate agencies and commissions concerned with our cause; local inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc.

B. Civic Organizations, e.g., League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, PTAs, etc.

C. Professional Organizations, e.g., organization of social workers, nurses, etc.; Council of Social Agencies; etc.

D. Organizations of Economic groups.

1. Labor Unions.

2. Business and Industrial Organizations and Service Clubs, e.g., Chambers of Commerce (Sr. and Jr.), Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, and other such clubs.

III. Official governmental bodies concerned with problems of desegregation and the elimination of discrimination.

A. Departments and/or Boards of Education (local, state) and their administrative heads.

B. Law enforcement officials and/or agencies, e.g., municipal police chiefs, commissioners, etc.; county sheriffs; state officials (patrol, troopers, rangers, etc.); state guard.

C. Public transportation officials and commissions and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

D. Public recreation officials and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

E. Other public bodies concerned with segregation and discrimination, e.g., industrial or labor and industry commissions; health and welfare commissions; etc.

Among the principal methods by which consultants can serve the above groups are the following:

I. By the use of consultant teams working in group study situations of leaders or policy level officials, with participation usually by invitation only.

A. Developing plans and contributing (some or all) consultants or resource persons needed for a workshop, institute, or conference, by invitation from the consultee group and in participation with it.

B. Selecting and providing resource persons in particular problem areas for participation in workshops, conferences, etc. of other organizations, usually as part of a larger group of consultants, e.g., the LeMoyne Race Relations Conference.

II. By the use of technical assistance on a specific problem from a consultant with specialized competence in that particular problem area. Such aid is likely to come from

one consultant and conceivably could involve a more sustained association than is characteristic of workshops and conferences. Consultants for this purpose may or may not be members of our panel and some may not be used more than once.

The choice of method for a given consultant service request will depend upon the specific needs and circumstances involved.

June 6, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
1808 Morena Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Harold and I believe you did absolutely right in saying "Yes" to Mrs. Phelps of the United Churchwomen of Florida. You might send a copy of your letter to her to Bill Williams. Certainly it would be helpful to include Will Campbell in such an institute.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Consultant

June 11, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hope:

Emory Via, who is out of town at present, asked that I write you regarding a question that has come in connection with accommodations at Fisk for participants in the Union Staff Training Seminar. Are dormitory accommodations for couples available? How is this handled? Emory asks that you direct a reply to:

Mr. Henry Wilson
American Federation of State, County, &
Municipal Employees
815 Mt. Vernon Place
Washington, D. C.

Also, if they're available, please forward us about 25 more of the brochures regarding this year's session of the Institute. Our supply has been exhausted.

I'm still looking forward to attending the Institute, and will send in my application shortly.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Secretary to Mr. Via

Consultant

June 18, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

It would be helpful for Ben Segal to know in what ways you wish to use him at the Institute on Race Relations. You had mentioned the possibility of a civil liberties session of some sort.

I'll try to let you know soon when I can first arrive at the Institute and in what ways you can be most helpful to the Labor Seminar.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 27, 1957

Dear John:

Here are two items of interest - the financial report on the Consultant Program which we discussed yesterday and a letter from Neil Tarplee reporting on the situation in Charlottesville. I thought the latter might be of some help in your Virginia planning. Florence and Emory have agreed to cooperate on other briefings.

Regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

HCF

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

Fiscal Report - June 25, 1957

Balance - May 1, 1957		$10,750.63	
Disbursements for May 1957			
Travel	$1,767.12		
Consultant Fees	2,933.44		
	$4,700.56		
Balance - June 1, 1957		6,050.07	
Disbursements through June 25, 1957			
Total	$1,241.15		
Balance - June 25, 1957		4,808.92	
Due from New World Foundation		5,000.00	
Total on Hand and Due		9,808.92	
Obligated			
SRC Overhead Charge	$2,000.00		
Remaining Conf. Costs	250.00		
		2,250.00	
BALANCE FOR 1957			$7,558.92

Cost of Special Conferences:

5/21-22/57	State Staff Conference	$ 786.97
5/23-24/57	Consultant Conference	2,335.62
		$3,122.59

June 29, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Ben and I would especially like to have you in the Thursday afternoon Labor Workshop. At that time we will be discussing desegregation in the community - an over-view. We will be discussing specifically how desegregation activity in the general community affects labor unionsaand what role unions can play, either positively or in just neutralizing their membership.

I hope that this will be a good time for you. Some time soon I will send you a copy of the rest of the schedule as we see it now.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

18 July '57

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear John:

As you know, SRC is in the process of looking for qualified applicants for the Internship in Intergroup Relations sponsored by NAIRO. The specifics of the position are outlined in the enclosed Memo.

Harold, CH, and I thought that our Consultants would have access to a number of qualified people who might be interested in the position. If you agree, would you please send two copies of the Memo to each of the Consultants asking for their cooperation in a covering letter.

There are also two copies for your use. If you need any more copies please let me know.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

Race Relations Department

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICES
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OF THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

MEMORANDUM
FROM
JOHN HOPE, II

TO: Fred Routh

RE:

DATE: 7/23/57.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to consultants about the internship. I hope it will uncover some good prospects.

By the way, I thought you were in rare form at the Charlottesville Workshop. My very sincere congratulations!

Maybe we should always have a plane for you to catch in 30 minutes. Ha! Ha!

JH

cc: Dr. Harry Walker
Dr. Robert Johnson
Dr. Kenneth Clark
Dr. William Jones
Dr. G. D. Wilson
Dr. Lewis M. Killan
Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Dr. Hylan Lewis
Mrs. Bonita Valien
Dr. Herman H. Long
Dr. Lee Coleman

Consultant Service Program

July 22, 1957

Dr. Harry J. Walker
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear ~~Dr. Walker~~ Mr. Walker:

You will note from the attached statement (2 copies) that the SRC has established an internship in intergroup relations. I think you will agree with me that a person with the qualifications described on this job description statement would enjoy a rare opportunity to participate fully in a dynamic and many faceted operation which would mature and season him with unusual speed. Because of the numerous and widely varied demands upon the small professional staff of SRC, such a person would get full encouragement and, indeed, pressure for the realization of his full potential.

It will be a great help to us if you will suggest as promptly as possible the names of persons whom you feel are qualified for this position. Send your recommendations directly to Fred Routh.

You have my best wishes for a pleasant and renewing vacation.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH/DM
Enclosures: 2

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 24, 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Mrs. Bonita Valien has just advised me that she has never received NEW SOUTH since she has been a consultant. I recall that others complained of this oversight at the consultant's conference. I would appreciate your checking with John Constable to see whether our eleven consultants are on the list to receive this publication regularly. It is my understanding that all consultants are to receive NEW SOUTH and all special publications as they appear.

Sincerely,

John

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH/DM

August 30, 1957

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Still, I have not found time to put in topical headings and make final corrections on the Consultants Conference materials. But here they are - both original transcription and my revision of the report by Committee #1.

The other two items are self-explanatory. If I get chance to come to Nashville in the next few weeks, we can talk about them.

There is an even chance that I'll be in Washington September 15, 16, and 17, depending upon whether SRC can afford me and getting away from registration routines at the University.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf
(signed in absence)

Enclosures - Conversations with Bob Hughes
Evaluation of the Lemoyne Workshop
Notes on Consultants Conference - May 24-25, 1957
(Both revised and original transcripts)

September 4, 1957

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Enclosed is a memo from Arnold Aronson giving the particulars of the CCD meeting on September 16th and 17th. You will note that the meeting begins at 10:30 A. M. on the 16th and closes at 5:00 P. M. the 17th.

It is anticipated that Harold C.H., Fred and you will attend. Accordingly, Harold has requested that reservations be made at the Willard Hotel for Sunday and Monday nights (15th and 16th) for you and the other SRC participants.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 CCD memo re September meeting

P. S. Many thanks for the consultant list.

Use file copy - Dwen Lowell Foundation Vernon Cage

40

REPORT OF SRC CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

MAY 15 to SEPTEMBER, 15, 1957 27

BY JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT

The Consultant~~s~~ Service Program has ~~continued its normal functions~~ had an unusual amount of activity during the summer months, ~~A~~although this period is traditionally the time of least activity in the region, ~~t~~The immediate prospect of partial desegregation in several southern communities and the increasing realization on the part of community leaders and government functionaries that the Desegregation Decision cannot be indefinitely evaded, have led to a variety of kinds of requests for immediate assistance and also to planning for anticipated service ~~needs~~ on the basis of current and probable developments. Partially because of these activities, the Council has been able to review and strengthen this phase of its program.

A major step in this process occurred during May when our panel of consultants, augmented by additional participants, ~~some of whom may be added to the panel,~~ ~~were~~ was brought together in Atlanta to review the effectiveness and needs of this program. This conference is described below.

During the period of this report, continuing efforts have been made to increase the ~~adequacy, adaptability, and~~ flexibility ~~as well as~~ and efficiency of the Consultant~~s~~ Service Program (CSP), ~~within the varied and dynamic circumstances in which it must be administered~~. In contrast to the emphasis of the first year of operation (i.e., concentration upon assistance to the boards and staffs of state SRC affiliates), ~~this period reflects with increased intensity,~~ are our efforts

of the last quarter to focus our resources upon leadership of local communities, particularly those places which for some reason (voluntary or otherwise) are ready ~~to~~ at least to consider action aimed at implementing the letter and spirit of the ~~and~~ Desegregation Decision. This we believe to be a field of ~~intense and~~ growing readiness for consultant help. (Exhibit I)

Community Leadership Workshops

Workshops conducted in April in New Orleans, Memphis, and Jacksonville (described in the last report), have been followed during the summer period by similar community workshops in Charlottesville and Hampton, Virginia, and preliminary workshop-planning assistance to groups in Norfolk and Arlington. ~~which gives some promise of materializing within the next two or three months.~~ Within each of these Virginia communities, the local boards of education are under court order to desegregate and judicial and legislative maneuvers to circumvent the Desegregation Decision have been nearly exhausted. It is hoped that the CSP can assist community leadership in so anticipating the hazards of transition and planning their specific course of action that they may minimize, if not avoid, the acute pain and high cost of desegregation so recently witnessed in Nashville and Little Rock.

Our contribution of specialized consultant service to an off-the-record meeting of western Arkansas school superintendents and other officials involved in the desegregation process during July further illustrates our ~~determination~~ approach to ~~meet~~ local needs at the cutting edge of social change. A brief account of these meetings with local community leaders and with local officials follows:

1. On July 19-20 the university city of Charlottesville, Virginia, was the site of a workshop of community leaders. It was sponsored by the Charlottesville-Albemarle Council on Human Relations (an affiliate of the Virginia Council) and drew about 125

participants some of whom came from as far away as Hampton, Newport News, Richmond, and Roanoke. The services of three SRC consultants and two from the local communities were utilized. Mr. Benjamin Muse, columnist for the Washington Post and one-time Congressman from Manassas and candidate for governor, was the keynote speaker. The group was divided into three discussion sections which dealt with the local school situation, employment practices and job opportunities, and housing for Negroes. These groups were about equally divided racially and concentrated upon what to do and how to do it in bringing about the desired changes. ~~after~~ Brief reports on the current situation in each of these discussion areas were made by local leaders.

2. The Peninsula Council for Community Co-operation sponsored a similar type of workshop at Hampton Institute on September 6-7 which drew participants mainly from Hampton, Newport News, and a few observers from Norfolk. A bi-racial group of eighty-three persons participated, of whom 21 were involved in leadership roles as local consultants, speakers, section chairmen, and recorders. The keynote speech was given by Dr. Peter Mellette, Regional Director, National Council of Christians and Jews of Richmond, Virginia. Three SRC consultants were furnished, one assigned to each of the following three discussion groups section: Coping with Interracial Disturbances; Working through Civic Groups; and Minority Job Opportunities. As in the Charlottesville Workshop, each of these discussion sections was introduced by a report on the local situation ~~by~~ from a qualified local participant. This workshop drew significantly from outside of the ranks of the Peninsula Council; approximately one-third of those not in leadership roles were non-members.

3. Following ~~and in support of the~~ intensive ground work ~~laid~~ by our Arkansas state affiliate, (ACHR), three SRC consultants were supplied for an ACHR sponsored Arkansas School Administrators' Conference on Desegregation on August 7-8 in a small town in western Arkansas. Seven superintendents, one head of a college department of education, and one county superintendent out of an expected attendance of 12 to 15 persons participated. Most of these were from small school districts in western and northern Arkansas which had small Negro populations and thus costly though inadequate segregated facilities for them. The CSP met their request for consultants who could help them with their particular problems by providing two superintendents from the neighboring states of Missouri and Oklahoma who had experienced the desegregation process in communities similar to those of the partic-

pants. In addition, one of our regular consultants, a sociologist with considerable experience in desegregation matters in Kentucky, was asked to serve as a co-ordinator of the meeting. They discussed the fears —real and imaginary— and also the application of local resources to the problems which they encountered. The local superintendents made no promise to move ahead this fall, nor did we expect them to. They did learn, first hand, that desegregation is possible in small rural and semi-rural communities. The two "consultant" superintendents were enthusiastic about the educational and financial benefits derived from desegregation.

In the planning and staging of each of these meetings, the close co-operation and co-ordination of the SRC and state SRC affiliate staffs were important factors in the success of the meetings.

Inter-Agency Assistance and Co-operation

Assistance to and co-ordination with other organizations and agencies with goals similar to those of SRC have involved the resources of the CSP in both formal consultations and informal, but none the less important, efforts. Illustrative of these are the following:

1. SRC provided a consultant-resource person to the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Church, US (Southern) at Montreat, North Carolina, on The Committee on Christian Citizenship made full use of his knowledge and insights as they discussed the role of the churchman in a changing society.

2. The American Friends Service Committee called a meeting of all human relations agencies in the state of North Carolina to consider co-operative strategy in the three desegregating communities, i.e., Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston Salem. An SRC consultant participated in this important session which discussed such things as what role each agency should and could play, and the evaluation of the roles of the press, law enforcement agencies, and the role and potential danger of opposition groups in these communities.

3. Through the intermittent activities of an SRC consultant, close but inconspicous assistance was provided to the principal community organizations supporting partial desegregation of the Nashville public schools. This was accomplished primarily through contacts with key leadership in the Nashville Conference on Community Relations, the

Tennessee Council on Human Relations; and through indirect "pipe lines" to the mayor, chief of police, and local department of education.

4. Assistance to the Knoxville desegregation efforts through informal but continuing contact with the Knoxville field representative of the Unitarian Service Committee ~~involved~~ in that city have ? contributed to some improvement in ~~the~~ desegregation prospects ~~in that city.~~ there.

SRC Consultant~~s~~ Conference

A two day consultants' conference held early in this period was ~~might well emerge as~~ one of the most important activities ~~of the period~~ in terms of its long-range value to ~~constructive impact upon~~ the effectiveness of the CSP.

On May 24-25 SRC held a meeting of all consultants and a carefully selected group of additional professionals at Atlanta University. There were twenty-five persons (excluding six participating SRC staff members), of whom eleven were on our existing ~~present~~ panel and 13 were guest participants from whom the panel will be augumented in response to needs. The need for supplementing the areas of specialized training and experience represented in our panel ~~in order~~ to meet the varied and somewhat specialized needs of local communities was taken into account in the selection of the latter group. These included the fields of religion, political science, ~~and~~ government, ~~and~~ economics, and labor relations. ¶ The meeting opened with a brief orientation session at which the CSP was placed clearly within the framework~~s~~ of SRC policy and programs ~~role~~, and its origin, nature, scope, and results to date were described. The participants were then divided into four discussion groups, each chaired by a member of the consultant panel and including both consultants and guests, which spent ~~a~~ half a day evaluating various aspects of the program and making recommendations for future operations. For each of these groups, key questions were provided in order to focus their deliberations as sharply ~~and practically~~ as possible. The following key questions were

considered:

Group I. What is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program. Chairman: Dr. Kenneth Clark.

Group II. What standards should be applied in selecting problem-areas (e.g. housing, employment, education, transportation, etc.) for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community? Chairman: Dr. Lewis Killian.

GroupIII. What are the strong and weak points in the consultant techniques used to date? What are the elements of effective reporting and analysis that will make possible follow-through by SRC? What forms should reports take? Chairman: Mrs. Bonita Valien.

GroupIV. What criteria should be applied in choosing the best opportunities for consultant services — as between different leadership groups; as between local, state, and wider spheres of operation? What factors of timing should be considered in the selection and co-ordination of opportunities? Chairman: Dr. Lee Coleman.

While the pressure of urgent demand upon staff time ~~have~~ has delayed final publication of the findings and suggestions of this conference, the staff has already put into operation some of the recommendations, and future actions will reflect other suggestions made. (Exhibit II — to follow later)

Review of Consultant Activities

One of the needs long recognized is for systematic follow-up of CSP workshops and institutes to evaluate the effectiveness of such activities in motivating positive action and developing leadership. Related to this, of course, is a determination of ~~the prospects of~~ what further SRC staff assistance ~~that~~ might ~~be appropriately~~ contribute ~~to promote~~ the and facilitate the desegregation process and what form such aid should take. Such an exploratory effort was made by an SRC consultant in July following the Lemoyne Conference held in Memphis in April. This consultant

conferred individually with various community leaders, some of whom were actively involved in this workshop and some who were not, in order to measure the tangible results of this conference, in the brief period that has elapsed, and to determine what next steps might be appropriately taken in this community. Among the key people interviewed were the president of the Chamber of Commerce, a prominent attorney, and a leading newspaper man. It was generally felt that the Lemoyne Conference was a start in the right direction. Further cultivation of these key persons will be continued.

"Straws in the Wind"

SRC has received inquiries from a rural editor about the possibilities of holding an off-the-record consultant meeting with key people in Celo and Spruce Pine, North Carolina. This is being followed up and the results will be reported in a subsequent report of the CSP.

An offer to the Mayor of Nashville of the services of a special consultant on law enforcement techniques in racial crisis situations through a special committee of the Nashville Conference on Community Relations was not accepted. A "feeler" from a high Arkansas state official regarding the prospects of such assistance during August did not materialize either. Subsequent developments in both Tennessee and Arkansas suggest that our efforts in this direction should be pushed harder in the future.

Requests for assistance in community workshops in Birmingham and other Alabama cities are in the exploratory stage and show promise for the coming months. The on-the-spot help of the Alabama Council on Human Relations Staff will be crucially important in reaching progressive leadership in this beleaguered state.

Exhibit I

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 23, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTORS OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES AND CONSULTANTS

FROM: JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT, CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUBJECT: THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM -- PURPOSE, REQUISITES FOR EFFECTIVENESS, AND SCOPE

The major purpose of the Consultant Service Program (CSP) is to provide technical assistance in program development to SRC affiliates and other groups whose objectives are similar or compatible with those of SRC, e.g., the elimination of segregation and discrimination based upon race in the Southern economy. It seeks to provide professional guidance on how to achieve democratic race relations; not persuasive advocates to foster and promote acceptance of the principle. Effective implementation of the policy, not its establishment, is emphasized.

Such assistance is provided by a panel of consultants highly qualified by formal training, experience, and temperament, who are available on a part-time basis to organizations, community groups, official bodies concerned with and/or committed to the desegregation process. Initially, the service was confined primarily to the SRC state affiliates as an SRC service without cost to them, though it was available to outside groups on a cost or partial cost basis. From the start, this restriction in scope of service was simply based upon limitations of resources and the recognition of a priority to members of the SRC family. But the operations of the first few months clearly demonstrated a broader need for such aid to unaffiliated local groups and official bodies if the common aims of these and SRC affiliates were to be achieved expeditiously and efficiently.

Foundation aid was sought and obtained which now allows us to provide technical assistance to non-SRC as well as SRC affiliated local as well as state or regional groups on basis of need and their ability to effectively use such resources either without cost or on basis of their ability to pay for it. This, it is believed, has greatly extended the range of potential availability of technical assistance in program development, community organization, etc. to groups fostering the goals and spirit of the Desegregation Decision in the South and has further increased the flexibility and efficiency with which these professional talents can be allocated so as to gain maximum positive results for the region as a whole.

On the other hand, it places a heavier burden upon SRC and state affiliate staff members to publicize the CSP and in a sense "selling" the services to potential users. Figuratively speaking, the writer and, indeed, the SRC as a whole, is a broker whose function is to bring together in the most effective way those groups or key individuals who have need for such professional services and those who possess the talents required but are not organizationally situated so as to focus them where they can be most fruitful in gaining SRC objectives. Since the resources of the CSP are limited, all requests for assistance cannot be accepted however deserving they might be. Rather, our role appears to be that of choosing from the requests submitted those which appear to be most promising and most likely to be multiplying and accelerating in their impact upon the productivity and sophistication of leadership, those which will not only render needed high level scarce services to groups involved in our cause but may activate and encourage other groups to similarly employ and finance such skills. Ours is the task of complementing and supplementing existing (and sometimes dormant) resources in the community, not competing with them; of providing the additional element that may motivate liberal groups to constructive action and prevent frustrating inertia in the face of complex and discouraging obstacles; of supporting the dedicated and effective volunteer layman with limited technical skill and advice at the time and point of need and getting out of his way when he is ready to move forward unaided,with skill, understanding, and courage.

But the function of administration of the CSP goes far beyond mere brokerage of a given service. The service itself though requiring a definite level and type of formal training as social scientists or practitioners, must be subtly and deftly tailored to the individual needs of each group and frequently is not separable from a particular consultant. Such a person through temperament, personality, or experience may give as a part of his total professional contribution a unique element (or spark) that gives his service a plus value in particular situations -- and, indeed, may conceivably provide a negative one in others.

Consequently, if the CSP is to be equal to the varied types of present demands and ready to meet new ones as they arise, the panel must be varied enough in its composition to provide maximum flexibility without

loss of the basic common qualifications necessary for overall efficiency. On the other hand, if lofty standards are to be maintained, the consultants should receive frequent enough assignments to motivate their continuous awareness and study of new developments in the Southern situation and periodic re-evaluation of the situation as scholars. Thus, in terms of present limits of resources and consultation opportunities, very real restrictions on panel size are necessary, while pressure for overall competence and flexibility seem to increase as the demands move closer to the specific friction points, e.g., the local community with a pending court order, the school board, the park commission, etc. Under these conditions, the consultant is challenged to give rather specific suggestions to fit the particular conditions, advise as to whether particular plans or strategies seem sound or not.

Therefore, effective administration of the CSP, in addition to bringing consultant and consultee together, depends upon the extent to which the composition of the panel includes and the program utilizes the blend of specialties and high professional qualifications needed to meet varied demands; the extent to which the individual consultants are able to accept assignments when requested; the amount and quality of their preparation for assignments, and the support given by SRC research and information facilities.

A clear distinction should be made between efforts aimed at gaining adherents and achieving acceptance of the principle of equality and the policy of desegregation and integration, and those directed to the application of these principles and policies with maximum speed and efficiency and a minimum of overt conflict. Both of these are necessary and should be pursued by staffs of all state affiliates but the emphasis given to each will vary from state to state at a given time and in each state from time to time. It is imperative that the director always have clearly in mind which of these aims he seeks, or the relative significance of each, in every project developed -- policy acceptance or effective implementation of policy in specific program areas chosen to fit the needs of a particular community -- because the best techniques for achieving these respective goals are not necessarily the same.

The primary field of operation and usefulness of the CSP is the latter -- implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. Its major sphere of operation is among organizations and strategically placed individual community leaders who have accepted in principle, at least, the Desegregation Decision and those who, without regard to their personal attitude, are by their positions impelled to seek its

implementation (or to maintain order and avoid illegal opposition) -- willingly or unwillingly. The CSP should prepare to assist those who are working for implementation whether through personal conviction, organizational involvement and consequent implicit acceptance of group discipline, or administrative responsibility to implement laws, court orders, etc. applied to their employer.

Its prime target is thus leadership, not rank-and-file membership; those in a position to motivate, multiply, and accelerate affirmative action, not followers. Therefore, efforts at "selling" the CSP should be aimed at leadership groups who for some reason are ready to at least consider action. This is where the state and SRC staffs should cooperate as broker. The success of this operation requires rifle shot, not shotgun, methods of promotion; careful choice of persons or groups who can most profitably use consultant service; and specific promotional efforts, mainly personal, aimed at encouraging them to seek such help. Mimeographed general mailings are not likely to be effective and may alert the opposition thus generating counteractive efforts which may unnecessarily cause the diversion of some of our efforts to defensive channels.

The following are some of the organizational frameworks through which, it is felt, the CSP can be effective in the next two or three year period which may be used as a basis for determining where it can be useful in strengthening and broadening program:

I. SRC state affiliates and their local units, with emphasis upon more promising local community situations. (Utilize the assistance and other organizational contacts and associations of board members in developing opportunities.)

II. Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies insofar as they are promoting activities with goals similar to ours, including purely local groups and local units of national, regional, or state organizations.

A. Religious groups, e.g., United Church Women, Council of Jewish Women and other Jewish groups, the Catholic Interracial Committee, the organizations of various religious denominations and/or their subordinate agencies and commissions concerned with our cause; local inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc.

B. Civic Organizations, e.g., League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, PTAs, etc.

C. Professional Organizations, e.g., organization of social workers, nurses, etc.; Council of Social Agencies; etc.

D. Organizations of Economic groups.

1. Labor Unions.

2. Business and Industrial Organizations and Service Clubs, e.g., Chambers of Commerce (Sr. and Jr.), Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, and other such clubs.

III. Official governmental bodies concerned with problems of desegregation and the elimination of discrimination.

A. Departments and/or Boards of Education (local, state) and their administrative heads.

B. Law enforcement officials and/or agencies, e.g., municipal police chiefs, commissioners, etc.; county sheriffs; state officials (patrol, troopers, rangers, etc.); state guard.

C. Public transportation officials and commissions and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

D. Public recreation officials and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

E. Other public bodies concerned with segregation and discrimination, e.g., industrial or labor and industry commissions; health and welfare commissions; etc.

Among the principal methods by which consultants can serve the above groups are the following:

I. By the use of consultant teams working in group study situations of leaders or policy level officials, with participation usually by invitation only.

A. Developing plans and contributing (some or all) consultants or resource persons needed for a workshop, institute, or conference, by invitation from the consultee group and in participation with it.

B. Selecting and providing resource persons in particular problem areas for participation in workshops, conferences, etc. of other organizations, usually as part of a larger group of consultants, e.g., the LeMoyne Race Relations Conference.

II. By the use of technical assistance on a specific problem from a consultant with specialized competence in that particular problem area. Such aid is likely to come from

one consultant and conceivably could involve a more sustained association than is characteristic of workshops and conferences. Consultants for this purpose may or may not be members of our panel and some may not be used more than once.

The choice of method for a given consultant service request will depend upon the specific needs and circumstances involved.

C
O
P
Y

PENINSULA COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY COOPERATION

Mrs. James Cherry
Chairman
307 Chesapeake Ave.
Newport News, Va.
24 September, 1957

Dear John,

Many thanks for all the time, energy and know-how which you so generously contributed to our workshop on human relations. I should say your workshop, for we would not have attempted it without your help. We were also highly pleased with the consultants you secured for us.

There were 83 people present. 21 of these were consultants, speakers, chairmen or recorders. However, with the exception of the visiting consultants, we can truly say that the workshop was a learning experience for this group, particularly so for those* who were not members of the council but were influential members of the community. I think we are well on the way to having Dr. Walkers' "fifth column" as a result of the workshop.

Mr. Hicks, The Hampton juvenile officer, told a friend that it was the most inspiring experience of his life. (He was in Dr. Clarks' group). I think he will be a valuable ally. Rabbi Schwartzman was also much impressed. (He had been cool to a committee which visited him earlier.)

Of the remaining 62, roughly 20 were non-members. I forgot to ask the people who came in for the afternoon session to register before they left, but I think this is a close guess.

Several very good suggestions came out of the discussion groups which we will incorporate in our program for this year. If you would like copies of the group reports, let me know and I'll send them.

It was very pleasant getting to know and work with you. I hope that we will have the opportunity to see more of you. Again, for myself and the council, our deepest Thanks.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Cherry

*seven

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF FLORIDA
Mrs. Norwood Phelps
President
Phone FLanders 9-4004
2405 Pineridge Road
Jacksonville, Florida

September 26, 1957

Dear Dr. Hope:

I want to thank you for coming to the Florida Leadership Education Institute at the Silver Springs Assembly Grounds. You added a great deal to our meeting and I am grateful to you for your fine contribution.

I also want to thank you for bringing so many other illustrous gentlemen with you. I do not think that they would have ever come on my invitation. We have so many of the same aims that I feel that it will be mutually beneficial for us to work closely together.

You have had so much experience in the field of race relations that I would welcome any helpful criticism from you. We want to profit by our mistakes and improve from year to year so if you have any suggestions we shall appreciate them.

The Southern Regional Council has been a real friend to us and has helped to give us guidance and direction. It was most generous for all of you to come with no expense to the United Church Women of Florida and I was really embarrassed when we could not even give you lunch on Thursday. I promise it will never happen again!

Sincerely

Mrs. Norwood Phelps

Of course we were glad to have Mrs. Valiens but I am writing her a separate note-

Race Relations Department

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICES
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OF THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

RECEIVED OCT 3 1957

MEMORANDUM

FROM
JOHN HOPE, II

TO: Messrs. Harold Fleming & Fred Routh

RE:

DATE: 10/2/57.

I have finally gotten this report typed.

You will note that I have tried to set the facts within the frame of reference we set-up some time ago which was reviewed in my memo. This is the reason for introducing this memo as Exhibit I. However, I don't consider it an essential and you may want to leave it out. In this case, mark out the reference to it on page 2.

I hope this reorganization of Fred's statement meets your (HF) criticism re: interpretation. Cut and alter as you see fit.

(JHII)

P.S. I am enclosing two recent letters re: the Hampton & Florida workshops.

Consultant Service Prog

October 4, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I have read with great appreciation the report you have done for Consultant Service Program. It is the analytical and qualitative type of report that I have hoped we could do. I note in the bottom of the note you sent along that you say that you hope this reorganization of my statement meets with our approval. The rough notes I gave you could hardly be considered a statement, and they were in drastic need of reorganization. They were the first rough draft of enumerating the events in which the CSP participated - nothing more. You have taken these loose threads and woven them into an attractive piece of material. Congratulations!

I am enclosing a letter which was sent to you at the Willard Hotel back in mid September. I opened it because I thought it might be something important that had long gone without attention. Fortunately such was not the case. The Willard Hotel was obviously derelict in its duties in not getting this to you.

Hope to see you soon.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Report - SRC Consultant Service Program
May 15 to September 15, 1957
Prepared by: John Hope, II

REGARDING:

DATE:

October 18, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

New World Foundation
(Vernon A. Eagle)

RECEIVED NOV 4 1957

October 28, 1957

Mr. N. J. Demerath
The Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Nick:

I shall probably be in New York on November 14 and 15, but doubt whether I can make it earlier and thus will probably just miss you there. However, I might be able to talk with Dr. Davis or Thurgood Marshall at this time. I could make a better pitch if I knew more about your plans. Have Dr. Queen's plans gotten to the prospectus or design stage yet or is this a prospect before that time?

If it is convenient, I would like to know more about the plans so that I could talk more specifically (and, I hope, more intelligently) about what you have in mind. I believe personal contact if at all feasible, is better than a letter for such matters.

Sincerely,

John Hope II,
Director of Industrial Relations

JH:rmd

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

VIA AIR MAIL

October 30, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Enclosed are copies of the announcements sent to persons concerned with the interagency meeting - November 5th and 6th, and the board meeting - November 12th and 13th.

This oversight is a major goof on my part and I'm really sorry. But, I admire your patience. Were I in your position, I would have written long and indignantly. For this patience, and to help extend the apology, I'll buy you a canned cake when you arrive.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
(Chagrined) Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

November 27, 1957

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

It was good to talk with you yesterday and to get your thinking on Ken's memo. We are rather well pleased with it too. Harold and I have talked over the possibilities of having a white social psychologist do a comparable job in the white community of Little Rock. We have concluded that this should wait until after Ken has completed his study. Both of us feel that bringing a man from Harvard would run the expenses unduly high. I would suggest that while Ken is in Arkansas he fish around and come up with somebody good from one of the Universities out there. It should not be forgotten that the Veterans Administration hospitals often have such a person attached to them, and as I recall there was one in Little Rock who was once a member oftheir Board, or perhaps just general membership.

Haroldaand I are both pleased with the idea of a report on the Consultant Service Program in a professional journal. We would suggest that you are the logical person to prepare such a report.

While we believe the Demerath study has some potentialities of interest for us it is a little removed from our normal scope of operation, but we would be glad to talk further about this and perhaps find some way of focusing the study more closely on our interests.

Harold is going to be in Philadelphia the week of December 17th and could run up to New York to meet with Ken's proposed group during that period. I would suggest that Ken get in touch with Harold by phone.

Mr. John Hope, II November 27, 1957

I am not surprised that nothing much is doing in the Old Dominion at the moment, but I am disappointed for there is little question that they are going to come face to face with the reality of a court order to desegregate in the immediate future. I still think it might be wise to try for Arlington.

Regards to your good spouse and the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fel

November 25, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

The enclosed for your information - the Norfolk report just for general desegregation developments; the Charlotte one for the merit employment moves there.

Even this generalized information should be confidential, but Earl will be willing to work with his end of any move made in Charlotte or to help out (not much he can do) in Norfolk.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via but signed in his absence)

EFV:fcl

December 9, 1957

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

I am anxious to make the field services division of SRC as effective as possible. From time to time I get the feeling that we have not shown the imagination we might in program developments. I would very much welcome a memo from you suggesting how we can improve our efforts. Such questions as these you might answer:

I Strategically what are the most important communities on which to concentrate at this time?
a) What should we do in these communities? (1) Role of Consultant Service Program. (2) Inter-agency cooperative effort.

II Can we develop meaningful program suggestions for state organizations in the hard core area?

III How can we improve communication between SRC and a) state organizations, b) other organizations in the inter-agency cooperative effort, c)church denominations, d) labor organizations, e) key people and status persons, and f) universities and youth groups?

IV What specific recommendations do you have for our internship training program?

V What better use can we make of our Board of Directors?

Any other suggestions you might have are more than welcome. Please feel free to write frankly and in detail.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

7 BR

PROPOSED BUDGET AS REVISED

SRC Consultant Service Program

- 1957 -

Income:

Grant Requested from New World Foundation (Including Apprentice Training Project)			$20,000.00

Expenditures:

Administrative Costs			
SRC overhead charge of 10%	$2,000.00		
Direct Supervisory Services	$4,000.00		
Communications	$ 400.00		
Sub-total		$6,400.00	
Consultants Costs			
Fees for Consultant Services	$4,600.00		
Consultant Service Travel	$4,000.00		
Sub-total		$8,600.00	
Apprentice Training Project			
For salary, travel, supervision and training of Apprentice. (Break down of costs to be determined in light of competencies of Apprentice accepted.)		$5,000.00	
Total Expenditures			$20,000.00
Balance			- 0 -

RECEIVED JAN 20 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. N. J. Demerath, President, The Society for Applied Anthropology
From: John Hope II, Director of Industrial Relations, Race Relations Department, Fisk University; and Chief Consultant, Southern Regional Council
Subject: Notes on Proposed Inter-Disciplinary Conference of Social Scientists on Research on the Desegregation Problem and Related Issues

In response to your request at our recent luncheon meeting in New York, I am setting down some highly tentative observations concerning the proposed conference as a means of beginning the exchange of ideas and, I hope they may be at least provocative enough to promote the formulation of rather specific and workable plans for such a meeting at the earliest possible date. I should probably emphasize that these ideas have been too hastily drawn in the hope that I might get them typed before my secretary leaves for the Christmas vacation.

The optimum objectives of such a conference appear to me to be the following:

1. To focus the attention of social scientists as scientists (not practitioners) using the training and skills of their respective disciplines on the various aspects of the desegregation problem to which these disciplines are best able to contribute.

2. To attempt to integrate these various actual (and potential) research contributions of the various social science disciplines in terms of their relevance and applicability to the respective major problem areas in which action must be sought by practitioners, i. e., to facilitate the "how" of the desegregation and integration processes by more systematically and thoroughly under-girding them with sound scientific propositions and where these are not available even the shrewdly contrived tentative hypotheses and hunches of imaginative social scientists.

3. To attempt to pin-point the gaps and strong points of available research results (including verified principles and propositions, and perhaps even thoughtfully drawn tentative hypotheses and clues) presently available for guidance to efficient action in the various major problem areas of the desegregation issue.

4. To provide on basis of verified propositions, tentative hypotheses, clues and scientists hunches, some suggestions for revising and improving, methods, strategies, and tactics of day-to-day operation for the use of practitioners in their programs of action.

It is quite possible that these goals are much you ambitious and that we may have to content ourselves with number (1) or numbers (1) and (2) in a first conference; but I would hope that such a meeting might be planned so as to come as close as possible to the achievement of most or all of these.

Nature and Organization of the Conference

1. Composition

In my opinion, the participants should be composed of social scientist with interest in applied or action research directed toward the solution of intergroup relations problems of the South under equalitarian assumptions as they would be framed by each of the respective disciplines represented--anthropological, psychological, sociological, economic, and political. Neither present sectional location nor place of origin should be a standard for choice of major resource persons or participants. However, a conscious effort should be made to secure wide participation from interested scholars in the South for obvious reasons. On the other hand, it is conceivable that in the broad conceptualization of problems, persons farther removed from the "battle lines" might have certain advantages over those more immediately and perhaps emotionally involved, other things being equal. A blend of both is essential.

In my judgment, a special effort should be made to involve a few eminent social scientists in each of the major disciplines who have also had experience in the more pragmatic and less clearly defined area of the intergroup relations practitioner, or social engineer, as a means of insuring against emphasis on the "ultra-academic," on the one hand and undue dilution of the scientific quality by the pressure for "practical" answers by practitioners on the other. Another approach aimed at the same precaution might be to invite a limited number of practitioners involved in the desegregation issue from agencies working in the field which have participated in or promoted action research, e.g., The Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association, at Fisk University, etc. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Rather, in many cases, the same people would be drawn from both groups. On the other hand, on the basis of experience with two NAIRO research conferences, I believe it would be a mistake to seek broad and unrestricted participation from intergroup relations practitioners.

2. Nature and Organization

The major emphasis, in my opinion, should be placed upon the full and unrestricted exchange of ideas and, as far as is feasible, the pooling and synthesis of research information. For this reason, such a conference might be essentially of the private workshop type, composed of persons attending upon specific invitation. We have found in SRC that such an arrangement avoids the cramping effect of unrestricted coverage by the press and the presence of persons who might be obstructive or hostile to our objectives. Furthermore, the number and length of prepared statements to be presented should be reduced to a minimum, probably confined to the first session, and prepared far enough in advance of the conference to allow the circulation to each participant the complete manuscripts from which such statements are drawn at least a week or two before the meeting is convened. A thoroughly scholarly paper critically reveiwing the research relevant to the desegregation problem in each of the major disciplines appears to me to be the essential foundation for such a conference.

Such papers might include such topics as the following:

a) Review of research relevant to the desegregation problem.

b) Classification of research on basis of the problem area of its major relevance, e.g., general and theoretical significance, education and school desegregation, full resource utilization and southern economic development, political participation and involvement and utilization of government facilities and personnel, etc.

c) Designation of major gaps and strong points in research development preferably classified by major problem area (as in (b).

d) Suggestions of needed new areas of research, preferably classified on the basis of relative need and urgency as a foundation for effective program and action in the major problem areas. No attempt should be made to make this an exhaustive treatment, but, rather, a provocative beginning that would foster further suggestions from other participants.

e) Guidance clues for practitioners' use suggested by research and/or through the preparation of this paper.

In my opinion sections (a), (b), and possibly (c) are of primary importance as a foundation for the conference, but minimum treatments such as suggested in (d) and (e) would challenge the imaginativeness and ingenuity of the writers and might foster the development of new areas of practical action research prospects with some semblance of a priority ranking as to need and feasibility in the solution of the desegregation problem.

On the basis of my experience with two conferences of our SRC consultants the following broad divisions of the Research Conference are suggested:

1) An introductory session for general orientation and the presentation of resumés of the research review papers, probably an evening meeting of one and a half to two hours.

2) Small discussion group meetings, one for each major social science discipline for an intensive discussion based upon the content of the relevant paper and the pre-planned topic. This might include suggested questions or issues for the purpose of stimulating discussion along relevant lines and minimizing duplication between groups and undue emphasis upon matters of secondary importance for the goals of the conference.

3) A Plenary Session for the purpose of hearing brief reports of the findings of each of the small group discussions and for the purpose of attempting a synthesis of the work of the various discussion groups, e. g., where do various research suggestions, etc. fit into the pattern of major problem areas? Which discipline

is best fitted to deal with each; and where and how can various disciplines collaborate with each other, etc.? What suggestions, clues, and scholarly "intelligence" for immediate use of practitioners can be gleaned from the sum total of these deliberations?

3. Time Period

In my opinion, such a conference should run for a minimum of a day and a half and preferably two days, preferably on the week-end. The urgency of need for such a pooling of ideas and the desirability of holding such a meeting before the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in April leads me to suggest that the meeting be held in late February or early March, which means that the writers of the research papers should be chosen at the earliest possible moment.

4. Number of Participants

For a meeting of the type I am suggesting, I would think in terms of a minimum of 25 to 30 and a maximum of 60 to 75 persons. From three to five discussion groups would probably be involved. Certainly anthropology, sociology, and psychology would each comprise a group, and it is possible that groups might be drawn from political science and economics (including labor-management relations) or a combination of these two.

5. Place of Conference

This need not be determined at this time but such factors as central location, place of maximum freedom of discussion, and nature and extent of facilities and services available from the host institution might be considered.

6. Sponsorship

I would hope that such a conference plan might be initiated by the SAA and that joint sponsorship of the action-research oriented societies of each of the major social science disciplines might be realized. As far as I know, there are three of these e. g., SAA, SPSSI, and SSSP. There may be others that should be approached e. g., GAP (?). It is possible that some intergroup relations organizations with definite research interests might be interested in sponsorship. We should decide whether this is desirable before we make any approaches in this direction. There may be a possibility that the Southern Regional Council and the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association might be interested, and others might also participate, if asked.

7. Financing

It is quite obvious from my rather ambitious suggestions, that I favor an effort to obtain Foundation support for such a conference. If this is not available, a much less ambitious beginning might be made, with plans for a second meeting at a later date. In my opinion, a sizable honorarium and expenses should be offered to the research review drafters, in light of

the demanding nature of their task and the limited time available for preparation; a more modest honorarium and expenses might be expedient for persons chosen to lead the small group discussions and report their findings; and probably a few other persons in leadership roles. There remains the question of whether expense money or more should be provided for all invited participants.

Our experience in SRC leads me to believe that some financial recognition of the responsibilities borne, at least by a nucleus of conference leaders essential to its high quality and efficient administration, constitutes an effective incentive.

I hope these random observations will be of some value to you in your discussions, if for no other reason than that they indicate some of the things you do not want to do. Be assured of my continued interest in developing a constructive joint-conference of social scientists. I have also discussed this matter with Dr. Herman H. Long, director of the Race Relations Department; Mr. Harold Fleming, director, Southern Regional Council; and Dr. Preston Valien, chairman, Department of Social Sciences of Fisk University, and all express an interest in this project.

cc: Wilton Dillon
Harold Fleming
Herman H. Long

Emory:
This is for your information, letting me know Seminar is on the Soundscribes. Others will follow ??
John

January 23, 1958

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Associate Director
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Sometime ago you sent me a set of cartoons drawn by Jack Hamm. I think the series carries in a very vivid way several messages which we need to get across to large numbers of readers. I feel confident that you have called these to the attention of the various Intergroup Relations Organizations which we both know about, but I am wondering whether it has been put into the hands of the labor press. There are literally hundreds of labor weeklies and a few daily papers. Some of the more liberal of these do use cartoons dealing with race relations. I don't know whether such papers would consider the scripture quotation an obstacle to their use or not. However, Ben Segal could advise you on this matter and furthermore, if this is the case and they seem otherwise useful, Mr. Hamm maybe interested in making some adjustments so that these excellent cartoons may get wider circulation. The current sensitivity of organized labor on this subject may make labor editors more amenable to the use of such materials.

I have two suggestions. First, I know that the Bureau of Labor Statistic's new Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1957 has just been released and is available at forty cent per copy. This publication gives the names and addresses of all labor journals. You may get a copy by writing to the Regional Office, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 57 Street, North East, Room 664, Atlanta 23, Georgia or from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D.C. The address of Ben Segal is as follows: Mr. Benjamin Segal, Director, Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights, 1244-19th Street, North West, Washington 6, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

JH:rmd

cc: Mr. Emory Via

January 24, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the cartoons drawn by Jack Hamm and for the suggestion that they be called to the attention of the various labor newspapers. This, to my knowledge, has not been done by anyone concerned with the distribution of these drawings. You mentioned the possibility that the scripture quotations might prove an obstacle to their use by the labor press. You will be interested to know that the prints which I distributed were chosen from a set of thirty or more and I am sure that I tended to select those with a religious theme. Many of the others are equally as clever and effective in the message which they seek to impart.

This office will get a copy of the Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, and will send the samples which we have on hand with a letter pointing out that these are but a few of the set and describe others in which they might be interested. Newspaper mats are available free from Mr. Hamm upon request.

Thank you for bringing this to my attention. Personal regards to you in your work.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC:ddw

cc: Emory Via ✓
Ben Segal

COPY

R. Hope II

January 24, 1958

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

In response to your query about our interest in a Labor Seminar in connection with the Race Relations Institute, we look forward with enthusiasm to a repeat performance. Herman and I have discussed this matter and feel that the Labor Seminar made a very real contribution to all involved in the Race Relations Institute. We are happy that you and Ben are sufficiently pleased with the results to go forward with plans for the summer of 1958. We feel that the general format of the seminar and the effective integration of this group into the total structure and spirit of the institute proved to be mutually advantageous and from our point of view see no reason to change it. As to the subject matter of the seminar, you and Ben are in a much better position than I to determine the needs of the members. However, there maybe additional areas for the joint ~~of exchange~~ use of materials and resource consultants between the Labor Seminar and my clinic. You will recall that by pooling our moving picture resources and running them at a hour open to all, the range of usefulness of this medium was extended considerably with little increase in cost.

As to program and mechanics, I agree that we should discuss this in some detail in the near future. I talked with Ben in Washington last Thursday and was advised that the administration of the seminar was pretty well in your hands so that you and I should move forward in the planning without his direct participation. This simplifies procedural channels and I would hope that we might sit down together on my next trip to Atlanta, if that is not too far away. In the meanwhile I would suggest, since you carried the primary responsibility for administration and dealt most directly with our departmental staff, that you review your experience and indicate the major "headaches" and have in mind any suggestions you have for improving the efficiency of all processes where co-ordination is necessary. As to program, it would help me to know in advance what you and Ben conceive to be the major subject matter areas southern labor leaders and staff members need to cover in light of the realities of the present situation and some

rough estimate of the division of time among these. On basis of last year's experience, we might give some attention to techniques of minimizing north-south and International-~~Labor~~ Union cleavages and sensitivities with a minimum of dilution of the quality and comprehensiveness of the treatment of specific intergroup problems. This, I know, is a tough problem but insofar as we are fully aware of it in relation to specific issues and can anticipate possible frictions, the learning process will be enriched.

Ben tells me that you are planning a two-day meeting in Atlanta in March. We should get together before this meeting so that we might have a basis for some brief promotion work and because some of our seminar planning might have relevance to that meeting also. I talked briefly with Ben about possible evening speakers. He suggests three names in the order ~~of~~ which they are listed: Victor Reuther: James Carey: and Amil Mazey.

You may recall that Walter Reuther declined last year after careful consideration but I was advised by advisers close to him that our invitation came too late and that if we wanted him for 1958 we should extend the invitation in January ~~and~~ or February. Ben is quite favorable to having him as a speaker but expresses concern because of the very real prospect that even if he accepts it, he might have to send a substitute at the last minute if more pressing matters arose. Thus he feels that it is better to get a speaker who is more certain to be able to meet his commitment. Furthermore he feels that Victor would make an excellent speaker and that his appearance could be assured if he were invited in the very near future. I have not had a chance to talk to Dr. Long about this matter yet.

You may now consider yourself "counter-needled." Seriously speaking, you maybe assured that we are ready to cooperate fully in the joint venture in the hope that the 1958 Institute will be the best ever and that the Labor Seminar will be a major reason for this.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

JH:rmd

cc: Dr. Herman H. Long and Mr. Harold Fleming

P.S. You too may enjoy each of the typographical errors as have on Friday at 5 P.M.

Confidential

February 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

As you know, I spent Thursday and Friday, January 30-31 in New York conferring with various people on the Negro teacher displacement project and the proposed conference of social scientists and the role of the society for applied anthropology in such a venture.

With regard to the teacher study, I talked with John W. Davis, Wilton Dillon, and then jointly with Dillon and Fred Patterson. I found that Nick Demerath spent Thursday in New York talking with Patterson and Dillon and left the study prospectus with them. Incidentally, John W. Davis knew nothing of this and I did not so advise him. According to Dillon, the plan is that Dr. Patterson will present this prospectus to the Rockefeller Foundation (Dr. Kimbal?) and seek full support for this project but Demerath has indicated a readiness to move forward if as much as $7,500 can be raised. Patterson asked that the Negro state teacher associations be approached for financial help because he feels that this will strengthen his hand in dealing with this foundation. My understanding is that Demerath is to write some of these state groups, sending them copies of the prospectus and asking for financial participation. Dr. Aaron Brown (Phelps-Stokes) will assist in dealing with state teacher organizations.

There appeared to be no apparent plan to involve the ATA (Trenholm and Ridley). In my conference Friday afternoon with Patterson and Dillon I suggested that ATA officials were brought

into our first committee meeting in December with the hope that they could be involved financially. I suggested that Dr. Patterson now in the role of "usherer of the plan to a fundation" in accordance with the strategy decided on at this meeting now approached the ATA for initial help, on condition that foundation help is forthcoming, so that Dr. Patterson would be able to use this as leverage in his appeal to this foundation. He agreed that this was a stronger approach and that he would have strong justification for asking ATA help since such a study might ultimately be a factor in protecting its membership generally from displacement as pupil desegregation proceeds.

It is my belief, and I think Patterson and Dillon concur, that the efforts to involve directly the Negro state teacher associations should go forward as planned but with the hope of later contributions after the pilot project is wholly or substantially underwritten by foundation and ATA funds rather than depend upon this as a primary basis for interesting the foundation. I indicated that in my opinion, time is of the essence in getting this pilot project started before the proposed director and perhaps even Demerath become involved in other matters and thus are less enthusiastic about this project.

I have two suggestions as to the next steps which you might wish to take on behalf of SRC:

1. That you suggest that Patterson acting in the above mentioned role and at the request of the initial sponsoring group formally request financial assistance from the ATA on the ground that its interest in a pecuniary way would increase his chances of getting favorable foundation money. Dr. Trenholm might be impressed with the urgency of prompt support so that Patterson could seek foundation funds early in the present calendar year. You will recall that some participants at the December meeting expressed the view that a grant of the size we are seeking might be acted upon without awaiting formal board action by the Rockefeller Foundation.

2. That you encourage the present efforts to involve Negro state teacher organizations but not as a primary condition for seeking foundation aid but rather for its psychological value in involving such major sources of information in anticipation of the needs of the research staff for their co-operation and as a long range source of supplementary funds.

For reasons which I will indicate later, I suggest that your communication go directly to Dr. Patterson with copies to Dillon and Demerath, not to Davis, et al.

As to the proposed conference of social scientists, I withhold final judgment until I get a report directly from Demerath on the SAA board meeting which was held in Chicago in December. However, my view on the basis of Dillon's somewhat vague report is that no action was taken that would interfere with an SRC conference of

scholars of the type I outlined within the next six or eight months if we should decide upon such an effort in connection with our consultant service program.

Technically, there was not a voting quorum at this meeting but I understand that Demerath was authorized to seek co-operation from and to co-operate with the two action-orientated societies SP and SPSSI in setting up conferences, vaguely termed summer seminars of social scientists and practitioners in the intergroup field. It is my understanding that Demerath received my statement before this meeting but it is not clear to me whether it was presented systematically to the group though it was mentioned.

The positive results seem to be confined to the following:

1. Demerath has a "green light" to negotiate with the other social science action groups in developing some kind or kinds of meetings on the desegregation issue. What form such meetings might take, when such efforts might be initiated, how far these organizations might go have not been canvassed. Demerath may give us some guidance on developments as he proceeds.

2. Conceivably, these SAA efforts might serve to more sharply focus the action-minded scholars on this issue. Even this may be wishful thinking. But, we have "a foot in the door."

Finally, I see nothing in the SAA action or my initiative in this direction that would in anyway restrict the SRC if it should seem appropriate for us to develop an invitational conference, selecting from individual members in any or all three of these groups and perhaps others aimed at helping us in further developing and strengthening our program. Incidentally, I am not pushing for such a conference, but simply indicating that this effort has not, in my opinion, "muddied the waters" if we feel the need for some type of scholar orientated conference.

I have not forgotten about my visits to Charlotte and Monteagle upon which I reported briefly by phone a few days ago but hope to give more careful attention to the issues involved in each, if I can stay home next week, before sending you a memorandum.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of some action suggestions which Herman prepared for our panel discussion before the women's fellowship at the mid-winter meeting last week.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:RTF
cc: Herman H. Long
C. H. Parrish
Fred Routh

MF

PLEASE READ AND PASS ON TO NEXT PERSON:

FBR
EV
JC
MET
MM
RHA
PA

February 19, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thanks for your recent letter bringing me up to date on the teacher displacement project and the proposed SAA conference of social scientists.

In New York last week, I had an opportunity to follow up on the first matter with Wilton Dillon. (Unfortunately, I couldn't make connections with Patterson.) Wilton promised to press for the direct approach to Trenholm, possibly to the extent of getting ATA to underwrite the whole project so that it can proceed pending negotiation with possible foundation sources. This seemed to me the best way to get an early go-ahead.

I'm looking forward to our next get-together, at which time we can discuss next steps toward an inter-disciplinary conference of social scientists.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 7, 1958

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Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
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Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:RTF
cc: Herman H. Long
C. H. Parrish
Fred Routh

SOME ACTION SUGGESTIONS PREPARED FOR
DISCUSSION BY THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP
OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
AND THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Midwinter Meeting of the Missions Council
Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, 1958

by Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department
Board of Home Missions

THEME: WHAT DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE?

1. Discover some basis for effective and rewarding group action through loyal membership and participation, with groups whose purposes embrace a christian concern for the betterment of racial and intergroup relations -- both within
(a) your local church fellowship and (b) your local community.

Such groups are already in existence, and part of the immediate task is to achieve identity with them.

Where they do not exist, a major demand for action is to take initiative to see that they are created -- both in the local church and the community.

Question: What groups are available to you for expression of your concerns in race relations? Is membership in these groups enough? What, beyond this, does your identification and interest require?

2. Give stimulus and support to the formation in your own community of some intergroup relations organization dedicated to education and action. Ideally, this effort should take the form of a general and enlightened civic concern for the welfare of the city as a whole in this area of potential conflict and divisiveness.

Some of the typical organizations which have grown up in many communities are the "councils," "forums," "commissions," and "committees" which carry the identification of "human relations," "race relations," or "intergroup relations" groups. They are traditionally informal and volunteer groups, but they have taken the form of official "mayor's" or "governor's" citizens on other occasions. In other cases they have become

important adjuncts to local councils of churches and chambers of commerce.

Question: Is it important to have an actual interracial and interfaith character to these civic groups? What other interests should be represented in them? What about goals and policies?

3. Work toward the clarification of the policies of the organizations and institutions to which you belong and give support in terms of having such policies be "inclusive" -- especially if you are a member of the policy-making boards of such organizations. This is the natural context of your leadership function and where matters of private conscience can lead to formalized group commitment

Some such organizations are: Hospitals, social service agencies, private and public schools, sororities and fraternities, business and labor groups, youth and adult camps, voters' leagues, university women, and the like -- and especially your local church.

Question: What about policies determined at the national level of organizations and institutions? Is it a good thing to face policy matters in this field "head-on," or as some people express it -- "force policy decisions on racial matters?" What about "token representation" of minority groups?

4. Work to eliminate actual and potential practices of discrimination in public accommodations in your own community -- hotels, restaurants, motels, and places of recreation

This should be grounded in fact and not hearsay about the policies and practices of such places. So, get the facts by formal, non-accusatory, face-to-face conversations with owners of these establishments. Ideally, this should be a group or committee undertaking, involving the processes of discussion and negotiation.

Question: What bases are ther for constructive negotiation? What limits should be recognized by groups in their role of negotiators? What sanctions are there available, if and when negotiation fails? Should sanctions be used or threatened? If so, when can they be justified?

5. Anticipate the need for some form of effective public and leadership education on the critical issues which are present in this field. local, community-wide institutes and workshops are one important vehicle for such educational efforts. Be sure to involve and use the

resources of television, radio and the press toward achieving the maximum public impact of such discussions.

Using informed and constructively-oriented consultants and lecturers is important. Local colleges and universities are key resources, and so are the local religious leaders, ministerial associations, church councils and public officials.

Your own gropu -- church or lay -- can take the initiative for a local human relations workshop or institute

Question: What about the needs of young people in the effort to educate the community: What information should be gotten across? What basic values should undergird this effort and be communicated to the public-at-large? What about the mechanics of institute and workshop efforts?

6. Develop methods of approach and strategies of making an impact upon the major national issues involving minority groups: e.g.

Civil rights legislation
Individual liberties and freedoms
American Indian rights
Immigration policy
Etc.

a) Use channels available for expressing views to all political leaders -- senators, representatives and state officials.

b) Use the resources created to intervene between the public and the federal government on these matters -- e.g.

Presidents Committee on Government Contracts
Presidents Committee on Government Policy
Federal Housing Administration
U. S. Office of Education
Department of Interior -- Office of Indian Affairs
Commission on Civil Rights.

c) Develop organized letter-writing projects. Determine when the letters should be made public. Share the contents and positions-taken with those with whom and through whom you are acting.

Question: What about trying to influence legislation generally, and especially at the state level? Without being politically partisan, what roles can the person concerned with Christian social action assume?

7. Develop a long-range program for working at the basic problems of open-occupancy housing in your community. (See entire issue of Social Action magazine, November, 1957, Volume 24, No. 3)

Excerpts of action suggestions -- pp. 28-29

Find out the facts of racial segregation in your community.

Are persons prevented from buying or renting available houses because of race?

Present the facts to the members of the church.

Work with the city authorities responsible for slum clearance and urban renewal.

Stay in the neighborhood and welcome newcomers.

Work with others to form a committee for fair play in housing

Join with others to form a corporation to build houses open to persons of all races.

Question: Are there any sanctions available in this area? If so, how can they be used ? What about realtors and developers and what can be done with and through them as responsible local citizens? What important human and Christian values underly this issue, and how do they relate to the choices and decisions of the individual in the changing community?

A SELF-EVALUATION TEST ON FACTS AND ISSUES INVOLVING RACE

1. Blood is the primary determinant of race. True (T)___: False (F)___.

2. All of the major advances in civilization can be attributed to groups generally associated with the nordic or white races. (T)___ (F)___.

3. It is possible to determine through chemical and other methods of blood analysis whether a person belongs to a Negro or white racial group. (T)___ (F)___.

4. The mixing of Negro or white blood, as in the case of transfusions, has a harmful biologic effect upon the recipient of such blood. (T)___ (F)___.

5. Race is a major determinant of intelligence. (T)___ (F)___.

6. The offspring of a Negro-white mating will be inferior in intelligence, health, and qualities of character to either of the parents -- assuming both parents are normal. (T)___ (F)___.

7. It is impossible for the American Indian to assimilate the so-called "white culture" to which contacts may expose him. (T)___ (F)___.

8. The Negro and white individual in America are essential products of a common "American culture" into which many influences have entered. (T)___ (F)___.

9. In the mating of Negro and white individuals of so-called "pure stock," there will be a blending of the white and black color characteristics. (T)___ (F)___.

10. It is possible to classify Jews as a racial group on the basis of some physical characteristic or a combination of several physical characteristics. (T)___ (F)___.

11. The moral qualities of an individual have nothing to do with his racial background. (T)___ (F)___.

12. In the army intelligence tests, it has been found that whites from isolated mountain areas in the South scored higher than Negroes from northern urban communities. (T)___ (F)___.

13. National standards of ethics and morality have no relation to the racial backgrounds of the people who comprise the different nations of the world. (T)___ (F)___.

14. Differences in race, as a general rule, are less complex and more easily managed than differences in culture. (T)___ (F)___.

15. Racial prejudice is an inborn, natural antipathy which individuals have toward others different from themselves. (T)___ (F)___.

16. In most cases it is possible for parents to have strong, private racial prejudices and not have these attitudes influence those of their children. (T)___ (F)___.

17. Strongly developed racial prejudices are a symptom to the psychologist of some underlying personality conflict. (T)___ (F)___.

18. The high rates of crime among minority groups indicate that "criminal tendencies" have an hereditary racial base. (T)___ (F)___.

19. The sanction of law and legislation is one of the most effective methods now being used on a large scale basis for eliminating actual discriminatory behaviors against Negroes. (T)___ (F)___.

20. As racial segregation has been in process of elimination, and as improvements in the Negro's economic and educational status have taken place -- as during the past 15 years, the rate of intermarriage (Negro-white) has increased. (T)___ (F)___.

Score your paper as follows:

Count the number of correct answers.
Count the number of wrong answers.
Multiply the number of wrong answers by 2.
Subtract this figure from the total correct answers.
Multiply the remainder by 5, and this is your score.

A perfect score is 100.

(Prepared by Herman H. Long for evaluation and discussion purposes at the Women's Fellowship seminar, Midwinter Missions Council Meeting, Budk Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, January, 1958.)

Race Relations Department
Board of Home Missions

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: Messrs. Harold Fleming & Fred Routh

RE:

DATE: 3/10/58.

You will find attached rough copies of the list of consultants. The original information which I drew from the vitae was listed with the objective of brevity uppermost. Some sketches seemed thin for our purposes so that I listed within parentheses at the end additional data that seemed more or less important.

I would appreciate your respective judgments as to what can still be cut out of the original statement what substitutions added (if any) from the data in parentheses and any valuable data which have escaped me completely.

This will give us a final statement to Vernon Eagle's taste --- I hope!

I had no vitae on C.H., Kyler, or G.D. Wilson. I hope you can strengthen C.H.'s sketch from your information.

The copy of my letter from Dillon is self-explanatory. We can talk about this later.

Arthur

P.S. The list is double spaced so that "you can "have a ball" writing in & marking out. The final draft would, of course, be single spaced.

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

February 27, 1958

Dr. John Hope, II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

By now you should have received a copy of my letter to Trenholm. I have not yet heard from him.

I am writing now about another item on our joint "docket," namely the Hope Memorandum of December 23, 1957 on the "Inter-Disciplinary Conference of Social Scientists on Research on the Desegregation Problem and Related Issues."

This morning I showed your memo to Mrs. Nishi, National Council of Churches, in connection with our conversation about a proposed small conference of New York area social scientists to talk about what cues church leaders might take from the Suchman-Dean-Williams document, Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions (A.D.L.).

She felt that the New York conference might tie in with the one you are proposing in that: (a) both would be referring to the current state of research; (b) how this imperfect knowledge might be used by "practitioners," including churchmen; and (c) participants at both conferences would like to discuss ways for social scientists to solicit research funds for neglected areas.

So this is just to inform you that the National Council of Churches and the Phelps-Stokes Fund are beginning to talk about joint sponsorship of a New York Conference, and that Stewart Cook and M. Brewster Smith will be brought into early "negotiations" about it. There will be nothing definite on this, however, until April. If you plan to be at the Syracuse meetings of the S.A.A., we will be able to talk further at that time about the connections and division of labor: (a) the proposed National Council-Phelps-Stokes conference; (b) your proposal; and (c) the communication between Nick Demerath and Ronald Lippitt dated February 13.

I assume you are being asked for opinions on Tilman Cothran's tentative outline for the "Little Rock Desegregation Crisis" project of A.D.L.

Cordially,

WSD:wrw

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

Hi, Fred!
For your information.
JWM

Consultant Service Program file

March 11, 1958

Mr. Paul M. Rilling,
Associate Secretary
National Council of the
Young Men's Christian Associations
The Southern Area Council
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am happy to reply to your letter of March 5th. I recall our conversation in Atlanta and I am sending you a list of persons who, I believe, can very effectively direct the workshop of white and Negro YMCA secretaries. I am sending several names because the demands upon some of these are great and the time as I recall (early June?) is inconvenient for some. I would add also that I believe the combination of leaders chosen is almost as important as the qualifications of each individual. As far as possible, they should complement each other. One aspect of this is race. Our experience in the Consultant Service Program has strongly confirmed for me the unique value to workshop groups of having a bi-racial team of consultants. This in itself demonstrates better than words many of the fundamentals of sound intergroup relations. Likewise, because Negro scholars have understandably given intensive attention to such problems and because some qualified white scholars do not feel that they can participate in such meetings, some of our most effective and experienced consultants are Negroes. On the other hand, persons like Lewis Killian who is "tops" are increasingly swamped by requests from you, me, and no doubt many others. Thus, your chances of getting them are decreased.

The following is a list from which you may draw with confidence:

Mr. Will Campbell
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
Department of Sociology and
Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Lewis M. Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Willis A. Sutton
Associate Professor
Department of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Daniel Thompson, Chairman
Division of Social Sciences
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Harry J. Walker
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dr. Forrest La Violette, Head
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

The following combinations seem to me particularly well fitted for your purposes:

Inter-racial

Long or Parrish — Campbell
Walker - Killian or Coleman
Hill or Thompson - Sutton or La Violette

White

Killian - Campbell
Campbell - Coleman, Sutton, or La Violette

I hope these suggestions will be helpful to you in assembling a strong staff for this important institute. If I can be of further service let me know.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:RTF
cc: Mr. Fred B. Routh

March 11, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Frederick B. Routh

Re: Telephone call from John Hope II, March 7, 1958.

On Friday afternoon at 5.15 pm. John Hope called to outline developments with the Consultant Service Program. We covered the following points:

1. The meeting in Kentucky regarding merit employment went well. C.H. Parrish, Charles Steele (Louisville Urban League), Rufus Attwood, and others were present -- about ten in all. They are planning a major conference on merit employment to be held at the student union of the University of Kentucky on May 10th. The Consultant Service Program will participate in the conference.

2. The proposed meeting of selected Consultants with Vernon Eagle is now set up for March 29th in Nashville. In addition to John Hope the Consultants who have been invited and who have accepted invitations to attend are Lee Coleman, Bonita Valien, and Harry Walker. I have written Vernon Eagle to this effect.

3. The spring conference at LeMoyne College has again requested Consultant Service assistance from SRC. John Hope and I agreed that no more than two people in the Consultant Service Programme would participate; either he and one Consultant or two Consultants. We felt there was some possibility that I might attend as an SRC staff member.

4. Alice Spearman's letter asking for Consultant help in South Carolina has some unique aspects. She raised the question of what can be done to avert social and economic reprisals. John Hope and I felt that this is an important question we shall have to face in the deep South in the period which lies ahead. He is therefore writing Alice to ask her for clarification of her proposals.

5. The Nashville Conference on Community Relations is gearing up for another workshop. There was some question about SRC-CSP participation in it. John Hope and I agreed that there is enough local talent in the Nashville area that our participation, though desirable, was not necessary, and that due to the stringent financial situation we would bow out gracefully.

March 13, 1958

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman,
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street - Room 100
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

It was helpful to me to talk with you this afternoon about your request for consultant service assistance along the lines described in your letter of February 20 to Harold Fleming. I am enclosing three copies of the questionnaire form in the hope that you will send one copy to me, one to Fred Routh, and keep one for your files and for further use by consultants if it is found feasible for us to render this service in the near future.

As I indicated, there are certain questions which I have marked on one copy which seem most essential in order for us to have the necessary information to make a decision. These have been marked with a double check others with a single check mark are important but not indispensable. Of course, if it is convenient we would find it quite helpful to have the entire questionnaire completed insofar as it is now appropriate so that we and our consultants might be able to make comparisons of shift in the nature of your problems, etc. since you filled out the first questionnaire in 1956. Since we are using the old questionnaire forms you will see reference at several places to the "fall of 1956." In all such cases because reference is "fall of 1958."

It is my understanding that you will move forward with your plans for your annual meeting and not attempt to combine the suggested workshop with it and that we might best think in terms of the prospects of a workshop in early June.

Please feel free to give us any information which will help us to appraise your situation in South Carolina and determine how we might best serve you whether it is requested in the questionnaire or not. It might

be most convenient for you to make any additional comments you may wish to make on the back of the questionnaires with appropriate references to answers given to questions therein. Please be assured of our appreciation for your good work and our intense interest in giving any assistance to your program which it is possible for us to give with our resources.

Sincerely,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:RTF
Enclosures - 3
cc: Mr. Fred Routh

Reply to: John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

COPY

March 13, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Fred Routh

From: John Hope II

I am sending you my only copy of Bonita's letter to Maceo Smith. This should be held confidential and I would emphasize that it is an informal personl communication sent to Mr. Smith at his request. Since Mrs. Valien has shared it with me, I see no reason why those most closely involved should not receive copies but it should not be considered a part of the SRC-CSP consultation.

I am sending it on to avoid delay. I hope you can have it copied. Please return my copy. Certainly C.H. should have a copy. Because of the references to Kloppe and Falk, I question how much further it should be distributed in whole. Possibly with the deletion of the last three paragraphs, it could be sent to Will and Jean Fairfax.

Will accept your judgment.

John.

P.S. Kentucky and Memphis workshops shaping up well. Don't write off S.C. workshop yet.

Put temporary "hold" on following dates:

Kentucky workshop.		May 10 or May 17
Memphis	"	April 26 or May 3
S.C.	"	June 7 or June 14

Alice will go on with plans for Annual Meeting prior to this time. Have advised against mixing the two.

Awaiting further information from her. Thus, her dates very tentative but plans in Kentucky and Memphis are well under way and I should have specific proposals within week or ten days.

P.S. Received Falk document. Very good! He is a reliable resource. One thing, I though Maceo Smith was on convening committee -- and I think he does too. He! He!

Not serious.

COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

339 21st Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee
March 6, 1958

Dear Maceo:

I have been giving considerable thought to the Dallas situation and next steps since my recent visit there. While I am certain that you will get something of an "official" report and general impressions from the Council, I wanted to send this note on to you for whatever value it might have, especially for use in the meeting which I believe you are to have this Monday.

"Communication" seems to be the major and real problem as I see it in the Dallas situation. Somehow we have got to work out means whereby talking about desegregation is respectable; we have got to "build our bridges of understanding in little less secrecy." I think the meeting we had was a real valuable beginning and I think we should follow through on some of the important suggestions. I should like to list them as follows:

1. Get the Reverend Estelle to push Mr. Crossman for the meeting with the school board. I believe Mr. Crossman said he would look into this, and I think this should be followed through. It was mentioned that the Negroes would be those whom the Negroes themselves respect as leaders. I think you can tell Reverend Estelle what to say and the importance of pushing this. I am certain you would want to say the Negroes whom you think should best appear at such a conference.

2. It is important that we get the press on our side. The TIMES HERALD seems to be educable; Crossman seems to be sufficiently disturbed over the position and behaviour of the DALLAS MORNING NEWS that I believe we could make some real headway. In my conference with Mr. Chambers he impressed me as being very concerned; at the meeting McKnight exhibited a rather receptive attitude, I think. A newspaper doesn't have to take on a "crusading role" in order to take a positive and objective approach to the issue of school desegregation. I think we can do a great deal in couching all this in terms of education and community pride. Dallas is a proud community. The newspaper can begin an education campaign even before the school board announces its plan. They might want to run a series of articles which will simply digest what has been done in other communities in preparation for desegregation. I am sending to you copies of these studies for your own personal use.

3. The ministers should be pushed to get out a positive statement regarding school desegregation. This statement should come out NOW. I understand that they have been working on such a statement, but it is being revised; also, they seem to be waiting "for the right time". This, I think, they mean would be after the school board announces a plan. In my opinion, the right time is now since we need very much to "break the silence" as it were. This initial statement might be one which simply addresses itself to the issue of law and order. This certainly is not the ideal; they will want, I know, to follow this with a much stronger statement. But what we desperately need now is a respected group to speak out positively on the issue and NOW. This

would give courage to other groups, break the silence, release some of the fears and inhibitions, making possible more positive action on the part of other groups. This statement should be given a prominent place in the press; it should carry the important and well respected ministers of the community. The TIMES HERALD could carry such a statement as a front page item.

*(On this point, I believe Cunninggim at SMU would be very valuable. I also picked up that they hold Rev. Loud in very high regard. Douglas Jackson mentioned that Rev. Loud had spoken at SMU. He might be drawn into this to help give the necessary push to the ministers' statement. Remember also Joe Allen (SMU) was at the meeting.)

4. We need to disseminate materials over as wide an area as possible; however, I think we would want to first educate selecte status groups first. There are valuable materials available; these materials could be studied with the view of Dallas working up its own educational program. Ideas might be gained from some of the material I am sending on to you. I am also certain that this is an area where the Southern Regional Council, ADL, American Friends Service Committee and like agencies would be in a position to give valuable assistance.

These are some impressions growing out of my visit and the meeting which we had. You might want to discuss some of these at your strategy meeting. This is sent on to you as a personal and not an official document, and you can use it as you see fit.

There is, however, one point which I should like to emphasize. I know you are an extremely busy person, but of all the people with whom I spoke and worked in Dallas, I believe that what happens or does not happen in Dallas will depend very strongly upon you and your activity. You are the moving spirit, there is no doubt about that. I know you don't have time to do the job that needs to be done, but SRC does have a worker in Dallas in the name of ED KLOPPE whom you know very well. I am convinced that Kloppe could do much of the leg work and can do a job if he has strong and intelligent guidance. And I am also convinced that Kloppe wants to do a job. I think he ought to be involved and pushed. While I think Gus Falk is a good person, he has a job to do and has his own agency program and commitments. Kloppe is free and is available. If you can furnish the brain and the push, I believe Kloppe can be depended upon to do the job. I hope you think well enough of the idea to give this a try.

It was good seeing you and your dear wife in Dallas. You two are very fortunate in having each other, and so is Dallas! I hope you good luck in your meeting and would so much like hearing from you on what you accomplish.

While this is a personal letter, I know John Hope would want me to extend to both of you his personal good wishes also.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Bonita Valien.

March 14, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

I have just written to Vernon Eagle to tell him that you would inform him of the details of where, when, etc. of the March 29th meeting with SRC's Consultants in Nashville. His address is:

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

All best wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

John Hope, II

REGARDING

Outline for Merit Employment Programs

DATE

March 14, 1958

(SEE)

Cooperating Agencies - MERIT EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

March 17, 1958

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thanks for the copy of the letter Bonita wrote to Maceo Smith. Faith has done a good job of copying it and I am sending a copy to C.H. I will await further word from you before sending an edited edition to Will Campbell or Jean Fairfax.

I appreciated the humor in your note, and it was my understanding also that Maceo Smith was a member of the Convening Committee.

I will make notes of the proposed dates for the various workshops and will talk with Via as you suggested.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.
FBR:fcl

Sent 3/25/58

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: Mr. Paul Anthony

RE:

DATE: 3/19/58.

Would appreciate your mailing a copy of Organizations & Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South to --

Mrs. Thelma W. Babbitt
American Friends
Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

I have your letter re: the April 16th meeting. I believe I can attend. Advise when date is firm.

Thanks!! John

(over)

P.S. Tell Fred I have engagement in New York with Henry David for April 9th but will see whether I can shift it & will advise him.

March 19, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

The greater Atlanta Council's workshop has now firmed up for April 9th and they definitely want you to be here for it. This, I believe, is a worth while project for the Consultant Service Program so do hope you can make it.

All best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

P.S. Will send you an outline of the program when it is available.

FBR:fcl

RECEIVED MAR 21 1958
RECEIVED MAR 21 1958

March 20, 1958

Miss Jean Hunt
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Miss Hunt:

I reached Mr. Eagle by long distance phone thanks to your accurate directions. He asked that reservations be made on American flight No. 167 which leaves Chicago at 6:45 p.m. Friday, March 28th and arrives in Nashville at 9:33 p.m.; on American flight No. 134 which leaves Nashville at 7:45 p.m. Saturday, March 29th and arrives at Chicago at 10:14 p.m. These reservations have been confirmed and should be picked up in Chicago by 5 p.m., March 27th.

I am enclosing for his information vitae of the persons with whom he will meet here. I would appreciate his bringing these with him as they are my only copies.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:RTF

cc: Harold Fleming
Frederick Routh

To Fred Routh
SRC

file -
Consultant

March 28, 1958

Mr. Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

It was very good to hear from you and to know that your group is now thinking in terms of a workshop. This is a hasty note to advise you that the tentative date of May 10 has been set for a state wide conference on merit employment at Lexington, sponsored by the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. However, they are now considering the prospects of shifting this date to May 3 in which case the May 10 date would be available for your workshop. I should know definitely which of these will be used by the middle of next week and will advise you. At present time the May 23 date is opened but I hope that you can arrange to have it earlier since this is dangerously close to the end of the spring quarter for several of our consultants. I supposed May 3 would be too early, wouldn't it? You might want to consider this as well as May 10 date at your meeting Monday night. I will advise you by phone if I get any final word from Kentucky by Monday night.

As to the remainder of the latter I will answer more fully next week but in the meanwhile be assured of our continuing interest in your program in Knoxville and our desire to cooperate in any way that we can.

Sincerely,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:rmd

Consultant Service Program

Group I

What is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program.

Chairman: Ken Clark
Members: Sam Dorsey, Sam Gandy, Grace Hamilton, Bob Johnson, Bob Menefee, and Dan Thompson

Group II

What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community?

Chairman: Lewis Killian
Members: Robert Brisbane, Herman Long, Robert Martin, Bob Thompson, Whitney Young

Group III

What are the strong and weak points in the consultant techniques used to date? What are the elements of effective reporting and analysis that will make possible follow-through by SRC? What forms should reports take?

Chairman: Bonita Valien
Members: Earl Brewer, Will Campbell, Hy Lewis, Willis Sutton, and Harry Walker

Group IV

What criteria should be applied in choosing the best opportunities for consultant services - as between different leadership groups; as between local, state, and wider spheres of operation? What factors of timing should be considered in the selection and coordination of opportunities?

Chairman: Lee Coleman
Members: B.R. Brazeal, W. B. Jones, Irene Osborne, G. D. Wilson

CSP file

April 15, 1958

Mr. Hugh A. Brimm, Director
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
4435 Blenheim Road
Louisville 7, Kentucky

Dear Hugh:

Thanks for your letter of April 4. I am happy to know that we have a firm date and place. It sounds as if your plans are moving forward in good order.

I have just returned from New York and while there talked to Dr. David of the National Manpower Council about the possibility of his giving the keynote address at the Lexington Conference. He expresses real interest and states that he believes that either he or Dr. Eli Ginzberg (author of The Negro Potential) can attend this conference. I would suggest that if your committee wants this service, that a formal request be sent to him immediately as both of these men have rather heavy demands on their time and the date might be filled if it is not promptly put on their calendar. As you probably know, the National Manpower Council has given close attention to the problem of minority manpower both through speeches of its members and widely distributed and highly authoritative publications. Both of these men are first rate economists on the faculty of Columbia University and have had wide experience in conducting conferences dealing with various aspects of manpower utilization. In short, this prospect is better than any I have anticipated when I talked with you last. Charlie Steele may recall that a seminar on Mr. Ginzberg's book The Negro Potential was a major feature of the ceremonies which dedicated and opened the new National Urban League headquarters in New York.

I shall look forward to hearing from you as to the specifics of your program plans as soon as they are developed as these will be helpful to me in choosing the consultants for this important conference.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:RTF

cc: Frederick B. Routh

April 25, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: John Hope
C.H. Parrish

From: Fred Routh

I know you are both pressed for time and anxious to know the date of SRC's Executive Committee. It will be an all day meeting on Wednesday, 14th May.

Warm regards.

Consultant Prog

May 8, 1958

Dr. G. James Fleming
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Jim:

I appreciate very much your willingness to serve as an SRC consultant at the Conference on Merit Employment at Lexington, Kentucky dispite your heavy semester-end responsibilities. I look forward to seeing you there

As I told you the consultants will meet with the conference leadership group at a dinner meeting Friday evening at 6 p.m. Information as to place of this meeting and lodging arrangements will be sent you directly by Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, Executive Director, Kentucky Council on Human Relations. If you will advise him as to your time of arrival, arrangements will be made to meet you at the airport.

The present plan is to have the Friday night meeting in Louisville, we will all stay over night there and drive over to Frankfort Saturday morning. Dr. Brimm will advise you specifically on the Louisville plans. I am enclosing a copy of the program. I would like for you to serve along with Dr. David as a consultant to Group No. 1 -- Development and Utilization of Educational Resources for Merit Employment. We would be particularly interested in any recent vocational developments in the Baltimore public schools and the role that the Baltimore FEPC is playing in training. A list of key questions and issues particularly pertinent to the situation in Kentucky as seen by the conference leadership will be sent to you soon. In your preparation for this assignment primary attention should be given to these.

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum prepared for a meeting of consultants last year which will give an impression of the philosophy and aims of the CSP-SRC. Up to this time our services have been confined almost totally to school desegregation but the employment problem will probably get increasing attention. I am happy to be able to tap your broad knowledge and experience in this area.

You will receive a travel advance shortly from the SRC office in Atlanta and further payments will be made in accordance with the enclosed regulation statement. As I indicated, expenses plus consultant fee for 1½ days will be paid by SRC.

The best connection by air which I have found is Eastern No. 573 which leaves Baltimore Friday May 16th at 10:47 a.m., arrives in Washington, 11:09 a.m. Change to Eastern No. 463, leaves Washington 12:54 p.m. (luncheon aboard), arrives in Louisville, 2:33 p.m. You will be free Saturday in time to take Eastern No. 464, 5:41 p.m. arrives in Washington 9:10 p.m. You can take it from there. For your convenience, I have made this reservation and you should confirm it in Baltimore and purchase your ticket before 5 p.m. Thursday May 15th.

Feel free to change this if another plan is more satisfactory to you. But since flights are limited and we feel the 6 p.m. orientation session is as importance as the conference, I didn't want to take a chance on the flights being full.

I will be at the NNPA Conference at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington, May 12-13. Will I see you there?

Sincerely,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

Reply to: Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

JH:rmd

cc: Fred Routh

ENCLOSURE - 1

VIA AIR MAIL June 13, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I checked with Art on the film, "A City Decides." The ADL office here does not handle it, so Contemporary Films seems to be indicated.

I am looking forward to a note or call from you giving me your travel plans to Capahosic. My hasty scrutiny of the airlines schedule didn't offer much in the way of well-timed flights to Newport News-Hampton. If you should decide that we could do better flying to Richmond, that would be all right with me.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Did you get a copy of Herbert Hills long letter of June 3rd to the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems? It summarizes the detail the NAACP's grievances against the Government Contract Committee. If you did not get a copy, let me know and I will send you ours.

July 2, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Fred recently acquired from the NCCJ two booklets which he wants the state staffers to have during their week at the Institute. He has requested that we mail them to the staffers, but time being as it is, we thought it best to send them directly to you. Therefore, Miss Claire Royce, a temporary staff member who is coming to Nashville this weekend, has volunteered to bring them up to you. The purpose of this note is to ask that you hold onto them until Fred arrives.

Fred mentioned a third pamphlet, one by Sidney Hook. This one I can find no trace of.

Regards.

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

July 8, 1958

Mr. John Hope
Director, Industrial Relations
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Just a note of thanks for your cooperation, aid, and advice in setting up and conducting the labor seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. We think it was a successful program, and we are grateful to Fisk for the facilities provided for it.

You will receive a summary of the labor seminar sessions in the near future.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

June 18, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II.
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

I am arriving in Washington on Sunday, July 6 at 2:45 in the afternoon. Unless we make other plans, I will meet you at the airport when you arrive. I am writing Beckwith and Scull about our time of arrival - around 4:30. If they want to meet us then so we can have preliminary talks that evening, fine and well. I will ask them to send you copies of whatever they send me.

I am scheduled from Washington to Nashville July 7, at 9:40 P. M., American air lines flight 657 - that's the one you suggested, so we will be together.

I will be in Nashville Tuesday and Wednesday, and leave Thursday morning. You might drop Paul Anthony a note if there is any conflict. I will call him during my vacation.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

P. S.
Please tell Herman of my schedule.

FBR:ls

April 23, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John Hope:

At long last I have been able to make copies of Will Campbell's memo to you regarding the Dallas effort, and am therefore returning the original to you. I have sent copies to C.H. Parrish and Bonita Valien.

I am also enclosing a carbon copy of Gustave Falk's report to Ed Lukas as the thermo-fax copy I gave you to take away last week was not a very good one.

Fred is out of town all this week -- otherwise I am sure he would send you his best regards.

My own best regards to you.

Cordially,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.
FCL:s

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

September 21, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge with thanks receipt of September 11, 1956 check from the Southern Regional Council, in the amount of $42.62, sent in reimbursement for long distance telephone charges made by John Hope II for the Consultant Training Program of the Council, covering the period of June through August, 1955.

With personal good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

HHL:RTF

August 1, 1958

Mr. John Hope II
c/o Dr. William Trent
90 Coligni Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

Dear John:

C. H., Harold, and I have discussed the proposed meeting of consultants next Thursday. Because of travel schedules I think we'd better set on Washington, probably the Willard Hotel.

When you have set the time and place please inform Paul Anthony and I will find out from him. Also, please inform Paul Rilling. You can probably best reach him by calling Dean Thomas Henderson at Virginia Union.

I raise the question but leave to your discretion about inviting Jack Marion to the meeting. We tend to feel it might confuse roles.

C. H. Will check into the Dupont Plaza in time for a Thursday morning beginning.

I have sent Mrs. Schroetter the memo. Vernon Eagle's address is:

120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Bonita Valien
Consultant file

MEMORANDUM ON

MEETING OF CONSULTANTS WITH REFERENCE TO VIRGINIA COMMUNITIES, August 8, 1958
Washington, D.C.

After a survey of three Virginia communities, namely, Arlington, Charlottesville, and Norfolk, SRC consultants (Bonita Valien, Harry Walker, and ~~Will~~ John Alexander) met in Washington, D.C., on August 7 and 8 and discussed their findings and general impressions of these communities with the Chief Field Consultant, John Hope, and Associate Director of SRC, Fred Routh. On the basis of their general field impressions, the consultants were asked to indicate what, in their opinion, were the urgent "next steps" in the action field which would contribute to a smooth transition from a segregated to a desegregated school system. The consultants divided these "urgent action needs" into three categories -- (1) general -- those that were applicable to all communities; (2) specifics -- those applicable to the individual communities; (3) those functions which might best be carried on by the SRC central office.

I. WITH REFERENCE TO GENERAL NEEDS:

1. There should be made immediately available a special police manual dealing with the handling of interracial incidents. Such a manual should, as far as possible, deal with specifics of mob control, violence, etc., and should be written by a law enforcement official. (It was suggested that SRC explore the possibility with ADL of making immediately available the manual which has been written by Dallas Chief of Police, Hansen.)

2. Local groups should immediately ascertain the relationship and responsibilities of various law enforcement groups and agencies -- local, state, and federal. They should know well FBI agents and their function within their respective communities.

3. There should begin preparatory workshops for (a) Negro pioneer families and (b) white supporting families. In each community there should be organization of persons, or groups whose specific responsibility it is to maintain morale among Negro pioneer families -- a sort of identification, as it were, with the larger goals of democracy and public school education.

4. There is need for some local agency or agencies to see that troublemakers are well-known to law enforcement officials. The type of work done by ADL in Arlington, as an example, might be done by appropriate organizations or persons in other communities.

5. At the appropriate time, it seems indispensable that community organizations (ministers, councils, etc) issue statements appealing for respect for law and order and asking for impartial enforcement of the law by public officials.

6. Every attempt should be made for as wide agency cooperation and coordination as possible. This serves the useful function of not only keeping lines of authority clear and the elimination of duplication, but also serves as a device to re-enforce each other -- it eliminates the all-too often feeling of "being alone with our necks stuck out."

7. In view of the tenseness of the situation, there is need to work out a pattern whereby public school officials -- superintendents, principals, and teachers may, by "informal" means get preparatory training through:

a) workshops
b) visits to desegregated school centers
c) conferences with superintendents, principals and teachers who have participated in desegregation

8. Some community organization or organizations should assume responsibility for passing on to appropriate public officials the suggestion that if schools are closed recreational facilities should be kept open. This suggestion has already been made to an official in Arlington.

9. When it becomes clear that schools must desegregate, it is urged that public officials be encouraged to call in community leaders, both Negro and white, and ask for cooperation in implementing the desegregation plan.

II. IN THE INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITIES:

1. The need for agency cooperation and coordination seems urgent and of the greatest importance. The following are suggested as positive and useful groups from which to make a beginning:

In Charlottesville - The Ministerial Alliance
League of Women Voters

Norfolk - Women's Interracial Council

Arlington - Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

2. In Norfolk, there is need to make clear the distinction between the relationships, roles and lines of authority, between navy and city police in law enforcement.

3. In Charlottesville, there needs to be a re-definition of the role of the Director of the Virginia Council with the hope of establishing communication and cooperation with groups heretofore inactive and unapproachable.

III. AT THE SRC CENTRAL OFFICE:

On the basis of their work in the field, consultants agreed that there is:

1. Urgent need for a public statement at the national level giving support to the principle of desegregation of the schools. It was therefore suggested that the Director of SRC, Harold Fleming, might work through the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (Fleming) as a possible approach to the President for the issuance of such a statement.

2. There is need for the Central office to have readily available the names of persons who could be contacted and immediately available to do a specific job in a community. This need is especially urgent in the: (1) field of law enforcement; (2) at the educational level, well qualified and effective superintendents who have undergone the desegregation experience.

CONCLUSION:

Visits of consultants to the various communities confirmed the belief that the consultant service has a definite purpose and fulfills a positive role. As a detached, but interested observer, the consultant is able not only to move throughout the community assessing the various points of view, but as an outsider, he performs the useful function of providing a sympathetic "ear" for a public official or "troubled person" to express himself. In the very tense communities where people are afraid to "talk among themselves," the consultant, as an outsider, provides a welcomed type of relief for expression. Since the consultant is also a trained social scientist, it is not at all uncommon for his "off-the record" advice to be sought as to the objective appraisal and relative merits of various desegregation plans, etc.

The consultants expressed interest and willingness to go into the community as observers and offer continued consultative services as needed.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

CONFIDENTIAL

September 16, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: Virginia Situation - Report of telephone conversation with Paul Rilling

ARLINGTON

There is no basic change in the situation in Arlington from that reported in the papers last week. The Federal District Judge has not yet (as he said he would) ordered the admission of specific Negro children to specific white schools. This action is still expected since the judge was awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court in the Little Rock case.

CHARLOTTESVILLE

In Charlottesville the public schools have opened except for those affected by court order. The school board has asked the Circut Court of Appeals to delay the District Court's desegregation order. Judge Sobeloff who heads the Court of Appeals recently refused delay as requested by the Front Royal, Warren County school board. A strong Save Our Schools Committee has come out into the open since Monday, September 15th. Over two hundred people are already involved - they include conservative to moderate leadership, led by Dr. J. A. Rolston of the University of Virginia School of Engineering. This committee is patterned after the Arlington committee to preserve the public schools. It includes among others, Dr. Cherry, Dean of the school of education; Mr. Mott, principal of the Venable school; amd Mr. Welch who represents McGraw-Hill. There are several additional groups in Charlottesville. One of them, favoring private school plan, is also well organized.

FRONT ROYAL

The ministers of Front Royal have issued a good statement urging compliance with the law of the land; Paul Rilling assisted in its preparation; it has appeared in the Washington Post among other newspapers. School officials are actively seeking ways of re-opening the schools, even on a desegregated basis. They are waiting for citizenry reaction to build up and demand re-opening of the schools on a desegregated basis. Among those actively working for re-opening of the schools are: the president of the PTA's; the editor of the local paper (weekly); and the Baptist minister, Paul Stagg, who is, Rilling reports, probably the most effective guy on our side. Richmond reporters on the scene feel that community sentiment is shifting in favor of compliance.

NORFOLK

The Unitarian Church has spoken out strongly in Norfolk asking for compliance. A large group of protestant ministers is about to do the same. The Norfolk school board has been in touch with the Governor and the Attorney General. Schools open September 22 with seventeen Negro students assigned to specific white schools. City officials and the school board are watching the situation in Charlottesville and Front Royal closely. The private school group has had almost no success. The

committee to preserve the public schools is rapidly gaining strength.

GENERAL

The Virginia Council has released to the press a statement aimed at maintaining and increasing community pride in the public school system and saying that the welfare of the children - both Negro and white - must come before all other considerations. It goes on to say that the governor has fulfilled his pledge to resist with all legal and honorable means; that there are none left; and the time has come to comply with the court decision. They also raised the question of the academic ability and the constitutionality of any "private" school system hastily set up.

The letters to the editor column in the Richmond, Norfolk, and Charlottesville papers are beginning to mushroom with demands that the public school system be saved.

Paul Rilling reports that there is increasing evidence of public dissatisfaction with the state program of massive resistance.

-:-

November 26, 1958

Mr. John Hope II
Apt. #53
54 Morningside Drive
New York, New York

Dear John II:

Harold and I have talked over future uses of the Consultant Service Program; we reviewed our understanding of our separate conversations with you. His understanding was somewhat different from mine of the proposed project of using educational consultants in Little Rock. My misunderstanding--if that it be--is probably due to the 10:30 Sunday morning meeting after a heavy date Saturday night.

Harold's idea of what you two discussed has more meaning than my understanding of this particular project. As we now see it, the idea is to send into Little Rock an interracial team of two or more well qualified educators to survey the situation and ascertain the costs of closing public schools in terms of subjects-not-offered, hours-not-spent in learning, extra burdens on parents, etc., etc., of the children out of school. Then we would hope that this could be written up so that it could be distributed to key people in communities which soon must face the choice of some degree of desegregation or no public schools. Their findings could also assist other community leaders in handling interim services to pupil DP's. What needs to be done is for you to write an outline of what these educational consultants will do, what they will look for, and what use might be made of the report.

Some special effort should be made to show that though Negro kids are less well cared for under "private" tutorial schools, white kids also lose a great deal when public schools are closed. One section might deal with the question of emergency, temporary tutorial classes for displaced pupils (another new class of DP's).

I feel that this should be aimed at both white and Negro groups; Harold tends to think in terms of Negro groups mostly. This needs further thought.

In terms of our thinking about special efforts in key cities, what would you think about adding to our panel of consultants several of the leaders of the Committees to Preserve the Public Schools from Arlington and Norfolk? They could tell local leaders in key cities what they did to get such groups off the ground, whom they contacted, techniques used, etc. This would be both informational and action oriented. Your reactions, please.

Next, as to the question of a monthly minimum or a "retainer fee" for you; what do you propose as to amount; what relationship would this have to per-diem use of your services; how can we determine in advance how much time to allow for? Please let us have your thinking on this matter.

Finally, as to merit employment projects, we are in general agreement that this is an area where we should push ahead with more than all deliberate speed (as defined by the Southern states). We feel that North Carolina, Kentucky, and Arkansas probably offer the best opportunities for this effort. We need to explore with our state organizations how this can best be done, who should be involved on the local level, what our role should be. Again, please let us have your thinking on this matter.

What seems called for is a program prospectus for the Consultant Service Program for the next six months to a year. You are in the best position to do this, what with your experience as SRC's Chief Consultant and your long experience with the American Missionary Association, and Fisk.

Let us hear from you soon.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

54 Morningside Drive
Apartemtn 53
New York 25, New York
December 6, 1958

Mr. Fred B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed you will find the prospectus which I worked out during the Thanksgiving break. I had hoped to get it typed Monday only to find that one of our secretaries broke her finger, the other had a bad cold and would Not stay after hours, and Elise came down with Flu. However, Elise finally did her best -- she wouldn't let me send the long hand draft.

As to your query about adding to our CSP panel leaders of Committies to Preserve the Public Schools from Arlington and Norfolk, I am strongly against any apparent link with these organizations because of the basic differences in our avowed policies. However, I would not favor ruling out particular individuals fitted for our panel <u>because</u> they were CPPS leaders. Why not consider each such person on the basis of our needs and his qualifications but don't list as permanent members of the panel.

Maybe we should talk about this.

Sincerely,

c.c. to H. F.

Memorandum

To: Messrs. Harold Fleming and Fred Routh and Dr. C. H. Parrish

From: John Hope II 12/6/58.

Re: A Prospectus for CSP Activities for the Next Year

December 6, 1958

The following are the major areas of service suggested in descending order of their priorities.

I Service to communities where public school closings have occurred or are imminent.

II "Advanced guard" exploratory (intelligence), community orienting, indoctrinating, and mobilizing services to communities in which court orders to desegregate are impending and which are moving toward an educational crisis of some kind, e.g., Atlanta, Dallas, Knoxville, Houston, Miami, New Orleans, Raleigh

III Assistance to state organizations and local groups in developing merit employment (training and utilization) programs where the prospects seem favorable and such efforts do not restrict or compete with major school desegregation attempts

Role of CSP in Each of These Service Areas

I Assistance to communities regarding public school closings may involve a survey of the cost of such closings and an appraisal of the prospects and means by which temporary emergency private tutorial

arrangements can be made to fit the needs of Negro pupils.

The development of this area of service seems justified under the following assumptions:

1. That public school closings are likely to occur in several cities during the transition period from segregated to desegregated public school systems;
2. That students may be expected to be displaced from such schools for as much as a year or more before more stable adjustments are made to the court orders;
3. That, in general, Negro pupils are less likely than whites to find opportunities for emergency "private" education in their communities and such opportunities as they obtain are likely to be inferior to those available to whites because of the smaller resources of the Negro community unless such resources can be supplemented from outside sources
4. That failure to find adequate temporary educational facilities during this period may undermine the morale of Negro community leadership generally and deter Negro parents and children from seeking desegregated placement of Negro pupils, particularly high school pupils

The two phases of this service mentioned above are separable and may be rendered independent of each other but they tend to be complementary and may be rendered by the same team of consultants if the areas of professional competence are carefully selected and balanced among the team.

In my opinion, a survey of the cost of closing public schools should emphasize its costs to the community as a whole -- to all pupils and their parents; to the economic, social, and psychological potential of the community. But, it should show the nature and, as far as possible, the differential cost to the minority.

On the other hand, our appraisal of the prospects and character of a practical plan for the temporary private tutorial system should focus primarily upon the needs of Negro pupils because this is the area of need least likely to be met by normal local community action in the present social atmosphere of the southern community. However, we should recognize the superiority of establishing desegregated private facilities where these seem feasible. Our consultant teams should be ever alert to possiblities of such facilities, even if available only on a token basis. Nevertheless, the primary aim should be to establish such facilities for Negroes as would minimize their educational losses relative to those of their white counterparts as promptly as possible. This is urgently needed to maintain morale in the Negro community, the essential complainant group, so as to avoid the possibility of a progressive weakening of the Negro's will to resist the segregationist pressures for this capitulation.

Even though such a service is directed specifically to Negro pupils this does not imply that such efforts should rely solely upon Negro means -- personnel, facilities, funds, etc. Ample opportunity should be given for sympathetic white individuals and groups to participate in such an endeavor in various ways -- overt or secret, financial or services contributions, etc.

Among the major questions to which consultants should seek answers are the following:

1. What is the nature, magnitude (as far as possible), and incidence of the cost of closing public schools to the communities in which it occurs, the region, perhaps the nation?
2. What is needed to meet the community crisis if and when public schools are temporarily closed in a community --

   Resources - staff, facilities funds;

   Methods, techniques, strategies, etc.,?
3. What is the relative importance of the various needs that must be met, in what order, and by whom?

4. How can these needs be met most efficiently without jeopordizing or retarding the achievement of the primary objective -- public school desegregation?

5. What positive by-products of long range value can be obtained in the process of meeting this immediate problem, e.g., motivation of Negro community leadership for a larger and more sustained effort to foster the educational attainment of Negro children?

Nature of Consultant Resources Needed and Their Uses

Two alternative ways of initiating this service seem apparent:

1. Pilot project approach --

A consultant team might be sent upon request to a major city (e.g., Little Rock) where school closing is already a problem to make a survey of the situation and prepare a plan of action which would meet the needs of that community. Such a team would be composed mainly, if not solely, of professional educators with high competence in dealing with primary and secondary school problems, highly knowledgeable about the current southern situation, and preferably bi-racial in composition.

It would be hoped that its report would have trnasfer value for use in other communities faced with a similar crisis.

2. Consultant Conference Approach --

A small confernece of professional educators but with representatives of our regular panel who are most conversant with this problem might be called to discuss questions such as those mentioned above and to seek answers which would suggest a more comprehensive and universally applicable plan with sufficient flexibility for adjustment to varied specific manifestations of the basic problems posed by public school closing.

The first approach seems superior as a means of promptly meeting existing problems. Even if the second approach should seem appropriate at a later date, experience gained in dealing with the issues of a specific community in advance of such a meeting would prove crucial in assuring that the conference would yield concrete guidance for action on varied fronts.

Some Issues and Assumptions to be Considered in Dealing with the Problems of School Closings

A. Survey of Costs of School Closings

1. Costs of closings -- economic, social psychological, e ducational

   (a) To the community, e.g., loss of manpower potential, increase in juvenile delinquency, loss of school accreditation, increase in burden of child care for parents, particularly employed parents, etc.

   (b) To the families of displaced pupils -- all parents, whites, Negroes, e.g., cost of private education, decreased prospect of higher education for children, etc.

   (c) To pupils -- all, white, Negro

2. Costs to various categories of pupils and their parents:

   (a) Pupils not in school;

   (b) Pupils enrolled in "private" tutorial arrangements;

   (c) Pupils using other means of partial schooling, e.g. TV courses, private tutoring, etc.;

   (d) Pupils sent to other communities for schooling, e.g., cost of travel and maintenance, tuition, fees, etc.

3. Incidence of cost under various conditions, i.e., who finally pays:

   (a) To parents

   (b) To private subsidizing organizations, agencies, individuals, etc.

   (c) "Hidden" costs to city and/or state, e.g., idle educational facilities, salaries of idle public staff, capital losses

4. Extent to which "private school plans" shift the public education function, usually established by state constitution or statue, to private parties — parents, local private institutions (churches, civic organizations, etc.), private philantropies, etc.

5. Current position of southern education relative to national norms and effect of current pattern of resistance in widening the present gap.

B. Plan for temporary emergency tutorial education system for displaced Negro pupils — facilities, personnel, equipment and supplies, subject matter of courses, etc.

1. What is the most efficient and practicable use and combination of resources for this purpose?

The following list of alternative assumptions suggest important questions that must be answered before the most effective practical plan can be chosen:

(a) Regarding period of such service —

1) One year?

2) More than one year?

(b) Regarding objective of service —

1) Educational service to Negro pupils comparable to those being provided for whites?

2) Curriculum and scope of instruction aimed solely at meeting the needs of the elite, i.e., mainly those in the present junior and senior classes in high school who are planning to or are qualified to go to college?

3) Curriculum and quality of instruction aimed at the needs of all displaced Negro pupils who want to continue their

(c) Resources available for the Plan —

1) Limited to those of the Negro community?

2) Those available from the whole local community - Negro

and white?

3) Local resources supplementable from outside sources —

a) General appeal - regional, national?

b) National organizations of which local units are members, e.g., churches, fraternities and secret orders, professional and civic organizations, etc.?

c) Foundations and philanthropic organizations and individual donors?

4. Private resources supplemented by those availble from government — local, state, Federal, e.g., teaching services of public school personnel still on salary, use of supplies, equipment, or facilities other government bodies?

Relationship between temporary goal and ultimate objective of complete public school desegregation —

1) Does the emergency plan in any way jeopardize the prospect of attaining the ultimate goal — desegregation?

2) Does the emergency plan for Negroes in any way contribute to making such a system a permanent means of educating Negroes as a substitute for public school facilities?

II "Advanced Guard" exploratory — consultant services to communities where school crisis is imminent

Such services would probably follow the general pattern used in Virginia during the summer of 1958. (This will be developed further in a subsequent memorandum)

III Assistance in developing local merit employment programs

(This will be developed in a subsequent memorandum)

A tentative outline for use by groups developing merit employment projects has been submitted and is being revised for more general use in this field.

January 21, 1959

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. John Hope II
Apt. #53
54 Morningside Drive
New York 25, New York

Dear John:

I goofed. I misunderstood that the checks had not been sent, hence the delay in sending them along. Hope this did not inconvenience anyone too much.

I have been in touch with Horace Mann Bond and it is not possible for him to meet with us on the 25th. I am to see him tomorrow afternoon. He is interested in the project but probably could not do it before April. I don't feel this is a prohibitive delay. We will know more of his thinking after tomorrow.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

February 6, 1959

Mr. John Hope II
Apartment #53
54 Morningside Drive
New York, New York

Dear John:

What do you feel should be the next steps in view of the letter I am enclosing? With the proposed study of the Norfolk "costs" by the University of North Carolina should we look for another educator or should we reconsider the whole project?

I'll be out of town for a few days; if you think it important, call Harold.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (copy of ltr. from C. C. Travelstead)

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE

January 27, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I have received your letter of January 23 and appreciate very much your considering me to help with the survey which you have proposed. I must say immediately, however, that it will be impossible for me to take on this task at this time. My second semester schedule is indeed crowded, and in view of teaching and outside meetings, I could not possibly spare a week or ten days for this purpose.

Even if I were available, I might make the observation that the information you have proposed to be secured would be quite, quite difficult to get in any sort of objective or accurate way. For example, point no. 2 suggests the relation of socio-economic status to each of the categories explained in no. 1. This could be obtained, but would take a great deal of time and searching. Also, I might point out that item no. 3, "How does the curriculum of the private 'evasive' schools compare with the closed high schools?" constitutes a rather extensive investigation and even at its best would certainly be subjective.

I do commend you and the Southern Regional Council members for attempting to get further information relating to the Little Rock situation which might be helpful to the entire South, but I see it as a gigantic job.

My family and I are quite happy here in New Mexico and even though we miss our friends in Georgia and South Carolina, are indeed thankful to be living in this part of the country. Will you please convey my best wishes to Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Wright and others connected with the Council.

Cordially,

Chester C. Travelstead

Chester C. Travelstead
Dean, College of Education

CCT:lp

March 3, 1959

Mr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive
Apt. #53
New York, New York

Dear John:

It was good to talk with you after so long a period without communication. I believe that the idea of sending a consultant on a "roving" mission to key cities in the South is a sound one. Out of it should come new opportunities to make constructive use of the Consultant Service Program. Whomever we choose to do the job should stop by and touch base here first for briefing purposes.

As I promised when we were talking, I am sending a list of cities which face desegregation in the near future, perhaps in September of this year. In my view the key cities are:

Arkansas - Little Rock

Florida - Miami and St. Petersburg

Georgia - Atlanta

Louisiana - New Orleans

North Carolina - Durham

Tennessee - Knoxville

Texas - Dallas, Houston and perhaps Ft. Worth

Virginia - Charlottesville, Newport News, and Richmond

And that, my friend, makes a dozen cities where we may expect desegregation moves, if not desegregation, next fall. However, the central staff will deal with Atlanta and the time is not propitious for a Knoxville visit. I would be glad to look into Miami, St. Pete and New Orleans if no one else wants to! With that in mind, it seems probable that two consultants might be used to advantage. Let me have your thinking on these cities and how and with whom we should divide them.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

March 12, 1959

AIR MAIL

Mr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive
Apt. #53
New York, New York

Dear John:

I just received a call from Miss Trigg at LeMoyne College in Memphis. They are holding their annual workshop on April 4, and she asked if it would be possible for us to supply a team of consultants for the workshop sections, in addition to having me as their keynote speaker. I suggested that this was too much of an investment for the consultant program to put in one effort. I therefore suggested that while I would be happy to speak to them, I did not feel we could supply more than one other person, or at the outside, two for the workshop.

The over-all theme for the workshop is "Improving the Climate of Opinion." The four sub-groups are: (a) role and function of the press, (b) role and function of educational institutions, (c) role and function of cultural activities, and (d) role and function of leaders.

I suggested that she ask Spence, the reporter in Memphis, for the first session; Herman Long, representing Fisk, for the second; Will Campbell, representing the National Council of Churches, for the third; and we would supply a consultant for the fourth. Question: whom would you suggest? Please let me hear from you on this at once, as the time between now and the 4th is short.

Best regards to the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

March 12, 1959

AIR MAIL

Mr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive
Apt. #53
New York, New York

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Best regards to the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

name

NAME OR SUBJECT:

John Hope ltr. to:
Shine, Mr. Henry M., Jr.
Civil Rights Commission
Washington, D. C.

REGARDING:

Govt. employment hiring and utilization practices as applied to minority groups.

DATE
March 21, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

State Advisory Cttee - Tenn.
Civil Rights Commission

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Future Speaker

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

54 Morningside Drive
Apartment 53
New York 25, New York
March 21, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am enclosing my statement for February. You may alter the form, if necessary to convey our agreement to the "records" of the Council and advise me for future purposes.

Did you reach Lewis Killian? Can he help us in New Orleans and/or Florida? Is the Memphis Conference fully manned? Who?

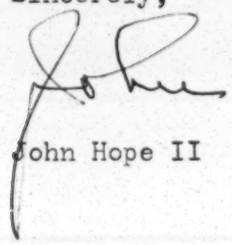
I have reached Bonita and Lee Coleman. April 18th conflicts with the Southern Sociological Society but both can meet on Sunday April 19th, 10 A. M. (sharp) at the Willard Hotel. I have set this date since no other near this time was satisfactory for all. Please advise me that you can be there. Because of the dangers of delays in arrival, I hope you can come in Saturday night, if you aren't already there at the other meeting. In fact, if you and Harold are going to be there through Friday, the three of us might profitably meet Saturday to pull several matters together, e.g., what if anything, can be gotten out of the present position of the Commission on Civil Rights (and vice versa).

Have they talked to you or Harold about a conference of intergroup relations professionals in the South? They are thinking in that direction and talked to me about it at Nashville.

I have agreed to myself and one other consultant (probably Jim Flemming?) for a Conference on Employment at Charlottesville on May 16th.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely,



John Hope II

Consultant file

March 25, 1959

Mr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive
Apt. #53
New York, New York

Dear John:

Thanks for your recent letter raising a number of questions about the Consultant Service program. Let me answer these questions in order:

1. I did reach Lewis Killian. He is over-burdened for this spring and cannot help us in New Orleans or Florida.

2. The Memphis conference is fully manned. I am enclosing a copy of the letter I wrote Miss Trigg yesterday. The CSP will be responsible only for C. H. Parrish and me.

3. Harold is not sure at this point whether or not he can stay over for the Sunday meeting with the consultants, but I can and have now planned to do so. And it may be possible for Harold to stay over, too.

4. I, or we, will be happy to discuss with you what, if anything, can be gotten out of the present position of the Commission on Civil Rights.

5. They have not talked with Harold or me about a proposed conference of intergroup relations professionals in the South.

6. Glad to hear that you and probably Jim Fleming will attend the conference on merit employment at Charlottesville on May 16th.

7. The form you used for your February statement is satisfactory.

Enclosed is a check covering the statement.

I look forward to seeing you in Washington.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check #5392 - $150.00)

April 27, 1959

Mr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive
Apartment #53
New York, New York

Dear John:

As a follow-up to our telephone conversation this letter will serve as an official request for the consultative services of Mrs. Bonita Valien.

SRC would like Mrs. Valien to go to Houston, Texas to discuss with Mr. James Noland, Mrs. James Crate and other local leaders the possibilities of establishing a Greater Houston Council on Human Relations. I have written Mrs. Crate and Mr. Noland regarding this.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
P. S. A copy of both the enclosed letters was also sent to Bonita.

F.B.R.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 16, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed you will find my statements for April and a revised one for March which, I hope, will be more specific. You may wish to substitute this for the briefer statement sent earlier.

I am also enclosing copies of the Program, report and questionnaire on local employment conditions which formed the basic data of the Charlottesville Conference on Job Opportunity. I think it was a good meeting and gave some valuable clues for future CSP help in the employment field. We started with about 35 and ended with some 40-50 participants.

Paul was quite effective and I shall be happy to "welcome him aboard." I'll be calling you next week about Texas and North Carolina and several other matters.

Sincerely,

John Hope II

CONFERENCE ON JOB OPPORTUNITIES

"Every American who helps, even in the smallest way, to make equality of opportunity a living fact, is doing the business of America."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Sponsored by

the

Charlottesville-Albemarle Chapter
of the
Virginia Council on Human Relations
held in

Charlottesville, Virginia

May 9, 1959

PROGRAM

Dr. David C. Wilson, Presiding

9:00 to 9:30 a.m. . . . . Registration
Coffee

9:30 a.m. Invocation . . . . . .Rev. Henry B. Mitchell
Welcome . . . . . Mrs. B. A. Makielski
Background of Present
Negro Employment
Situation . . . . . .Dr. Lambert Molyneaux

Presentation of Findings
on Local Employment
Situation . . . . . Mrs. Ronald Kledzik
Mrs. E.N.Jackson
Mrs. B. F. Bunn

10:00 a.m.
to Remarks . . . . . John Y. Yoshino
10:45 a.m.

11:00 a.m. Introduction of Consultants
Dr. G. James Flemming
Mr. John Hope, II
Mrs. Margaret Dabney
Mr. John Yoshino
Mr. Paul Rilling

11:10 Group Discussion with Consultants

1:00 p.m. BOX LUNCHEON

2:00 p.m. Group Reports and Summary
Discussion Leader . . . . . Paul Rilling

Concluding Remarks .Mrs. B. A. Makielski

4:00 p.m. Benediction . . . . Rev. Henry W. Cheatham

WHO IS WHO

Mr. John Y. Yoshino, Liaison Officer of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington, D. C.

Mr. G. James Flemming, Professor of Political Sci., Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.; also Director of Morgan's project in Political Education--a four year program supported by a $103,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

Mr. John Hope, II, Southern Regional Council Consultant Service, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Margaret G. Dabney, Supervisor of Adult Education, Division of Field Services, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

Mr. Paul Rilling, Executive Director, Virginia Council on Human Relations, Richmond, Va.

Dr. David C. Wilson, Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry, University of Virginia Hospital.

The Rev. Henry W. Cheatham, Minister Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Church.

The Rev. Henry B. Mitchell, Minister Trinity Episcopal Church.

Mrs. B. A. Makielski, Pres., Ch'ville-Albemarle Chapter Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Mrs. E. N. Jackson, Treasurer HRC.

Mrs. B. F. Bunn, Vice Pres., HRC, and Chairman Conference Committee

Dr. Lambert Molyneaux, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Virginia, Co-Chairman of Conference Committee

Mrs. Ronald Kledzik, Housewife, Ch'ville, Va.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON BETTER NEGRO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

You are asked to answer these questions in order to improve the chances for Negroes to get new kinds of jobs and to get better jobs and pay. The Charlottesville and Albemarle County Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations needs to know what has happened as a base for a new effort to improve job opportunities.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss_____, _____ _____
Last Name First Name Middle Name

Marital status: Married Widow(er) Single Divorced
(Circle the marital status which applies to you.)
Circle the grade of school you have completed on line below:
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4
High College

Name of last school_____
Other education or special skill:
(Indicate where received)_____
Major occupation: 1.
(Specify in detail)_____
Other occupation: 2.
(Specify in detail)_____
Other occupation: 3.
(Specify in detail)_____
Place of employment: 1.
2. 3.

Scratch a line through the income group you belong in below:
(If you made $1,800, it would be ~~$1,599 -- $1,999~~)

Less than $500	$2,500 -- $2,999	$5,000 -- $5,999
$ 500 to $ 999	$3,000 -- $3,499	$6,000 -- $6,999
$1,000 -- $1,499	$3,500 -- $3,999	$7,000 -- $7,999
$1,500 -- $1,999	$4,000 -- $4,499	$8,000 -- $9,999
$2,000 -- $2,499	$4,500 -- $4,999	$10,000 or more.

How many are employed
where you are working? Total_____ White_____ Colored_____
Do the Negroes have opportunities for advancement where you are working?

_____

_____
Do you have any other or better skills than you are using?

_____
Other remarks: (If you need more space, write on the back of the page.)

REPORT ON LOCAL EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

POPULATIONS - 1958 estimates from Bureau of Population and Statistics and the University of Virginia

	White	Colored	Total	Growth, 1950-58
Charlottesville	25,582	5,410	30,992	19.3%
Albemarle County	24,913	5,539	30,452	14.2%

REPORT OF QUESTIONNAIRE - Distribution was made by letter, personally in stores, barber and beauty shops, employment agency, and other businesses, churches, and senior class in high school.

Number Distributed - 950 Number Returned - 86

Number	Type of Work	Salary Range	Formal Training
32	Domestic	$ 500 - 1999	8th - 10th Grade
10	Laborers	2000 - 4499	5th - 7th Grade
15	Carpenters	3000 - 3499	12th - College
	Carpenters' Helpers	1500 - 2999	5th - College
15	Semi-Skill	2000 - 2499	High School
	Skilled	3000 - 3499	High School - 1 Year College
4	Cook	2000 - 3999	
1	Secretary		
1	Stenographer		
1	Typist		
1	Practical Nurse	2000 (Private Family)	High School
6	Unemployed		High School - College Graduate

2 Persons are employed out-of-town would like employment in city. 1 finished 11th grade and the other 2 years of college.

12 Persons listed skills better than they were using, for example: auto mechanics, degree in Business Administration, Pastry Cook, Seamstress, Telephone Lineman, Butcher, Painter, Secretary, Tailor, and one desires to operate or own a service station.

UNEMPLOYED - 1 Teacher, 1 Tailor, 1 Filing Clerk-Typist, 1 Bookkeeper-Typist, 2 Housewives.

OTHER FACTS REGARDING EMPLOYMENT

The University of Virginia Hospital	2500
Jefferson Elementary School	33 (Prof. Staff)
Jackson P. Burley High School	33 (Prof. Staff)
United States Post Office (2 carriers, 1 mail clerk, 2 mail handlers)	? (5 Negroes)

MANUFACTURERS EMPLOYING MORE THAN 100 (Chamber of Commerce Listings)

F. Jacobson & Sons, Inc. (clothing-garments)	150
Morton Frozen Foods, Inc.	875
Instruments: Specialties, Inc.	125
Sperry Piedmont Company	707
U.S. Instrument Corporation	200
Barnes Lumber Company	135
Charlottesville Lumber Company, Inc.	102
Acme Visible Records	575
Essex Corporation (Pens & Penvils)	150
The Michie Company (Publishers)	155
Alberene Stone Corporation	328
U. S. Rubber Company	225
Frank IX & Sons (Textile)	675

May 19, 1959

Mr. John Hope, II
54 Morningside Drive
Apartment #52
New York, New York

Dear John:

We are sending you our check for $259.07. This covers your voucher of May 15 for consultant services and your voucher for May 15 for expenses.

Thank you for sending us a more detailed copy of your voucher for April 25.

We are also sending Jim Fleming our check for $65.10 for the voucher you submitted for him.

I am impressed with the extensiveness of the program at the Charlottesville meeting on Job Opportunities. Good work.

Best regards to you and the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosure - 1

RECEIVED JUN 4 1959

June 2, 1959

Mrs. Harry J. Walker
4711 Blagden Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear LaVergne:

I have just heard of Harry's death and find it difficult to comprehend and even more so to accept. You and young Harry have my deepest sympathy.

As you well know from the frequency with which I have called on him as a consultant in our Consultant Service Program, we regarded Harry as indispensible in this important undertaking and I am now at a loss to know how we will get along without him. But even more important, I regarded him as a warm and devoted friend with a rare blend of the scholar, the social practitioner, and one who loved people and wanted in a very personal way to see their lots improved in this troubled world.

Difficult and discouraging problems were always made easier and the determination to solve them greater by having Harry working on them. To my certain knowledge, he has had an impact upon the solution of the desegregation problem in the South in his varied roles far beyond that which can be readily measured.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hope, John
Chief Consultant
C. S. Program

REGARDING:

(Tentative)
Proposals for Consultant Ser. Program, 1960

DATE

Sept. 18, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:
(Board)
Personnel Committee

Too many questions to
ask anyone - consultants
should review & select -
some could be consolidated

Question 6, 21, 22 should
be omitted - no use
getting into this sort of
discussion
Question 12 too complicated
Question 15 I wouldn't answer
if I were the manager

Race Relations Department

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICES
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OF THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

MEMORANDUM
FROM
JOHN HOPE, II

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming

RE:

DATE: 3/10/60.

The attached list of questions was developed rather hurriedly in anticipation of possible needs of some members of the Mayor's Committee now considering the "Sit-in" situation here.

I am wondering whether it would be advisable for me to send such a list as a memo to consultants and state directors. Negotiation of some kind is beginning to occur at various places and, I fear, our side knows little about the marketing aspects of the question. Would welcome you, Les, Phil, and Killing considering prospects of

refining and extending the list. We might even go further but more of that later.

What do you think??

[illegible]

****

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PR

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 11, 1960

To: PR, LWD, PA From: HCF

Subject: John Hope's Memo attached

This arrived too late (today) for me to review it with any care. However, it could be an important program piece and should have our earnest attention. Will you-all review it, send your reactions to Hope, and tell him I'll get into the act on my return? Thanks.

March 17, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. John Hope, II
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Harold is out of the office this week on vacation. He will be back by Monday. Paul and Les and I have carefully gone over your list of suggested questions and decided to communicate with you this week in order to facilitate their use.

I definitely feel that it would be useful to send such a list to consultants that will be moving into local situations and also to state directors of human relations councils. Although the list is somewhat long to be used as is with each business person, it is always helpful for an interviewer or negotiator to have a guide of various types of useful questions.

I thought that a few of the questions by being obviously slanted might have an adverse effect on any interview. I would therefore suggest that we eliminate questions 6 and 8 and 21 and 22 as being in this general category. We thought that question 12 was a little involved in its present wording. And that question 15 might be asking for the kind of information which the business manager might consider none of our business. Except for these minor comments, I think the list to be excellent and I can think of no additional lines of inquiry which would be helpful for this purpose.

Let me know if you want us to send out the copies after you have completed the final draft.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

SUGGESTED QUERIES TO STORE MANAGEMENT

1. Is your store a retail store?

2. Who determines policies followed by your unit? e.g.,

   Sales and purchasing policy?
   Advertising policy?
   Customer service policy?

3. Are you bound by top-management policy or can you use your discretion in any of these areas? (Centralized or decentralized?)

4. Do you have a uniform policy regarding food services to Negroes in all of your units? In all geographical areas?

5. Is your policy uniform for all southern units?
   What do you call the South? Oklahoma? Missouri? Salisbury, North Carolina

6. Do you believe there is a Monolithic South?

   Why differences in speed, methods and extent of public school transportation, park, library, etc. desegregation from state to state and community to community in the "South"?

7. Have you (or has your firm) made any objective studies of racial character of your market?

   Proportion of sales?
   Satisfaction with present service pattern — by Whites? by Negroes?

8. Do you seek the general public as customers? Do you differentiate between any groups of customers as to price charged for merchandise? Kinds of merchandise sold?

9. What customer services do you offer other than actual merchandise sold? Eating facilities? Rest room facilities? Credit services? Play rooms for children. Courtesy refreshments, fashion shows, etc.?

10. Do you differentiate between groups of customers in the quantity, quality and form of services offered in any of these customer services?

11. If so, why do you so distinguish? Personal attributes — cleanliness, decorum, etc.? Size of group relative to total customer group? "Local custom"? Top-Management policy?

12. If your Negro customers generally became aware of the full extent of the difference in terms of goods plus customer services between what they get per dollar spent at your store as compared with that provided all other customers and as a consequence exercised rational consumer buying judgment by seeking other outlets for their purchases,—

(a.) Would you object to such action? If so, what would you do as a retail merchant to counteract or offset such exercise of free choice? As a white citizen —?

(b.) Would you consider such action by Negro buyers an illegal conspiracy?

(c.) Would you consider such action a fair buyer practice in a free competitive market — a fair exercise of the consumer buyer's proper and expected right and responsibility in a capitalistic system?

13. On the basis of past performance, do you believe that your store unit can operate profitably, if your Negro market were lost? Your firm (nation-wide)?

14. Approximately what proportion of your present gross sales volume would you judge to come from white customers? Negro customers?

15. Approximately what proportion of your present total annual gross sales volume do you feel must be maintained in order for you to "break even" (no profit or loss)? For you to earn 4% on your investment?

16. How far do you think you can expand your sales volume from white customers? From Negro customers?
(Assuming continuing high level general employment, and little change in population of your selling area)

17. Do you believe that you would lose a significant part of your present white market, if you instituted a policy of equal customer services for all buyers without regard to race?

(a.) What proportion would you guess that you would lose by such action?

(b.) Would you expect this loss to be significantly offset by increased Negro trade?

18. Would such expected losses of white trade be significantly reduced, —

(a.) If all units of national variety chain stores operating in the community adopted simultaneously the same equal customer service policy?

(b.) If all units of national and regional variety chains did so?

(c.) If the major department stores (local and parts of chains) joined the variety store group in such a change in practice?

19. Do you (or does your firm) have any objections or misgivings about instituting or applying an equal customer service policy other than the fear of loss of the majority market?
Personal prejudice or commitment to the prevailing patterns (local customs)

20. Would you be willing to make such a change,

(a.) If authorized by top-management of your firm?

(b.) If units of all competing national variety chains in the community would join you in such a change?

(c.) If all competing national and regional variety chains would do so?

(d.) If all competing variety and department stores would do so?

21. What do you consider "equal consumer services" to mean?

22. Is maintenance of the human dignity of the individual customer a part of this.

JPR - Want to supplement?
PA
HF

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 31, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Harold Fleming and Mr. Paul Rilling

From: John Hope II, Chief Consultant, SRC - CSP

Attached you will find my report of activities for the first 6 months of 1960.

Paul Rilling may have things to add. For instance, I have no information on Prince Edward County action or Galen Weaver's activities in Virginia.

JHII

REPORT

of

THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM (CSP) OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,

JANUARY 1 - JUNE 30, 1960

by

John Hope II, Chief Consultant, SRC - CSP

The CSP continues in its fundamental objective to provide professional assistance to community leadership in its effort to efficiently and harmoniously apply the basic principles of democratic intergroup relations in developing programs of race relations. In order to achieve this goal, it has provided consultants competent to assist in the problem areas which leaders have given top priority in their respective communities.

Public Accommodations -- "Sit-Ins"

During this period, the vigor, pervasiveness, imaginativeness, and increasing effectiveness of the "Sit-in Movement" has in many communities catapulted problems of public accommodation from a secondary and frequently a residual position to one of top priority. Established liberal white and Negro leadership has found itself frequently faced with the unaccustomed and uncomfortable position of not being able to determine either the priority of problem areas in which positive changes in race relations patterns should be sought under the new circumstances, or the tempo and techniques by which such change would be brought about. In this near-crisis situation, the CSP in close co-ordination with other phases of the SRC program has assisted this leadership as expeditiously and quietly as possible in interpreting the nature and significance of this movement, placing it in proper perspective within the overall community race relations program, and determining the proper and legitimate roles of various community organizations, interests and government agencies involved -- whether voluntarily or involuntarily.

To this end, formal consultations were held with the joint boards of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and the Nashville Community Relations Conference (March 2, 1960), the Mayor of Raleigh (February 26-27, 1960), the Board of Directors of the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council, (April 8-9, 1960), and the Governor's Commission on Human Relations of Oklahoma (June 9-10, 1960).

The first of these was planned prior to the outbreak of violence in Nashville and there is little doubt that the process of determining whether such an interpretative consultation was needed and the process of getting ready for it contributed to the prompt and constructive role of these intergroup organizations when the crisis occurred. At the culmination of this consultation, action was officially taken to have a committee call on the Mayor and request the prompt formation of a Mayor's Committee to study and

make recommendations for the settlement of the issues. Such a committee was appointed within 18 hours of this meeting and two of the three members of this committee were appointed to the Mayor's Committee.

The Oklahoma consultation in a sense "opened a new front" of activity for the CSP. In the first place, this Commission is state-wide in its scope of activity and the potential range of its program includes efforts to eliminate discriminatory practices in a wide range of public activities. In the second place, it has a strong mandate from the Governor to get results or recommend legislation that will accomplish the desired purpose. Its immediate concern and the one upon which it sought assistance from the CSP was eating facilities which are not a part of a general retail sales operation. Lunch counters at department and variety stores are generally open but picketing of restaurants and cafeterias was in progress with the same vigor recently witnessed at lunch counters in other states further east. Thus, effective results in this area may well give guidance for constructive advice in other cities at a later date.

In addition to these formal consultations, the chief consultant has probably spent more time than ever before in informal, frequently highly confidential, consultation with leaders of various agencies and organizations involved in the various ramifications of the sit-in demonstrations as they developed their plans of action. This role was most important during the months of March and April when negotiations for settlement were widespread and the channels of communication between the negotiators in various cities very limited.

During this period, the chief consultant consulted intermittently with the executive committee of the Nashville Community Relations Conference, its president, and with two members of the Mayor's Committee on the sit-in situation, and had one formal and two informal meetings with the Mayor. Periodic exchanges of ideas and information took place between members of Mayor's Committees and other concerned leaders in Knoxville, and various North Carolina cities, and the chief consultant. If the judgments and suggestions ventured by the latter in these highly informal and confidential consultations served any useful purpose, the full and rapidly up-dated factual information which SRC was able to furnish was the most important cause since it, along with other "bits and pieces" of confidential information passed to the chief consultant by various negotiators provided a broader perspective from which to form judgments than was generally possible for the leaders and negotiators completely submerged, if not overwhelmed, by the day-to-day developments in their local situations.

While the significance of the CSP's role in lunch counter desegregation cannot be determined accurately, it is encouraging to note that Nashville, where its most intensive effort was made, was the first city in the Southeast to successfully integrate and Knoxville has recently joined as the third such city, the second being Winston Salem, North Carolina.

General Community Organization and Resource Mobilization

As in previous periods, the CSP assisted communities in more effectively mobilizing and co-ordinating the roles and functions of various community

organizations concerned with developing more democratic patterns of race relations in various phases of community life. In Houston, Texas, under the sponsorship of the Houston Council on Human Relations, a workshop operating under the general theme "Improving Intergroup Relations" drew some 85 participants out of an advance registration of 110 from a dozen different organizations despite the worst snow storm in a decade. While the immediate concern was preparation for public school desegregation, two other problems, minority group employment opportunity, and housing and public accommodations, were discussed. More than 50 per cent of the participants were white. This conference used the services of four consultants and the membership was divided into four discussion groups: two on education and one each on employment, and housing and public accommodations.

In anticipation of school desegregation in September 1960, the Knoxville Council on Human Relations conducted a workshop (April 8-9, 1960) attended by about 35 of its 50 board members. Under the direction of two SRC consultants (but financed by the Unitarian Service Committee), about three-fifths of the time was spent discussing ways and means of preparing the local community for the fast approaching public school desegregation while the remaining time was given to problems of employment and public accommodation with major emphasis on the then serious and unresolved lunch counter sit-in issue.

Employment Conferences

During the period of this report, requests for consultant services to deal with the problem of employment have been met. This is not new. Employment has been one of the areas of primary concern of community leadership from the inception of this program. However, the unique development is to be found in requests for specialized consultations confined to a consideration of this and directly related issues coming from predominantly Negro leadership groups. They seem to portend an increasing awareness by this leadership of the indispensibility of aggressive, constructive, and imaginative action on their part if Negro employment disabilities are to be eliminated. Whereas, in past workshops and discussion groups on employment have placed primary emphasis on current racial discrimination and means of eliminating it, these have, in addition, focused more sharply upon the need for an increase in the quantity and quality of education and skill development and the unique role of the Negro community, family, and school in contributing to this end. Likewise, post-conference developments indicated an unusual interest in systematic follow-up action to implement the findings and recommendations of the meetings.

A two day Community Conference on Employment Opportunity was held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee on April 22-23, 1960. It grew out of a growing awareness of Negro leaders that the city is in the midst of significant economic growth and industrial expansion in which Negro manpower is not effectively participating. This group was particularly mindful of the presence of two Negro colleges one of which has an engineering school while Negroes continue to be employed almost solely in traditional categories. A group of 40 assembled to determine the steps necessary to initiate a change in this practice. As a result, the group agreed to sponsor this conference, aimed primarily at the Negro leaders, organizations, and institutions but

inviting representation of interested bi-racial groups and white leaders. The reason for this emphasis was that the group felt that the initial step in a drive for equal job opportunity should be to moblize the full and informed support of the total Negro community behind such a program. In order to do this, the conference was convened to apprise leaders of the nature and importance of the employment problem, the means by which it could be alleviated, and the role of various organizations and individual leaders in achieving the desired goals.

Some 75 persons representing a good cross-section of the Negro community participated. The consultants included Dr. Henry David, Executive Director of the National Manpower Commission of Columbia University, the Chief Consultant who worked with him last year on a study of manpower problems of racial and ethnic minorities, and Dr. V. W. Henderson, Chairman of the Economics Department at Fisk University. In preparation for his role as a consultant, Dr. Henderson conducted a survey of the present pattern of Negro employment in Nashville. This formed the back-drop for the conference discussions and its sympathetic reporting in the daily press aroused unprecedented interest in business circles. Already, the Nashville transit company has taken the initiative in hiring Negroes as bus drivers and has stated that it would henceforth hire on merit without regard to race. One soft drink bottling company has hired its first Negro route salesman and is reportedly on the brink of adding a second because of the initial success of this change in employment practice. There is a good prospect that a major chain grocery firm may begin employing without discrimination in the near future.

A report of this conference has been prepared for wide distribution, the sponsoring group has decided to become permanent so that it can develop a continuing program. Officers have already been elected, committees have been appointed, and a plan of action with prescribed target priorities is in the making. Negotiations are beginning with the telephone company and other firms will be contacted according to plan. (See attached Report)

On April 25-26, 1960, the CSP conducted its first consultation with college administrators of predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning. This meeting was developed and sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. It brought together presidents, deans, and guidance personnel from five colleges and two junior colleges in South Carolina. This group of 30 administrators examined present curriculum, guidance, and placement practices in relation to expected industrial trends and manpower needs of the decade of the 60's in an effort to, at least, begin the process of appraising the kinds and quality of its offerings in relation to prospective employment opportunities for its graduates during the coming decade.

Two consultants were used, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Chairman of the School of Education, Atlanta University, an outstanding scholar and educationist who has had a career as teacher and former president of two colleges, served as the authority on the character of the manpower potential available from such institutions and means of improving it. The Chief Consultant gave primary attention to the nature of the present and future demand for the products of these institutions.

According to Mrs. Spearman, the participants considered this meeting a highly successful beginning and have requested that it become an annual event of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

July 31, 1960

x
xxx
x

FORMAL SRC - CSP CONSULTATIONS, JANUARY 1 - JUNE 30, 1960

Place, Time Sponsorship	Problem Areas Considered	Consultants -- Number and Names	Participants -- Number and Kinds
	Workshops, Conferences, and Institutes		
Houston Council on Human Relations, 2/12-13/60, St. James Episcopal Church (integrated), Houston, Texas	Community resource Assessment and Organization -- School desegregation Employment Housing and Public accommodations	(3) John Hope II, Chairman A. Lee Coleman Herman H. Long	(85) Bi-racial group of community leaders chosen from about 12 community organizations.
Nashville Community Relations Council and Tennessee Council on Human Relations, 3/2/60, First Unitarian Church, Nashville, Tennessee	Lunch Counter Sit-ins and Related matters	(3) John Hope II, Chairman Kenneth Morland Whitney Young (Latter two "snowed out")	(50) Members of Board of Directors of the two sponsoring organizations and other invited guests.
Knoxville Area Human Relations Council, 4/8-9/60, Downtown YWCA, Knoxville, Tennessee	School Desegregation Other problems -- Lunch counter sit-ins, employment, public accommodations, etc.	(2) John Hope II, Chairman C. N. Parrish	(35) Members of Board of Directors and other invited guests.
	Special Purpose Consultations		
Mayor of Raleigh, 2/26-27/60, Raleigh, North Carolina	Lunch Counter Sit-in Situation in Raleigh	John Hope II Lewis Killian	Conference with Mayor; separate conferences with Negro adults and student leadership involved.
Executive Committee, President, Nashville Community Relations Conference and TCHR (and others involved), several at intervals.	Lunch Counter Sit-in Situation in Nashville and Tennessee	John Hope II	Formal and informal consultation -- as requested.
Governor's Commission on Human Relations of Oklahoma, 6/9-10/60, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	State-wide problem of public accommodations, particularly restaurants and cafeterias, and hotels and motels	John Hope II, Chairman A. Lee Coleman Kenneth Morland	Meetings with the Commission and with its Sub-Committee on eating facilities, hotels and motels.
Prince Edward County, Virginia	Education of Negroes while public schools closed	Henderson Daniel	
Community Conference on Employment Opportunity, 4/22-23/60, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee	Negro employment status, prospects, and action plans	(3) John Hope II, Chairman Henry David V. W. Henderson	(75) Cross-section of Negro community leadership and members of boards of intergroup organizations.

(the Consultant Service Program)

Report of Activities of the Field Department and of Associated State Councils

The fundraising efforts of the state councils during 1960 demonstrated the effectiveness of the matching-fund, incentive plan used by SRC in handling state assistance. During 1960 these groups raised locally a total of $51,793. This is the greatest self-support effort since these groups were organized and represents an increase of 54.5% over the $33,324 raised during 1959. Of the ten groups, eight raised more funds during 1960 than in 1959.

The Florida Council on Human Relations received notice of federal tax exempt status near the end of 1959. All of the state councils have now been so classified.

Two state councils, Alabama and Georgia, have been looking for new professional staff. The Alabama Council is seeking a replacement for Bob Hughes, now training for missionary service in Africa. The Georgia Council is planning to move from a part-time to a full-time operation. Both groups plan to announce the appointment of new directors within the next few weeks.

During the last months of 1960 new cooperating groups of state councils were established in Memphis, Tennessee; in Norfolk and Fredericksburg, Va.; in Raleigh, N.C.; and in several Alabama communities. The membership of the Virginia Council on Human Relations was increased by the end of 1960 to a total of 2,500.

Last fall the board of the Southern Regional Council approved a conditional grant of assistance of $1,500 to the Houston Council on Human Relations provided that the Houston Council raise a total of $3,000 in local funds by January 1, 1961. This condition has been met. This promising community council has opened an office, employed staff, and has launched a constructive program.

Consultant Service Program. John Hope II, chief consultant, has been active since the last meeting of the executive committee, meeting with members of state advisory committees to the Civil Rights Commission in four states, conferring with a citizens committee in Beaufort, S.C. on

a possible community self-survey, conducting a workshop in Louisville, Kentucky, for consultants of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations who plan to work on merit employment problems in several Kentucky communities. As a result of John's consultations with members of state civil rights advisory committees, several of these groups are planning ~~mmxik~~ statewide merit employment surveys.

Activities of the Field Director. Since last September the field director has made a number of trips to New Orleans, working with local groups in connection with the school crisis there. During January of 1961 he has been primarily in Georgia, in touch with groups concerned with the developments at the university and in connection with the Atlanta school situation.

He has participated in annual meetings of state groups in Tennessee and Georgia and has visited state offices in North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Arkansas. He has consulted with local groups in Houston and Austin, Texas, in Birmingham, Montgomery, ~~xxxxxx~~ and Talladega, Alabama, and in Columbus, Georgia. He has been involved in a ministers workshop in Virginia and a teachers conference in Chattanooga. He has attended meetings of the Southern inter-agency conference and of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Program Activities of State Council Groups during the last three months have included:

1. A retreat of ministers in the Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Ark. area, led by Kyle Haselden and Dr. ___ Pettigrew.

2. A partially successful effort to desegregate Brownie Girl Scout groups in Nashville, Tennessee.

3. Planning of a state-wide, inter-racial, college student workshop in South Carolina, to be held Feb. 5.

4. Successful efforts to gain the employment of a Negro nurse in the Veterans Hospital, Columbia, S.C.

5. Consultations with school officials and white and Negro parents to encourage smooth implementation of school desegregation rulings in Chattanooga, Tenn. and in Atlanta, Ga.

6. A statement by the North Carolina Council on Human Relations to the state advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission protesting tokenism and the Piersall Plan in the state.

7. Organization of an informal, ad hoc committee of leadership calibre to consider settlement of the sit-ins in Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

8. Establishment of a cultural opportunities study and action group in Richmond, Va.

9. Sponsorship by the Virginia Council of a speaking tour throughout the state by the Rev. Robert Hughes of Alabama.

10. Release of a summary of the state of of human relations in Virginia by the V.C.H.R.

Note: Reports on the Southern Leadership Project will be delivered verbally by Mr. Muse & Mr. Bewley at the close of the Exec. Comm. meeting.

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1961

March 13, 1961

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

I wish to express to you and to the Board of Directors of the Taconic Foundation my deep personal gratitude and the appreciation of the Race Relations Department for your gift ($4,860) made for the analysis of employment data. I will keep you advised as this project goes forward.

I received this generous contribution just before leaving Nashville to attend the important meeting with the Honorable Robert Kennedy and his civil rights staff which Ralph McGill and Harold Fleming arranged. I left Washington Tuesday with very mixed emotions. That a group of persons primarily concerned with civil rights and intergroup relations generally could get the sympathetic ear of the Attorney General and the Vice President of the United States and their aides, all within the brief period of some eight hours, was a source of extreme satisfaction and sent my hopes for the future soaring.

On the other hand, the news that my good friend Harold was leaving the Southern Regional Council was disconcerting, to say the least. His contribution in race relations to the South and to the nation has been large and decisive in recent years. His discerning choice of targets and deft deployment of resources to achieve the goals sought have been outstanding. As a result, the impact of the SRC has broadened and deepened during the crucial period since the School Desegregation Decision. The comfort that we who work with him may take is that in his new endeavor he will apply his talents on a broader stage for the greater benefit of mankind — nationally and internationally. And thus, I congratulate the Taconic Foundation for its excellent judgment in selecting him for this new role and pledge my support in the projected program of the new agency in any small way in which I can help.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Director of Industrial Relations

cc: Harold Fleming

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-4764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 9, 1961

To: PR From: PA

Subject: John Hope Expenses and Consultant Service Program

As I understand it, the agreement which we meant to make with John Hope was as follows: As of March 1, 1961 ~~&&~~ there remained for use by John and the CSP a total of $2,000. These funds could be used by John as he saw fit, by himself or with the use of other consultants, and with any breakdown he might choose as to fees and travel expenses.

Expenses since that time are:

Hope - consultant fees, 8 days - March	$ 320.00	+360
- Apr	160	
Routh, Young, et.al. - Louisville	225.00	
Hope - travel and communication - March	~~146.47~~	+20.90
- travel - April	123.53	~~140~~ 38.81
- travel - May	133.93	
	$1,007.86	
Balance of	$ 992.14	

Note that the above accounting does not include communication or consultant fees for April. Therefore, when John's expenses for April are submitted, the above balance will probably be considerably reduced.

47
80
132

1672 32

As you know, when these funds are exhausted we see little possibility of new assistance to the Consultant Service Program in the near future.

I am sorry to say that we are not in a position, at present, to offer you any regular consultative arrangement out of general support funds. We expect to continue to service special needs from time to time and would hope to call on you for such services on a per diem basis. I certainly hope that you will continue in the role of Chief Consultant so that we can call on your advice and assistance in future months.

~~I realize that it is not easy for you to be in a position to help us in such an~~

Under your leadership the Consultant Service Program has made a significant contribution to the work of the Council and to the entire South. We regret its approaching termination but look forward to continued cooperative activity with you, even if on a regrettably more informal and irregular basis.

via air mail

May 16, 1961

Mr. John Hope, II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

This is an effort to set forth in writing the substance of the talk which you, Harold, and I had some weeks ago regarding the revised terms of your role with the Council. As I said this morning, a further conversation is desirable, and I hope that our schedules will permit that this Friday. This letter, however, can be a basis for discussion. Here goes:

(1) We earnestly wish that you continue in your position of Chief Consultant. As such, you would continue as an adviser and resource person in all activities of SRC. Any work on your part involving appreciable amounts of time would be billed by you at the Council's standard per diem rate ($40.00). As Chief Consultant, your presence at Executive Committee and Board meetings is desirable.

(2) Your other function, that of director of the Consultant Service Program, needs to be put on a different standing. It is no longer advisable to budget the Program as a special project; consequently, the guarantee of a minimum level of fees can no longer be made.

(3) We hope to continue to provide the sort of services carried under the Program. We hope that you would be available as in the past to undertake these at the Atlanta office's suggestion. Moreover, we hope that you would, as in the past, take the initiative in proposing to the Atlanta office such services.

(4) If you are, any consultant services of the sort formerly carried under the Program would be planned only through you.

(5) Generally, the Field Director or the Executive Director would be your liaison with the Atlanta office, in proposing or approving plans.

(6) You would be paid the Council's standard per diem on all assignments. Only work authorized by the Atlanta office can be reimbursed .

(7) Per agreement, you had $2,000 to spend according to your best judgment after March 1, 1961. Our records show expenses since that time as:

Hope - consultant fees,	
8 days, March	$ 680.00
April	160.00
Routh, Young, et.al. fees	225.00
Hope - travel and communication,	
March	167.37
April	162.44
May	133.93
	$1,528.74

(8) This indicates a balance of $471.26. As we do not yet have all of your May expenses or fees and expenses in connection with the Atlanta meeting scheduled for this week, the probability is that the fund is exhausted.

Please let me have your thoughts.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

Consultant Service Program

MEMO

TO: Staff

FROM: GSM GSM

RE: PROSPECTIVE CONSULTANTS

Note that in telephone conversation today, John Hope asked that Bill Jones and Kenneth Clarke be officially added to the list of possible consultants and I've so added them and have invited them so to serve.

The official list of invited consultants is now inclusively:

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dr. G.D. Wilson
Kentucky State College
Frankfort Kentucky

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Irene Osborne
AFSC
104 "C" St., NE
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dr. William Jones
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

HCF ✓
FBR ✓
GSA ✓
MET ✓
JC ✓
CHP ✓
FI ✓
RHA ✓
GSM ✓

Montgomery, Alabama, has had a lot of strain in recent weeks because (for sufficient reason) Negro citizens have been refusing to ride the buses. A Negro minister from Montgomery was lately visiting a Texas College President. Texas man asked anxiously about the situation in Montgomery. "Yes," said the Montgomery man, "it looks bad. The white people have run out of arguments. They haven't got any more moral argument, they haven't got any more religious argument, and they haven't got any more legal argument. And they've taken to violence. But, Reverend," he said, "WE haven't run out of arguments, and there won't be any trouble."

Let A
6 orig. typings

EXHIBIT I

PROPOSED LETTER FROM MITCHELL TO PROSPECTIVE CONSULTANTS

Dear :

You will recall that at a meeting last August 10th under the guidance of Dr. C. H. Parrish, several distinguished social scientists took a look at the work being attempted by the Southern Regional Council and developed some fruitful suggestions for the expansion of council activities. Since that time I have been able to arrange payment for the ~~services~~ occasional services ~~for the employment~~ of a limited number of consultants. They ~~who~~ will be charged with ~~the~~ responsibility of conducting workshops for ~~state~~ members of State board, staff training institutes, and such other purposes as appear necessary for the successful prosecution and extension of the council's program.

These consultants are to be compensated on a ~~perdiem~~ per diem basis in addition to their traveling expenses. I would like very much to have you serve as one of these consultants. A preliminary meeting of the consultants is planned for a convenient time early in January.

Through a loan arrangement with the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches, Mr. John Hope II has assumed the duties of Assistant Director for Program and he will have the responsibility of coordinating the work of the consultants. He will be in communication with you shortly concerning plans for the January meeting and other matters relative to the consultant service program.

Sincerely yours,

OK
cm

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Groups affiliated with SRC,

EXHIBIT II

Correct Service Program

SUGGESTED LETTER FROM MITCHELL TO STATE DIRECTORS

Dear :

Through a loan arrangement with the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches, Mr. John Hope II has assumed the duties of Assistant Director for Program. He will be in touch with you in the near future with ~~each~~ specific reference to your program needs and how the central office can best assist you in meeting them. You may feel free to write Mr. Hope on any other matters concerning program and training on which he and the central office staff may be of assistance.

For the present he will maintain his base at Fisk University though he will spend considerable time at the Atlanta office and in the ~~field~~ States. In order to speed ~~expedite~~ all communications with him about ~~relative to~~ program, he has suggested that for the present all letters to him be mailed to --

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program,
SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

and that a copy be sent in my care to the Atlanta office in order to avoid unnecessary delays. His office telephone number in Nashville is Chapel 2-3396.

You will be interested to know that an arrangement has been made for the employment of the limited number of highly qualified consultants who will be available to you for the purpose of conducting workshops for your staff and board members and such other uses as their talents can be put for the further development and extension of your program and its further coordination with the overall program and objectives of the Southern Regional Council.

Specific planning of this consultant service will begin with the new year. Any comments and suggestions that you feel will assist us in making these plans of maximum efficiency and assistance to you should be directed to Mr. Hope at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

OK
GSM

for corrections
6 - original typings

EXHIBIT III

SUGGESTED LETTER FROM HOPE TO CONSULTANTS

Dear :

You have received, no doubt, Dr. Mitchell's letter of December asking your participation in a consultants service program. I cannot urge too strongly my personal wish or that of the central office team of which we hope you will be an important member that you join us in this important service to the Southern Regional Council, the South, and thus to the nation.

It seems imperative that we get a good start by attending a conference of all consultants early in January and, consequently, I am asking you to advise me promptly whether you will serve, and whether you can attend such a conference for the planning, orientation, etc. on Saturday, January 14 in Atlanta. If you can not attend on this date, please indicate on which of the following dates you can attend: ~~Jan 13; 15, or 22.~~ January 13; January 18; January 28.

Your travel expenses will be borne by the Southern Regional Council and per diem at the rate (not yet decided) for consultant services will be paid. I am sorry I cannot indicate this rate at this time, but we expect it to be at a ~~we~~ reasonable figure

Answers to the attached list of questions are necessary for further planning and scheduling this service. Please return them to me immediately so that they can be tabulated and analyzed prior to this conference. Do not delay in returning this sheet because you cannot immediately answer all questions. Sent it back promptly and supplement it, if necessary, by letter as soon as you can fill in the gaps. Mail all communications to - -

Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC

c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

I shall look forward to seeing you at the January conference and to a closer association thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

OK
EM

Counselor Service Program

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. George S. Mitchell; Mr. Harold C. Fleming; Dr. C. H. Parrish; Mr. Fred B. Routh

From: John Hope II

Subject: Plans for Meeting of Prospective Consultants

At a conference in Milwaukee including Parrish, Routh, and Hope, it was agreed that a conference of consultants (after receiving their acceptance) should be held preferably no later than January 15, 1956, that certain materials should be prepared in advance of this meeting and circulated to the consultants for their thoughtful consideration in order that they might react to it at the meeting; that such materials should as far as possible be completed and sent to Hope far enough in advance of the conference date to allow "the team" to consider them together and make such adjustments, revisions, and additions as seem necessary before presenting them to the consultants.

Certain specific responsibilities were accepted by each of those present at this conference and the assistance of Mitchell and Fleming will be requested as our plans develop.

I am trying to get all basic materials in hand as soon as possible for the January meeting and to this end expect to confer with Dr. Robert Johnson next week on one phase. I would like to know from C. H. and Fred whether their materials can be expected by Christmas and if not when I may expect them.

There are certain types of information and guidance which the coordinator and the consultants will need in order to establish an efficient service which only you experienced insiders can give. Since it is quite probable that as the program develops more and more persons will be involved who have not had the advantages of the briefing given at the August meeting

and before they assume the role of consultant for the Southern regional Council or other co-operating agencies, I believe it would be valuable to reduce the useful results of your experience to writing so that all subsequent consultants would have the benefit of your experience and wisdom in a fairly standardized form.

I can think of three major types of information which would be helpful to me as coordinator or consultant. Insofar as such information could be classified by sub-groups of states and individual states, e.g., hard-core, waiting, and desegregating states when comments for each state within these three categories, its value for briefing purposes would be increased.

These are listed as follows:

1. A clear picture of the major program needs at the state level. If the top two or three of these could be listed in descending order of importance it would be helpful.

2. The principal problems, barriers, obstacles, etc., to the attainment of program goals whether from internal or external sources. Again, if these can be rated roughly it would be helpful.

3. The major positive attributes, resources, conditions, etc., favoring the achievement of program goals and on basis of these and other considerations the specific program developments considered most urgent and also achievable in the immediate or near future.

It would be helpful to us to have information of these three types separately and independently from the points of view of the various staff and board member groups on the one hand and from the central staff point to view on the other. C. H. has agreed to analyze and evaluate the reports received from the state offices last summer and thus it is expected that the types of information mentioned, from the point of view of the state staffs and boards and other valuable information, will be forthcoming in this report.

If it is at all possible, I would like to have both C. H. and Fred independently give their reactions to items 1, 2, and 3 above on the basis of their personal experiences and reactions in the various states since they have

probably been more closely associated with the field groups as a whole than anybody else except George who is probably too busy with other matters for this. For neophytes like myself, it would probably facilitate our comprehension of this rather complex material if these reports are framed in terms of the three group division (hard-core, waiting, desegregating) or some other more satisfactory division which you are much better able to make than I am. However, I would hope that the same classification can be used by C. H. and Fred (and any others who add to our stock of knowledge in this regard) so that the materials can be put together easily.

If any of this seems presumptuous or if my expectations are based upon error, please bear with me and accept the will for the deed. The only way to swim is to get in the water. I am depending heavily upon "the team" to see that I "swim" with you -- not drown.

I am leaving for Philadelphia and New York tomorrow and expect to be back in Nashville Thursday or Friday (December 15 or 16). May I hear from you. Then as soon as I have a clearer idea when all materials needed for the meeting of consultants will be ready, we can proceed with the setting of a definite date. If possible, I would like to be able to suggest two or three alternative dates to the consultants when I call them.
alternative I have dictated this memorandum to the soundscriber and am asking that it be typed and mailed without my reading it. If it is not clear I will be in Nashville and ready to assist in any way I can after December 15.

Fidelity Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

Memorandum

To: George S. Mitchell; Harold Fleming; C. H. Parrish; and Fred Routh
(copies to Misses Ruth Alexander and Florence Irving; and G. S. Alexander)

From: John Hope II

Subject: Plans for state workshops

I I am attaching a suggested draft of an initial letter which I propose to send to each state director and state chairman. This can be a memographed with the names and addresses filled in and should be mailed on Tuesday, January 31, if possible.

II I am also attaching a highly tentative schedule for state workshops for your consideration and candid criticism and subsequent adjustment. The main purpose of this schedule is to give you something to start from. From the dates suggested, you will realize that your suggestions should reach me at the earliest possible date, preferrably on or before Thursday February 2. As soon thereafter, as possible, I shall make contact with at least the first four or five organizations in whose state we wish to hold workshops and with the consultant team chosen for these in order to determine their ability of carrying out these plans. On basis of this information I will prepare a final schedule for our guidance in putting rush programs into operation at the earliest possible moment. Some of these contacts, no doubt, will be made by long distance telephoning in order to expedite matter.

III I suggest that Fred and Harold, and perhaps Florence Irving, determine the major points of information to be included in Briefing Statements regarding each state situation for use by the consultants relying as fully as possible on data already available in files of the Atlanta office and from staff located there. In this way, the process might be standarized and handled by Miss Irving in a more or less routine manner in chronological order of our needs. It might expedite matters if tentative rough draft was prepared by Miss Irving and then circulated to Fred, Harold, C. H., George and to me for any additions and changes that are needed. Then the final draft might be prepared for distribution to the consultants

IV I have just received a revised copy of the consultant expense statement form from Gabe which as I understand it is adjusted to fit the bookkeeping procedures now in use. This form is quite satisfactory to me and I suggest that you take a look at Gabe's copy and add your approval and make any further suggestions that seem necessary.

I expect to see Fred and C. H. in Nashville Monday, January 30th about these and related matters.

Suggested letter from

Assistant Director for Program to

both State Directors and Chairmen

Dear _____:

My role in the SRC organization was indicated to you by Dr. Mitchell in his letter of December 30th, I believe.

For the last few weeks, my efforts have been directed primarily to getting better acquainted with the Council and to formulating with the assistance of other members of the central office staff, some tentative program plans, i.e., means by which the central office staff might help you to further increase the scope and efficiency of your program to the end that we together may breathe life and vitality into the lofty and democratic policies and goals of the Southern Regional Council in each of the twelve states in which it has affiliates. I am well aware that for some states such a possibility may seem remote at this moment when the opposition has the newspaper headlines and seems so defiantly determined to stay the trend toward a democractic South. However, I sincerely believe that in terms of historical perspective, they, not we, are on the defensive; that long range social, economic, and political forces as well as the foundations of legal sanction are now moving inexorably in our favor. Nevertheless, the speed and efficiency with which these constructive forces assert themselves in day-to-day intergroup practices within our communities and the extent to which costly, destructive counteractions can be avoided depend more than ever upon the effectiveness with which we play our role.

In a sense, this is the hour for which you and I have "trained" for many years (if not generations). For us the question of whether the SRC objectives can be

attained is behind us. Our prime question is: how can the constructive democratic leadership which constitutes the boards and staffs of the several state SRC organizations affiliated best operate within the framework of SRC policy to bring about the "New South" which we seek with maximum efficiency and speed, and with a minimum of costly, unnecessary social conflict and interracial tension. Each state organization will have to appraise carefully and realistically its resources and the social terrain in which it must operate in answering this question with respect to its current program. Its plans needs to encompass projects aimed at immediate, short range, and long range objectives. In short, we must try to perceive clearly the "forest" dispite the (sometimes painful) fact that the individual "trees" seem to loom high and ominous above us. This, I fully realize, is not easy but it is urgently necessary. It is my candid belief that your dynamic leadership contribution during the next crucial twelve to eighteen months can be decisive in shaping the new patterns of Negro-White relationships in the South for many years to come. We may gain or lose a decade in the speed of social change during this fluid period.

We are tentatively formulating our plans to this end. We have employed for your (occasional) use a panel of nine highly qualified consultants trained in the disciplines of Social Science and having wide experience has practitioners in the field of intergroup relations to advice you in regard to program. Within this group will be found a variety of specialized competences which we hope to make available to you. Within the next eight to ten weeks we will make them available in teams of two each for a series of workshops for state Boards and staffs, in some six to eight states. In each of these, a team along with central staff members will be put at your disposal for a period of from one to one and a half days for a frank and open discussion (note lecture) of your program. The membership of each of these

workshops is purposely confined to the board members and staffs of one state so that you may discuss your program plan, problems, etc. fully and specifically - - for your guidance, not for publication, Obviously, such a meeting should be scheduled at a time and place convenient for as large a number of board members as possible, particularly the executive committee, program committee, chairmen of other committees, and other key board members. Since several of the consultants are members of college and university faculties, the most convenient time for the majority is the week-end, e.g., Friday night and all day Saturday, or Saturday and Sunday. However, I shall try to meet your time preferences as closely as possible. You are the best judge of place for such a workshop.

Because of the number of states and consultants involved, we shall have to draw up a tentative date for each state workshop. We hope that the date selected for you will be convenient since this would expedite the completion of this initial project and free us for other efforts. However, if it is not, ~~do not hesitate to~~ let me know promptly, indicating suggested alternative dates so that we can re-schedule your workshop with a minimum of delay.

I cannot emphasize too strongly my hope that each workshop can be "tailored" to the specific needs of the state organization where it is held. It is hoped that the consultants will spend most of their time reacting to your questions and the statement of your problems, and that formal statements will be reduced to a bare minimum. Consequently, I am asking that you think through your program in the near future and indicate to me the brief outline of your present program, your principal problems, and the needs which you feel the consultant team (and central staff members) may fill during this brief period. This will give sharp and positive focus to our discussions.

We will try to brief the consultants in advance as far as possible but your statement in advance of the workshop is imperative.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

Assistant Director for Program

JH:MDW

Tentative Schedule for State Workshops

States	Suggested Consultant Teams 1st choice		Alternate	Time*	Place
1. Virginia	Walker Johnson	or	Hy. Lewis	2/10-11	
2. North Carolina	Walker Hy. Lewis	or	Johnson	2/17-18	
3. Tenn. (or Ark. ?)	Young B. Valien	or	Killian	2/24-25	
4. Alabama	Killian B. Valien	or	Wilson	3/2-3	
5. Arkansas	Jones Clark	or	Young, Killian	3/9-10	
6. Texas (or Fla.?)				3/16/17	
7. Florida				3/23-24	
8. South Carolina				3/30-31	

*All dates on Friday and Saturday

From John Hope
To: Florence Murray

(ROUGH DRAFT TENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE TO STATE DIRECTORS AND ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS).

QUESTIONNAIRE.

STATE INFORMATION SCHEDULE FOR USE OF CONSULTANTS
IN CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM.

A. PROGRAM - MAJOR SCOPE, AND TECHNIQUES.

I. What would you term the major underlying aim and goal which governs your day-to-day program planning and development, e.g., changing racial attitudes, eliminating race prejudice, changing practices and pattern of Negro-White relations, etc.?

Please comment. _____

_____

_____

_____

II. Approximately what proportion of your time is now spent in promotion and organizational work? ____%; and in strictly program activities? ____%

III. (a) What are the general program areas of Intergroup Relations in which you are (a) now working? (b) feel that you ought to work in the immediate future (in the next year)? Rank these in DESCENDING order giving "reasons to guess" as to the proportion of program time (not organization, money raising, membership getting, etc.) used in each.

(INSERTION A-CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF PROGRAM AREAS).

Problem Areas For Your Program Activity

	OCCUPIED NOW		SUGGESTED FOR NEXT 6 MONTHS	
	Yes or No	Rank 1, 2, etc	Yes or No	Rank 1, 2, etc.
EDUCATION, e.g., public school desegregation entrance to colleges, universities, vocational and professional schools etc.				
EMPLOYMENT (public and private), e.g., PRIVATE branch plants of national concerns; firms with Government contracts; firms catering significantly to Negro market, etc.; PUBLIC agencies, installations and facilities -- federal, state, local.				
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS (under federal, state, county, or municipal regulation). Transportation (local, inter- and intra-state) Recreation and amusement (parks, playgrounds, pools, etc.) Health and Welfare (hospital and medical services, etc.) Public Housing, Hotels, Eating facilities, etc. Others.				
PERSONAL SAFETY AND PROTECTION of benefits and rights of citizenship.				
Justice in the courts				
Equal police protection				
Protection against mob rule				
Protection against police brutaility				
Equal chance to vote on all candidates and public issues				
MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES for Effectively Handling Tension Incidents, Disturbances, etc.				
CLEARING - HOUSE FUNCTION systematic and continuous information gathering, documenting, and reporting of intergroup relations, happenings (positive and negative)				
UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO THE MARKET (producers and distributors of goods and services, credit, etc.)*				
As CONSUMERS				
As BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS				
As BORROWERS				
POSITIVE INVOLEMENT of Leadership of Organized Groups; E.G., church, civic, service, political, labor, cultural, etc.				
Purely local, state, regional groups				
Local or state affiliates of NATIONAL organizations				

OTHERS: (List them) _____

*Note carefully extent and manner of Government participation and the prospects for effective action based on this.

III (b) Comment on the reasons for your present program emphasis (e.g., first and second ranking areas of emphasis) and on suggested future emphasis if this differs from the present. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Are there any major program areas where you are not working which you feel warrant major emphasis now but where you feel strong obstacles or restrictions which, in your opinion --

(a) the SRC central office can significantly allay or deter, or eliminate through close cooperation or coordination with you? (list them) _____

_____

_____

_____

(b) other organizations, institutions, etc. can help eliminate? If so, list these areas, indicate the major obstacles, and, if possible, suggest means by which they can be weakened or eliminated.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

V. What general types of program (or action) technique has your organization used and which of these, by and large, do you find more and less effective? Please check the types listed below which you are now using, add any in use that are not listed under "other" and arrange them in the ascending order of their importance to you, i.e., most important, 1; 11. etc.

INSERTION B CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF MAJOR TYPES AND TECHNIQUES.

Program Action Techniques

	NOW IN USE	
	Yes or No	Rank
Persuasion and Exhortation, e.g., speeches, interviews, panel, participation, etc.		
Use of Instrument of Mass Media, e.g., radio, TV, newspapers, magazines car posters, etc.		
Education by Personal Contact and Correspondence, including distribution of literature, etc.		
Fact-Finding, e.g., surveys, self-evaluations, etc.		
Working with and in the Negro Community		
Revelation or "Shock Treatment"		
Participation, e.g., working with other organized groups within areas of common program interest		
Negotiation, e.g., conciliation, mediation, adjudication, etc.		
Information about and Assistance in the Lawful Use of Judical (court), Legislative, and Administrative (Executive Orders) Actions available to citizens for the Promotion of Democratic Intergroup Relations		

B. PROGRAM LIMITATIONS -

1. (a) Are there organized opposition groups (e.g. pro-segregationist, white supremacy, pro-state Wrights" etc.) operating in your state? Yes ____ No ____.
(b) If so, list their names and addresses, and as far as you now know the names, official positions, and addresses of the officers and other leaders.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(c) Indicate as far as possible your opinion as to whether each of these organizations is local, county-wide, state-wide, regional, or national in the scope of its operation.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(d) Which of these is now concentrating in their programs or propaganda on issues other than public school desegregation and the desegregation decision?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(e) Indicate as far as is available (from their printed statement; speeches, interviews, etc. of their officials, newspaper account, etc.) statements of their objectives, goals, policies, and plans of operation. (Use quotations and state sources as far as possible and enclose copies of pertinent materials where readily available.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

INSERT C-LIST OF OPPOSITION ORGANIZATION OPERATING IN STATE, SCOPE AND PROGRAM.

Inst. C

Names of Anti-Integration Organizations (B, I, H)	SCOPE OF OPERATIONS-check (x)						Program Areas of Concentration— Other than School Desegregation (List them)	School Desegregation only (check x)
	Local	County-wide	State-wide	Regional	National	Federated with National		

11. In your judgment, what means (techniques, strategy, etc.) against Negroes and whites, respectively, are each of these groups using to maintain the status quo, and to specifically prevent or delay public school desegregation in your state. (Check the means now in use on the list below; write in any additional ones in use under "other"; and circle the check mark by the means most emphasized by each such organization). INSERT D-TYPE OF RESTRICTIVE MEANS USED BY OPPOSITION GROUPS.

Insert C

Types of Restrictive Means in Use,—Against Negroes (N) Whites (W); and/or both (B)		NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS	
Violence	N. W. Both		
Intimidation, threat of physical harm to person or group.	N. W. B.		
Economic restrictions, reprisals, (actual or threatened) against the following:			
Employees	N. W. B.		
Employers, business establishments, self-employed professional, etc.	N. W. B.		
Individual Consumers, e.g., refusal or restriction on sale of goods, & services, credit	N. W. B.		
Others: (list nature of these and whether practiced against N. W. or B)			

C. DEGREE OF READINESS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

1. Have any counties, school district, and/or incorporated communities (cities or towns) in your state desegregated their public schools? Yes___, No ___. If so, how many ___. Name them and indicate the approximate total population (or pupil enrollment?) and the percentages of this which are Negro and White, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. Provided they are not prevented or deterred from such actions by the state department of education or the legislature, are there any counties, school districts, and/or incorporated municipalities in your state that you believe --

(a) Are willing (ready) to desegregate their schools in the fall of 1956, i.e., their boards, superintendent, etc.? Yes___; No.___; don't know ___. If so, how many ___. Name each, indicate the approximate population (or pupil enrollment) involved and proportions of these who are Negroes and Whites, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(b) seem to be "on the fence" and have the prospect of being persuaded to desegregate in the fall of 1956? Yes___; No,___; don't know___. If so, about how many? ___. Name each, indicate the approximate population (or pupil enrollment) involved and the proportion of these who are Negro and White, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

1. Do you have any comment or suggestions on how any of these (C.11. (b)) "on the fence" may be persuaded? If so, state them.

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. In your judgment, what influence, if any, would a parent (or NAACP) court suit for entrance into a now all-white (or all-Negro) school have upon the situation in each of these communities?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(c) are actively or adamantly opposed to desegregation in the fall of 1956 and you feel that such a possibility is out of the question? Yes ____; No ____; don't know ____. Approximately how many? ____; if not all, approximately what proportion of the total state population (or public schools pupil enrollment) do you feel is covered by this group? ____%.

111. With regard to the public school desegregation issue, comment on the position (pro or con?) and the role taken by the leadership of organized groups in your state which exerts a strong influence in the power structure and/or upon public opinion of the state, e.g., political; religious; economic; including Management and Labor; civic and community welfare; professional, etc.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

D. RESOURCES - ALLIES (ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS; AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS ESTABLISHED FOR ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS, REGULATIONS, EXECUTIVE ORDERS, ETC.); INTERNAL (BOARD, STAFF, ETC.)

1. What, if any, organization, agencies or other organized groups
   (a) are now cooperating and
   (b) may, in your opinion, be depended upon to cooperate with you in the immediate future in the following program areas:

D. 1.

(NOTE: LISTED PROGRAM AREAS MAY FOLLOW CLOSELY LIST THEM INSERT A, SECTION A, SECTION 3.)

(b) Education-public school desegregation

Now:

_____

_____

In future:

_____

Employment

Now:

_____

_____

In future:

_____

Others (list them and indicate program areas - see Question A. 111.)

_____

_____

_____

In future:

_____

_____

_____

11. ARE YOU COOPERATING WITH ANY ORGANIZATIONS, AGENCY, AND/OR INSTITUTIONS IN ACHIEVING ELEMENTS OF THEIR PROGRAM WHICH YOU FEEL CONTRIBUTE TO YOURS? IF SO, LIST THEM AND, IF FEASIBLE, INDICATE TO WHAT PHASE OF YOUR PROGRAM THEY SEEM TO BE CONTRIBUTING. (INSERT E-CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF ORGANIZED GROUPS AND AGENCIES CHARGED WITH THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS, REGULATIONS, AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS THAT MAY REASONABLY BE ASSUMED TO HAVE INTERESTS COMPATIBLE WITH SRC IN THE HUMAN RELATIONS FIELD).

Insert E

Organizations Agencies, and Departments with Goals Compatible with SRC.	STATE SRC AFFILIATE—			
	Now Working With		Planning to Work with in Next 6 Months	
	Yes	No		
Private Organizations:				
National				
State				
Other				
Public Agencies, Departments, etc.				
Federal				
State				
Local				
Other				

111. ARE THERE PERSONS IN YOUR STATE WHO WOULD NOT OR SHOULD NOT BE MEMBERS OF YOUR BOARD, but who are sympathetic with the policies and objectives of SRC, who you feel are cooperating or might be persuaded to cooperate with you in a more or less "behind the scene" unofficial manner in some or all phases of your program? If so, what is your estimate of the approximate number? _____. As far as possible and prudent, please indicate the numbers and names of such persons and the phases of your program in which they are likely to be interested.

Program in general: number? ____.

_____

_____

Education-public school desegregation: number? ____.

_____

_____

Employment: number? ____.

_____

_____

Other phases of program (list them and give numbers and names.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. How many and which of your Board members are giving you active cooperation and support:

(a) In the school desegregation phase of your program, e.g., attending conferences and interviews, making contacts for you, making speeches and other public expressions, etc.? Number? ____; names:

_____

IV. (a)

_____

_____

(b) In other phases of your program? (Indicate the numbers and names of Board members and the phases, respectively, in which they are now assisting you.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

V. Are there any Board members not actively interested in the school desegregation issue who you feel would, if asked, work actively with you or assume the leadership in any of the major program areas other than public school desegregation? If so, how many? ____. Give their names and the program areas in which you feel each would so contribute.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

C O P Y

HCF

Memo to Harold Fleming
From: C. H. Parrish
Re.: SRC Consultant Program

Our conversation some days ago concerning the SRC consultant program prompts me to comment briefly on what I conceive to be its rationale.

At the risk of underlining the obvious, mention should be made of the superordinate-subordinate character of the relations between whites and Negroes in the United States. In the South this relationship has been crystallized by law. However, in other parts of the country where there are few discriminatory laws, the prescribed behavior patterns are generally recognized and observed. Segregation by statute (as pointed out in The Strange Career of Jim Crow) is of relatively recent origin but the status relationship itself goes back to the early Colonial period. It is small wonder that people brought up to accept the traditional pattern should find it difficult to reorder their relations in terms of equality.

The old committees on interracial cooperation never succeeded in making the shift in approach that would challenge directly a relationship that had for so long been taken for granted. SRC has struggled manfully with this problem and some progress has been made but among many of the state groups the old attitudes persist.

Because of its heritage and its essential nature SRC has relied heavily upon the "appeal to conscience" and the morale-building effect of the high class reporting of the "happy Story" through the pages of New South. There has been no real opportunity to provide people on the field with the specialized "know-how" so urgently demanded for dealing with concrete problems at the local level. And not always has the distinction between advocacy and professional service been sufficiently clear.

Another facet of SRC's problem is the difficulty of securing the services of qualified Negroes for top level, full-time staff positions. Whatever the reasons for it may be, the lack of Negro personnel in responsible regional jobs has hampered the Council's efforts to operate as an integrated agency. It is easier to teach by example than by precept.

The consultant program is a partial answer to all of these problems. With deliberate intent the consultant group has been overbalanced a little in favor of Negroes. Thus the status relationship is attacked by indirection by presenting the Negro expert in a unique relationship of equality with his white colleagues.

In their contacts with state boards and staffs the consultants act on the assumption that the people attending such an institute do not need conviction on the basic matter of desegregation but rather want advice on the best social techniques for achieving their goal. This has the wholesome effect of diverting attention from unproductive disputations at the ideological level to concrete problems of implementation.

As is true of most operations of this sort there is no adequate statistical measurement available of the results of the consultant service. However, those of us who have been intimately associated with it are convinced of its crucial importance. The initial involvement and continued interest of the consultants themselves constitutes an increasingly valuable asset to SRC and the whole South. Because of the consultants there has been more attention paid to the "soft spots" thus through concentrated efforts making more efficient use of limited resources. There is a clearer understanding of what needs to be done and more willing acceptance of responsibility for doing it. There have been several instances reported of individual consultants being called back to communities for specific jobs. This perhaps is the real test of worth.

CONSULTANTS FOR SRC STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMPETENCIES:

A. Required:
1. Ability to quickly establish rapport with people.
2. Technical ability and skills in field of consultation.
3. Intimate knowledge of his area of state.

B. Desirable:
1. Experience in organisational work.
2. Professional training in the broad field of social sciences.
3. High degree of verbal ability.

PERSONALITY:

A. Required:
1. Committment to democracy (non-authoritarian).
2. Mature, integrated personality structure.

FUNCTIONS:

A. Communication and Information:
1. To serve as observer-recorder-reporter for state office.
2. To interpret program of SRC to area's "spark-plugs."
3. To keep abreast of developments in South through SRC publications, Southern School News, etc, etc.

B. Process:
1. To ferret out "spark-plugs" in area and involve them in state organization. (Future Board members, etc.)
2. To consult with state Executive Director and other consultants in planning state programs.
3. To work with state Executive Secretary in programs in specific area.
4. To assist state Executive Secretary in professional interpretation of program to state Board of Directors.
5. To keep finger on the pulse of the community he serves.
6. To help build a democratic climate of opinion in his area to prevent effectiveness of demagoguery.
7. To work for an increasing commitment and understanding of democratic process by Negro and white leadership.
8. To make himself and his services known and available to local officials, particularly public school people.
9. To assist local people who desire to inaugurate integrated democratic groups.
10. To assist people in thinking in terms of problem-solving rather than "togetherness for togetherness sake."

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Hope

FROM: C. H. Parrish

REGARDING: Evaluation of State Organizations

Perhaps the best approach to an evaluation of the State Organizations is to indicate my own personal acquaintance with the people involved in the initial stages of the new state groups. During the summer of 1954, I made visits to 10 of the 12 states in which we opperate with a view of stimulating reorganization. I did not visit Virginia and I made no effort to make state contacts in Georgia. My purpose was to find a nucleus in each state around which to build a Board of Directors which could later employ a staff. In passing it might be noted that State Staff directors had been selected for Georgia and Louisiana peior to my 1954 tour. Perhaps more should be said about this later.

The most persistent problem of reorganization was the difficulty of achieving a new prospective in light of the desegregation decree of the Supreme Court. Many of the people who had been connected with the Southern Regional Council and even earlier with the old Committee on Interracial Cooperation were more or less committed to a continuation of segregation and were concerned primarily with bettering the lot of negroes within the segregation pattern. Too often the attitude of paternalism was quite evident. Consequently, my efforts were directed, not only toward converting these people to a different point of view but also, toward involving new people who would accept responsibility for the work of the state.

When attention was later directed to the employment of a staff person, the problem was one of selection from available persons who had the necessary qualifications for the job. In some instances, in an effort to begin a full scale opperation at once, the staff person was chosen without deliberation. In one or two instances it was the first person who came along. It is understandable, therefore, that some mistakes were made and that the staff persons finally decided upon differed widely in training, experience, and concern for the work they were asked to do.

The difficulties became apparent very quickly. In some cases, the members of the boards were at odds with each other. There were instances in which the old SRC membership was completely bypassed in the formation of the new board and they became disgruntled. It was also the unfortunate tendancy for the board to feel that it had completely discharged its responsibility when it hired a staff person and turned over all the work to him. And, of course, there was the anticipated friction between a stubborn board and an aggressive director.

These problems, although recognized for the most part very early, were not readily resolved once the state directors had been hired. Consequently, there were crises of organization in two or three of the states. Most of the time from June 1954 to June 1955 was spent in dealing with these problems of organizational adjustment in the various states. Fred Routh and I made numerous visits for the purpose of meeting with the organizations in order to clarify the financial arrangements with the Atlanta office, to offer suggestions about persons to be hired, pointing out the gaps in representation on their boards and trying to give to these boards a continuing sense of responsibility even after a staff person had been hired. In August, 1955, we attempted to make an evaluation of the effectiveness of the state program. Requests for data were sent to:-- the directors and chairman of the state boards, state representatives on the SRC board and SRC board members residing in the state. The results were not particularly gratifying because of the failure on the part of board chairman, state representatives, and SRC board members to reply. We got complete coverage only from the state directors. Among the problems uncovered, however, were the following:-- Many of the boards were not representative either geographically, racially, or occupationally. Most of the time of the state directors is spent in organizing local groups, securing memberships, and other activities, either directly or indirectly, designed to raise funds. There was a lamentable neglect of program. It was this rather gloomy picture that in part suggested the need for a stronger guidance and program development from the Atlanta office.

Perhaps, with this background, it would be possible to give a brief personal reaction to the opperation of each state. In all cases the observations will not take into account changes in the state opperations during the last three months. I have had no recent contact with the situation in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, or Virginia.

ALABAMA -- A strong religious influence. The staff director and seven out of nine white men on the board are Methodist ministers. In my opinion too much time has been devoted to the district organizations. There is some indication, too, that our districts are setting up programs which are not altogether consistent with the avowed adjustives of SRC. The members of the executive committee have a strong sense of responsibility and the executive director has been doing an effective job in counteracting the efforts of the Citizens' Councils. Recently a Negro Associate Director (half-time) has been employed.

ARKANSAS -- This is the nearest approach to a sound state opperation. The Board is representative both racially and occupationally, although there can be some improvement in the matter of geographical distribution. The Personnel Committee exercised great care in the selection of staff, and almost from the very beginning, two full time staff members have been employed.

FLORIDA -- The Florida staff was hired late this summer and it is perhaps too early to make an evaluation here.

GEORGIA -- Georgia has raised more money than any other state. Its board is perhaps too cumbersome to be effective. It contains a list board members which indludes a number of big names but for the most part they are persons who do not have the time to work on committees. The Georgia Committee has had a long tradition and bears the mark of the work of Mrs. Tilly. There

are several fairly autonomous local committees in Georgia which same to be doing a good job.

KENTUCKY -- Kentucky has a Consultant Program which has been used with average success but there is a lack of consistent staff leadership. A problem will shortly arise when the present staff director's resignation becomes effective in January. The board is representative occupationally and racially but is too much concentrated in Louisville.

*

NORTH CAROLINA -- There has developed some lack of understanding between the board and executive director as to the proper method of proceedure. There is a tendancy now to concentrate attention on the areas in the state that seem the most willing to go ahead with desegration of the schools. There is some pessimism, however, because of the political pressures. Perhaps North Carolina illustrates better then any other state the difficulty of shifting from the paternalistic to an integrated approach in race relations.

SOUTH CAROLINA -- I have had no contact with South Carolina since early 1955. At that time the main problem was that of liaison with NAACP. I do not know how that matter has been resolved. This is another hard core state, and perhaps is closer to Mississippi then any of the others.

TENNESSEE -- After several false starts Tennessee, as you know, has inaugurated a consultant program which has permitted contacts with some thirty counties of the state. The board membership is heavily concentrated in the eastern part of the state. And there seems to be little chance of working out a basis for full cooperation with Memphis, the states metropolis.

TEXAS -- Texas has had difficulties because of almost continuous friction between the board and the executive director over matters of policy. The old elements on the board have maintained control up until recently and have made it difficult to achieve a representative group of people who would assume responsibility for making policy. A Negro Associate was hired this summer but has had little chance to show his capabilities.

VIRGINIA -- Virginia was not organized until July of 1955 and has been more or less under the direct supervision of Dr. Mitchell, himself.

* LOUISIANA -- The State Director was hired during the Spring of 1954 before the Louisiana board was organized. This has led to difficulties and several old SRC members have been alienated. There is a district organization but there is little evidence that the districts have started to opperate in any effective way.

MISSISSIPPI -- The work in Mississippi is of the listening-post variety political pressures being what they are. In a sense, Mississippi is a special case and there is no point in applying the standard criteria here.
CH:mf

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Hope

FROM: Fred B. Routh

SUBJECT: Evaluation of States for use by Consultants.

If we are to look at the Southern Region as it faces transition from a segregated society to a desegregated, and toward an integrated public life it will be helpful to divide the area into three categories: "Desegregating" states, "Waiting" states, and "Hard Core" states. In the following list the states are listed from those making most progress to those making least, within each category. Desegregating: Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas; Waiting: Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia (almost hard core). Hard Core: Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi. This establishes a sort of continuum on which rank has been based on reports from our state organizations, the press, and field observation by this writer. But we are interested here in the social scene only in so far as it affects the working efficiency of our state programs.

We shall examine each state and our resident organization under the following classifications: (1) Major Program Needs at State Level; (2) Principal Problems and Barriers to Attainment of Program Goals; and (3) Major Positive Attributes, Resources, etc. Favoring Achievement of Program Goals. Let us, then, to the states.

DESEGREGATING STATES

KENTUCKY:

(1) Major Program Needs:

The excellent Consultant Program under way in Kentucky needs closer coordination from a central office. There needs to be a clearer definition of the respective roles of Consultant and the Executive Director. A better understanding of how to seek invitations to the various communities is needed. Broader coverage of the committees of the state would be beneficial. (Generally speaking this group of Consultants has a good understanding of program development and execution. The board, too, is endowed with skilled persons in this field.)

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

There has been a constant turnover of executive professional personnel. There has been something of a contest for power on the board. The group has been confused with other agencies in the state. There was a clash of personalities between staff and certain board members.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The Kentucky group is wealthy in skilled professional personnel both as Consultants and as Board members. A good understanding of Community organization is present. The Consultants are generally well accepted in the communities. The board is made up of mature individuals (with few exceptions). The state government has accepted the idea of desegregation. The state population seems willing to go along.

Kentucky looks like the most favorable state in which to bring about rapid compliance with the Supreme Court decision. Here we should be able to demonstrate in a semi-Southern scene what can be done to help communities accomodate themselves with the Supreme Court decision and to a more democratic society.

TEXAS:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is need for specific program aids and plans to assist communities which are desegrating or are planning to do so. A better understanding of community organization is necessary on the part of the staff. The board needs to be brought up-to-date on the present operations of a Twentieth Century Human Relations Agency. There is need for developing a sensitivity in differentiating between and working in compliant and non compliant areas. There is need to develop a working relationship with other Human Relations Agencies.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The very vastness and diversity of Texas is a great barrier. The board has been strongly maternalistic. The relationship between staff and board has not been satisfactory. The organization does not have the full confidence of the Negro nor the progressive white communities. The business of the organization has not been handled in a business like manner. The governor and the attorney general of Texas have been arch opponents of desegregation. Formation of white citizens councils.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

Much of Texas is in the process of desegregation. The Supreme Court of Texas has ruled money may be allocated to desegregating districts. The board has a new advisory group in Austin composed of leaders in labor, the churches, AFFC, NAACP, and others in this field. There is strong church backing for the Texas Commission. The Associate Director is an able young Negro attorney.

Texas, in many ways, because of its size and the diversity of the problems confronted in desegregation reflects the problems of the entire region; from areas that have desegregated to areas which are hard care. A well planned carefully executed program here would have great significance for the rest of the South.

ARKANSAS:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Specific programs and techiques in assisting districts to desegregate. The need for increased skill in working with school people. Good ongoing program, well thought out by highly competent board, and well administered by a very good staff.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The barriers in Arkansas do not come from within the organization but from without. A sort of laissez faire attitude on the part of the state government. A "specialist" in Negro education in the state department of education who gives the outward signs of wanting to desegrate but who advocates extreme caution and stand patness. The eastern part of Arkansas -- the delta-- is comparable to upper Mississippi.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

Arkansas has an excellent board. It is aggressive, skilled, knows what it wants and pretty well how to get it. Contains prestige people who are willing to work for desegregation. The staff is integrated, works well together, and is composed of skilled people.

Arkansas, in so for as our resident councils go, in my opinion should be listed first on the continuum. It may well rank first in the number of communities which desegrate within the next year and a half.

WAITING STATES

FLORIDA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is need to develop skills motivating public opinion to bring about desegregation in specific communities. The board needs assistance in understanding what good program is. There is a need for tighter organization and functional application of the board. Need for increased skill in differentiating between and working in probable and improbable areas.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The Board of Directors, though made up of outstanding individuals has yet to solidify into real group awareness. It is not broken up into functional committees. Outside influences, namely the hard core of the north central and western Florida and the Wait[illegible] and see attitude of even the most progressive areas tends to slow down the process and the effectiveness of the organization.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

A good staff which works well together on an integrated basis. Some outstanding board members who are skilled in the field of Human Relations or who are status people committed to desegregation. The Episcopal Church of South Florida committed to the program. Strong assistance from other Church groups. Decent newspaper support in Daytona Beach, St. Petersburg, and Miami. White state PTA advocated formation of interracial study groups on the local level.

Florida is a unique southern state. It is as old south as Tallahassee and Pensacola, as industrial as Jacksonville and Tampa and as jet-propelled as Miami and Miami Beach. It is a state where in some areas fairly rapid compliance should be expected and where in other areas the die hards may be expected to stand on the ramparts.

TENNESSEE:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Tennessee's board needs to better define the role of the Consultant program in their over all effort. There is a need to pull the board together so that there may be a continuing effort at planning. Special program planning development for districts which wish to integrate needs attention.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The board has an internal problem of not having solidified as a group. It has been difficult to obtain functioning committees. The chairman does not feel secure with some members of the board. Western Tennessee is an external factor that makes work difficult. The Consultants do not have a sufficient knowledge of Negro personnel.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The Consultant group is well skilled in community organization and in Social transition know-how. Consultants have the confidence of many school superintendents in east Tennessee. The state government of Tennessee is not defiant of the Supreme Court decision.

The full state has had long experience with the TVA and unionism. Its governor has Vice Presidential aspirations. There is a spirit of moderation in Tennessee that could be used toward fruitful ends. The Chattanooga Times is a spokesman for that which is best in the South.

NORTH CAROLINA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is a rather great need in North Carolina in all phases of program development with the exception of public relations and the formation of local councils. The board needs to be brought more up-to-date on developments

and current program in the field of Human Relations. The staff, though skilled, seems to lack enthusiasm. Special program plans for Mountain Counties should be developed.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The North Carolina Council seems to be suffering from undulant fever -- or the equivalent thereof. The state government led by Governor Hodges has been opposing the Supreme Court decision and advocating voluntary segregation and threatening to cut off funds from districts which desegregate. The board has not yet pulled itself together as a working group.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

There are numerous skilled persons on the board of directors. The The organization enjoys good public relations with the press. The executive director has considerable skill in working with ministers and religiously motivated people.

North Carolina has had the reputation of being the most progressive of the Southern states. This reputation has not been fully utilized in defining the situation for North Caroleans. The University of North Carolina has been one of the real intelectual contributors to the progressiveness of the new south.

VIRGINIA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Virginia's program is one of the more comprehensive. Generally speaking it is well thought out and well executed. The use of another part time associate director would be helpful or perhaps the use of Consultant services.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

In the old domain the principal problems are external. They center around the governor and the state government, both controled by the Byrd machine.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The Virginia Council has an excellent staff and a very fine board. The staff works as an integrated team and has won the respect and confidence of both the Negro and progressive white communities. The board operates as a group and has considerable knowledge in the field of Human Relations.

Virginia varies from places willing to,or not opposed to, desegregation to the eastern shore and down state which is hard core in nature. The real problem is to take the state government off the backs of those communities which will proceed.

HARD CORE STATES

ALABAMA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is a need for program development in community organization. To strengthen the determination on the part of the board to proceed on more than the religious basis. The executive director is skilled above average and is well accepted in the state. There is a serious question of what can and should be done in a hard core state where the governor at least gives strong indications of liberalism.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The board is composed very largely of ministers -- Methodist ministers -- which is not necessarily a dettriment in Alabama, but a limiting factor in terms of representing a cross section of the state. The board is almost always impatient to get through meetings and doesn't give adequate consideration to some of the problems faced. There is a strong White Citizen's Councils movement in the state and Birmingham is probably the "meanest" big town in the south.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

A board and staff that is deeply morally dedicated to the equality of mankind as children of God. Staff and some board members who are skilled in dealing with people and who are aware of conditions in Alabama.

Alabama enjoys a Governor who has a long record of New Deal. In the north there is strong TVA influence. In the south, the Catholic Church is powerful, in the Mobile area. Our resident organization has spent considerable time organizing the state and the districts, some of which are beginning to grow and to flourish.

LOUISIANA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

The board needs to be pulled together so that it can give consideration to program development. A work shop was held for this purpose but little tangible results have been forthcoming. An over all evaluation of what the organization has been doing and what it should now be doing is needed. The staff is not integrated at this point.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

Old SRC members of the board feel they have been ignored. The board has not been pulled together as a group. The executive director is only fairly well skilled in this field. The state government is unalterably opposed to desegregation. The board has been rather badly split because of personality conflicts.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The executive director is deeply dedicated to desegregation. There are three going, though not strong, district organizations. New Orleans, Lake Charles, and Baton Rouge. The Arch Bishop, hence the Catholic Church, is active on our side in the scrape. New officers have just been elected in Louisiana and a new, highly skilled advisory committee has been appointed, but they have yet to hold a meeting.

Louisiana varies from a continential influence in the New Orleans region to a red-neck Delta influence up state. The problem here is to take the state government off the back of the down state areas where the Catholic Church could use its influence to help bring about desegregation.

GEORGIA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Considerable time has been spent in speech making to large civic organizations and to school assemblies. Both good but there needs to be considerable program development for activities and other phases of this work. The Georgia committee was active in defeating the Cook proposed ban on teachers who belonged to the NAACP. Part of their effort obviously must be devoted to defensive tactics. Major program question is what can such an organization do in a state where the government and probably the majority of the voting population are opposed to desegregation and any attempts toward desegregation.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The board has not felt a group cohesiveness by in large. The executive director has not been able to have the board assume responsibility as functioning committees. Externally,we have Marvin Griffin, Eugene Cook, Herman Talmange and Roy Harris, what more could be said?

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The executive director is president emeritus of a well recognized college and a former governor of Rotary, has access to many people in the power structure and is difficult to attack. He is committed to desegregation. The associate director is a skilled Sociologists who has the confidence of the Negro community. Other attributes might be listed as the governors and the attorney generals considerable ineptness in choosing issues on which to fight.

There are no bright areas in Georgia. There are few areas in fact where the sun of the twentieth century is allowed to shine.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is need for developing more skills in community organization and in working in the small nubbin of mountain where progress may be possible.

Over all program re-evaluation and future program planning would be most helpful.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The most of the problems and barriers in South Carolina are exterior. The governor and the majority of the population seem unalterably opposed to desegregation. There has been strong organization of Citizens Councils, and economic reprisal has been fairly widely used. Fear on both the part of Negroes and whites in the down state area is evident.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The integrated staff works well together, has access to state wide and local conferences of women's groups, some educational groups, ministerial groups, etc. One other considerable attribute is Rock Hill and the director of the Catholic Committee of the South and several highly vocal, deeply dedicated board members.

It should not be forgotten that South Carolina is the home of Judge Waring, as well as Jimmy Byrns, and George Timmerman.

MISSISSIPPI:

(1) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The basic program question in Mississippi is what can a Human Relations Agency which can not engage in litigation or legislation do? The entire program of the Mississippi Council really needs re-evaluation and skillful planning for more effective work. Special assistance in digging out substantiated facts on cases on economic reprisals and physical violence and the release of these facts to national news sources could be very helpful.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

Internal: Wide schism between staff and board. State chairman and executive director often at logger-heads. A staff not well skilled in community organization nor public relations. Inadequate white representation on staff. Also, as the state chairman says "In a state that is 95% protestant, the leadership of the Council is a Jewish Rabbi and a Catholic Monseigneur."
External:- The situation in Mississippi is comparable to Nazzi Germany about 1934-35. There is considerable fear even for personal safety in both the Negro and the white communities. This has been heightened by four notorious killins and the apparent inability or unwillingness of the state government to act.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The deep dedication of the little band of brave souls on the board of directors to desegregation and Hodding Carter and William Faulkner and the Methodist ladies.

Mississippi is without a doubt the most difficult state by far in which to work in this field. It is an area that is suffering from a social blight of the eighteenth century. The chance for violence is high. The ability of the state government to deal fairly with the problems involved is low.

Besides the problems which have been outlined, state by state, there is the over all problem of finances which are extremely serious for some of the state organizations and somewhat serious for all. In working with the state organizations, the Central Office has continually stressed that Fund raising is primarily a function of the state board and its finance committee, that the chief focus of the staff must be program. It has also been stressed that if effective program is developed and maintained, adequate resources will be forthcoming from the communities which are served. People will invest in something that is demonstrably worthwhile.

Technical Memorandum

To: Mr. John Hope, II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC

From: Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Consultant

Subject: The American Case Against Segregation - A Reply to Thomas R. Waring

Section I

Within the past year increasingly successful attempts have been made by white Southerners to present the case for the maintenance of segregated schools in terms which are acceptable to reasonable white Northerners. The most effective of these Southern spokesmen has been Hodding Carter, who has published such articles in Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, and Look Magazine. The most recent expression of this "moderate" white Southerners' point of view in a national publication is found in the article by Thomas R. Waring, published in the January 1956 issue of Harper's Magazine. There is some evidence that this reasonable pro-segregationist approach has influenced the editorial opinion of some of the more conservative national publications.

Mr. Waring, like other spokesmen for the "reasonable white Southerner," starts from the assumption that there are valid and compelling reasons - described by him as "facts" - which make it impossible for white "Southerners to accept the desegregation of the public schools." He maintains that white Southerners of good-will, who are in the vast majority, "favor uplift of the Negro," but fear that this uplift "is being forced at too fast a pace." He also insists that white Southerners resent the interference with the sovereignty of their states in their right to maintain segregated schools; and, he adds, that the Southerner believes that "he is better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions."

These opinions are not novel. In the context of Mr. Waring's article, however, some of them are clearly inconsistent with other statements which he makes, and their lack of relevance to the basic issue of the Constitutional rights of Negro Americans appears to be quite clear. Undoubtedly there must be many Southern whites of good-will who favor the uplift of the Negro people. More pertinent questions, however, are: How effective have these people been in protecting the rights of the Negroes; and how active or open were they in supporting the Negro in his struggle for the equalization of teachers' salaries, equalization of schools, voting privileges, and adequate graduate and professional state-supported education.

The argument of "too fast a pace" is also not uncommon, but again leaves many relevant questions unanswered: What is a desirable pace for the righting of an injustice? To what extent can those who are not the immediate victims of the injustice be expected to arrive at the same judgment concerning the rate of change which the victims believe to be necessary? It is precisely because of these expected differences in opinion that it is necessary to resort to the more objective arena of the Federal courts.

The sovereignty of the states in matters of education is not in itself at issue in the discussion of the problem of segregated schools. More pertinent to this problem is the issue of whether the states have the "right" to perpetrate injustice and inequality upon some of ~~its~~ their citizens. In its May 17, 1954 decision, the United States Supreme Court answered this question clearly by stating:

> Such an opportunity (for education), where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

Mr. Waring's assertion that the Southerner believes that he is "better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions" is made without supporting evidence. Seen in the light of

his discussion of the question of the sovereignty of states, it is necessary to point out that problems of racial justice in the South are no longer matters of regional concern, but have tremendous national and international implications. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Southern states in and of themselves have voluntarily contributed to the progress of the Negro or have stimulated or encouraged economic, political, or educational equality.

It is of ironic significance that the one extensive quotation cited by Mr. Waring in support of the "Liberal" Southerner's position was made by an Atlanta editor in 1888. Reliance upon the position considered liberal 70 years ago in an article published in 1956 is in itself evidence of the time lag in this type of thinking which seeks to understand and deal with contemporary problems in terms of the conditions and perspective of the past. This may well be the essential weakness and futility of the position of those "reasonable" white Southerners who seek to justify or explain the continuation of segregation in the modern world; namely, that segregation and other forms of racism are not compatible with the economic, industrial, technological, political, and international forces of the middle of the 20th Century.

Section II

Under the heading of "cultural differences" Waring lists the following reasons for the maintenance of segregated schools in the South:

1. That Negro children are not equal to white children in health and cleanliness;

2. That the home environment of Negroes is inferior to that of whites;

3. That the marital and sex habits of the Negro are inferior and more primitive than those of whites;

4. That there is a high incidence of crime among Negroes;

5. That the Negro child is retarded in intellectual level and achievement compared with the white child.

If one accepts, for purposes of discussion, Waring's assertions on these points, they still do not justify the maintenance of schools segregated on the basis of race. It is agreed that the "facts" which he presents do not reflect innate racial differences. They, therefore, must be interpreted as indications of the detrimental consequences of past segregation and the general inequality and discrimination associated with racism.

In view of the meretricious effectiveness and the emotional appeal of the specific points raised by Waring, it is necessary to answer each point separately:

1. Health

Waring maintains that Negro parents are not as careful, on the average, as their white neighbors in looking after the health and cleanliness of their children, and that the incidence of venereal diseases is much greater among Negroes than among whites. After admitting that statistics to document this statement are difficult to obtain, he nonetheless cites statistics from South Carolina for the year 1952-53 which purport to show that while 1.3% of the white persons examined were found to have syphilis, an average of 9% of the Negroes examined had this disease.

Waring did not state that these percentages applied to Negro and white children; but he nonetheless concludes that fastidious white parents "just don't want to take risks of any kind with their children." He presented no evidence to prove that a disproportionate number of Negro children are contaminated with contagious venereal diseases or that these diseases may be communicated to white children in a school setting.

It is now clearly understood by public health officials that communicable diseases are not to be understood or dealt with primarily in

racial terms. These diseases are related to socio-economic status, overcrowded housing, and other social problems which are aggravated by problems involved in segregated living. Furthermore, white children and white adults are not immunized against these diseases by rigid patterns of segregation in the schools. Certainly, necessary and prevalent contacts with Negroes in the role of servants or workers provide greater opportunity for the transmission of communicable disease.

Utilization of advances in medicine and public health and a well-organized school health program for the benefit of the entire community should provide protection for all children from dangerous communicable diseases. Non-segregated schools will necessarily have to maintain the same health facilities and safeguards that are now maintained in any well-run school - and unfortunately not provided in the majority of segregated Negro schools. As the economic and social conditions of the Negro improve, and as the public health facilities available to the entire community are also made available to Negroes, the incidence of certain diseases among Negroes will decrease.

2. Home Environment

Waring contends that the home environment and cultural background of Negro children is different in many ways from that of white children. He states that the relationship between whites and Negroes is still generally that of the master and the servant and the boss and the laborer. While he recognizes the emergence of a middle-class among Negroes, he believes that this group is small and in the most "unenviable" position of all since they are not accepted by whites and have progressed beyond the cultural level "of the vast bulk of their own people."

Aside from the stereotyped generalizing which suggests that all whites are basically superior to all Negroes culturally, economically, and

in home environment -delusions of group aristocracy - Waring's discussion of this point reveals the basic inconsistency of his whole approach. On the one hand he maintains that white Southerners of good-will favor the uplift of the Negro and that the Negro should qualify himself fully for association with "the white man's company"; while on the other hand he betrays the fact that even if the Negro were to raise his cultural and economic level to a point acceptable to whites, that this would not lead to "the white Southerner's acceptance of non-segregation." He rejects the idea that the admission of "a few well-scrubbed and polished colored children of cultivated parents" may be an opening wedge for integration in the schools by stating that "this would be no more acceptable to the colored people than to the whites." He insists upon a continuation of segregation even among middle-class Negroes by suggesting "private schools for prosperous Negroes as for prosperous whites." This point of view clearly reveals the intransigence of the pro-segregationists and the fact that they really want no part of non-segregation. The issue of cultural differences and inferior home environment of the average Negro as a reason for maintaining segregation is revealed to be spurious.

3. Marital Habits and Sexual Looseness

Waring opens his introduction of the problem of marital habits and sexual morals of the Negro by again admitting that "statistics are not readily available, for obvious reasons..." He maintains, however, that on the average "one Southern Negro child in five is illegitimate," and that even among Negroes who observe marriage conventions, "illegitimacy has little if any stigma."

His position is revealed in its essential inconsistency when he, on the one hand, discusses the "more primitive view of sex habits" found among Negroes, and, on the other hand, is forced to recognize that extra-legal inter-racial sex relationships were "due largely to lustful white men

seeking out acquiescent Negro women..." Certainly these "lustful white men" developed their lust and "primitive view of sex habits" in a rigidly segregated society.

Problems of sex and inter-racial marriages were not at issue and do not appear to be relevant to the struggle for racial justice and equality before the law. The fear of social and sexual mingling among races, understandable though it may be in a segregated society, cannot be offered as a justification for the continued denial of the full citizenship rights of any group or individual. Social relations and marriage are always matters of personal choice and decision. These intimate aspects of inter-personal relationships cannot and should not be legislated and were not involved in the judicial decisions preventing the states from segregating children in public schools solely on account of their race.

A confusion of the issues of citizenship rights of the Negro with problems of personal, social, and sexual relations may reflect, among other things, the anxiety on the part of certain whites that if the barriers imposed by the state against equality of treatment for the Negro were to be removed, then the whites themselves would not be able to exercise personal restraint and control in the expression of positive feelings for Negroes. In a curious sense these types of arguments may be viewed as an attempt on the part of individuals to have the state deny equality of citizenship rights to Negroes in order to protect whites from the consequences of their own confused, mixed, and ambivalent feelings toward Negroes. The rights of Negroes, however, cannot be denied on the implicit grounds that whites might find them acceptable if the barriers are removed.

4. Crime

In his discussion of crime, Waring maintains that crime in the South has been more prevalent among Negroes than among whites and that much of the outbreak of crime and juvenile delinquency in Northern cities is due

to the influx of the Negro population. Again he does not present the evidence or statistics upon which he bases these assertions.

The problem of differential definition and the meaning of crime statistics according to race has long concerned objective criminologists. The ease with which Negroes are arrested and convicted for minor infractions, which under certain circumstances would be over-looked among whites, certainly has been observed and must be taken into account in any evaluation of racial factors and crime.

Students of the psychological consequences of segregation have recognized that one of its most obvious manifestations among Negroes is an increase in hostility toward whites and toward other Negroes. This may well, under certain circumstances, express itself in delinquent and criminal behavior. Again, therefore, the discussion of crime among Negroes must be seen as at least in part a consequence of segregation rather than as a justification for continuing segregation.

Waring makes the blanket statement: "Maintaining order is a first concern of Southerners." This statement must be scrutinized in the light of his own implicit admission that conservative, law-abiding Southern whites are helpless in their fear "that hatred and bloodshed would increase without separation of the races." He supports this fear by the warning that "The thin tolerance of the ruffian and lower elements of the white people could erupt into animosity and brutality if race pressure became unbearable." He warns further that in this riotous bloodshed it will be "Negroes' blood which will flow for the most part." Certainly it is difficult to reconcile these dire predictions and the inevitability of racial lawlessness among the lower elements of white Southerners with the stability of the government of these sovereign states whose leaders are concerned with the maintenance of law and order. Furthermore, it might be germane to point out that the hatred, violence, and bloodshed described by Waring are more likely to

occur under conditions of racial segregation or in the transition from segregation to non-segregation than under conditions of equality of the races.

In his anticipation of racial disturbances associated with desegregation in the public schools Waring states that such disturbances would occur "first among pupils themselves, and later by enraged parents." Systematic studies of the desegregation process show that there is no evidence that prolonged racial disturbances associated with the desegregation of schools ever occur spontaneously among the pupils themselves. Whenever there has been such trouble among the students, it has been found that these disturbances were initiated and encouraged by adults.

5. Intellectual Development

Waring maintains that "colored children are about two grades behind the whites in attainment..." He insists that the integration of Negro and white children will place an excessive burden on "a single generation of white children," and that, "while they are rubbing off white civilization onto the Negro children, Negro culture will also rub off onto the whites." Again the sense of Waring's argument is that one of the consequences of past segregation - academic retardation of the Negro child should be used to justify continued segregation. The lack of validity of this argument is apparent and is clearly illustrated by the fact that in the legal fight against segregated schools some of the states argued that the Negro child was not being harmed by being required to attend all-Negro schools. Now that this point is no longer at issue before the courts, the proponents of segregation not only admit this intellectual damage resulting from past segregation, but attempt to use it in support of continued segregation.

Many generations of Negro children have borne the brunt of the educational and psychological damage inherent in their attendance in segregated schools. There is no evidence that a single generation of white

children will suffer any permanent damage as a consequence of attending well-regulated, non-segregated schools.

Existing psychological evidence obtained from the research of such outstanding psychologists as Otto Klineberg reveals that when Negro children are transferred from segregated schools to non-segregated shcools with higher educational standards they tend to make up their academic deficiency within a few years. More recent evidence involving older children shows that Negro children of superior intellectual ability who attend inferior segregated high schools are able to overcome their academic deficiency during the first college year and compete successfully in northern interracial colleges. It is clear, therefore, that the academic handicap resulting from segregated education is not a permanent one if the child is provided with an opportunity for an education in a non-segregated school with high educational standards. Under these conditions there is evidence that the Negro child benefits and no evidence that the white child is disadvantaged.

Section III - Summary and Conclusions

The latter part of Waring's article is devoted to a general castigation of the role of the NAACP in the struggle of the Negro for racial justice and equality. Waring maintains that until the school question became agitated in recent years, race relations in the South "on the whole were good"; that the leadership in this racial crusade comes from outside of the South and is sparked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; that if the schools were integrated, Negro school teachers would be displaced by whites; and that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools "so long as the schools for Negroes are adequate." These arguments, too, are not new and probably reflect a perspective of race relations which is tolerable and acceptable for some "reasonable" white Southerners. The question, however, is the extent to which they are compatible with the actual facts and the social reality

which the South faces today.

In asserting that race relations in the South were good up until the agitation for non-segregated schools, Waring takes the position that good relations are synonymous with the Negroes' acceptance of the status quo. From another point of view one could argue that such acceptance in the face of the reality of injustice is evidence of the poorest type of race relations and synonymous with social stagnation. Social progress, on the other hand, necessarily brings with it symptoms of tension, disturbance, and inevitable transitional difficulties. These are the concomitants of progress and the indications of an eventual bettering of the substance of race relations.

The NAACP is a convenient target or scapegoat for those who are disturbed by the insistent demand of the Negro for his full citizenship rights. It is true that the national headquarters of the NAACP are in New York City. It is equally true, however, and should be known by all, that the role of the NAACP in the school segregation cases and in any other area of its activities is determined exclusively by the degree to which the Negroes in a given community initiate a case and seek and invite the participation of the NAACP in the quest for justice. Under no circumstances does or can the national NAACP initiate a case prior to the desire or the demand of the Negro citizens of a given community.

The argument that Negro teachers would lose their jobs in integrated schools must be evaluated in the light of the national problem of a general shortage of competent teachers, which is no less acute in the South. Certainly, in the transition for a system of segregated to non-segregated schools in a given community there will be questions of the most efficient utilization of teaching personnel. In an attempt at solution of these problems there may be instances in which less competent and professionally

qualified Negro teachers will be displaced by more competent Negro or white teachers; presumably, also, there will be cases in which less qualified and competent white teachers might be displaced by more competent and qualified Negro and white teachers. If, however, there are cases of discriminatory and punitive discharge of Negro teachers, these cases will have to be brought to and decided within the halls of the Federal courts.

The assumption that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools, but would settle for adequate Negro schools, is one which may be seriously questioned in the light of the social tensions, potential disturbances, and worsening of race relations which Waring himself so graphically describes. If the Negro people on the whole were content to repudiate the clear decision of the United States Supreme Court, which maintained that separate educational facilities can never be equal, then there would be no agitation on their part for non-segregated schools. They would passively accept the pious and belated offers of even the most backward states to "equalize" the physical facilities of Negro schools, It has become clear to almost every Negro who is aware of the problem that it is not only psychologically but economically impossible for the Negroes to have separate schools that are equal. This is particularly true in those states in which there is the maximum amount of resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. A dual school system in these states would necessarily be at the expense of the Negro schools. The fact is that there is no possibility of compromise on this issue without continuing the hardships on the Negro children or imposing additional and new hardships on white children.

Section IV - What Has the Supreme Court Decided?

In presenting the hope that Negroes will accept voluntarily continued segregation, Waring leans on Judge John J. Parker's interpretation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court. In this interpretation

Judge Parker states:

> It (The United States Supreme Court) has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools... Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation.

A further interpretation of the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision which Parker does not give, but which might be relevant to an evaluation of many of the issues raised by Waring, is that the United States Supreme Court, in its May 17, 1954 decision, did not forbid the states from segregating its pupils in state supported public schools on the basis of health, home environment, marital status, legitimacy or illegitimacy of students, criminal or delinquent behavior, and level of intellectual functioning. Nothing in that decision prevents a state from setting up schools for children with or without communicable or venereal diseases; or setting up schools for children from broken homes or who are adjudged legitimate or illegitimate; nothing in the decision forbids the state from setting up schools in terms of intellectual level of students. Some groups of educators or welfare workers might wish to test the constitutionality of these forms of segregated schools when and if they are established.

The present decision, however, clearly, specifically, and only forbids the state from setting up schools for children "solely on the basis of race." This application of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution means that all explanations, rationalizations, techniques, devices, and subterfuges which result in racially segregated schools are unconstitutional. If a state desires to protect the health of the 98% of the white children whose parents do not have syphilis, it must equally protect the health of the 91% of the Negro children whose parents do not have syphilis by setting up, if it so desires, schools for those Negro and white

children whose parents have syphilis. If the state desires to protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those white children from higher cultural and intellectual backgrounds, then it must equally and without separation protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those Negro children from similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds by setting up schools attended by Negro and white children of similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds and potentials. Anything short of this is a clear violation of the supreme law of the United States as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court and is therefore illegal. Widespread illegality, rationalized or not, is anarchy - a government by whim and prejudice rather than a government by law. No amount of "reasonable" or emotional arguments and explanations can obscure this basic fact.

Technical Memorandum FILE COPY

To: Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, Southern Regional Council

From: Dr. Robert Johnson, Consultant

Subject: A Review of More and Less Effective Actions in Intergroup Relations

In American intergroup relations today, an increasingly great interest and emphasis is being directed toward determing what is effective action and toward attempting to minimize wasted motion. Part of America's increasing sophistication about racial problems involves a thorough knowledge of the best way of utilizing existing resources and techniques. Customary and conventional modes to taking action are more and more being re-examined and, in some cases, discarded in favor of newer and more imaginative methods. Some things that are known about more and less effective action in intergroup relations will be considered here.

In advance, we state a warning: The question of effectiveness is the "$64,000 Question" in contemporary America, and if any individual practitioner in race relations asks us how he can be optimally effective in his own specific program from day to day, we must answer modestly but cautiously that <u>we just don't know</u>.

But the studies of social scientists and the experience of intergroup relations practioners are adding greatly to our knowledge. We now feel that we can present a few general principles, suggestions and diagrams, that might at least enlarge the perspective and general knowledge of the person working in the race relations field. In the hope that these suggestions might add to a person's general ability to cope with his specific community problems, we will discuss the following general areas:

A. Social scientists believe it is more effective to work toward changing discriminatory patterns of behavior than to concentrate on changing individual prejudicial attitudes.

B. Social scientists are evolving a new battery of propositions on race relations that the practitioner may find helpful.

C. There are <u>more</u> and <u>less</u> effective practitioners in intergroup relations, whose characteristics may be spelled out in detail.

D. There are more and less effective action techniques, whose merits should be assessed in terms of their probable impact in a given community.

E. There are more and less effective ways of utilizing each action technique.

F. There are certain "specifics" that each effective practioner should know.

G. There is a variety of possible alternative actions in each area of segregation and discrimination.

H. The individual can add to his general effectiveness by learning to live the effective personal life in intergroup relations.

Recognizing the highly tentative nature of these propositions and suggestions, we nevertheless request that the reader consider them carefully, asking himself whether they are meaningful, or would "hold water" in his own community.

A. Social scientists conclude that it is more effective to change patterns than to change attitudes.

American thinking on race relations has long been influenced by the theories of social science. Possibly the best known American sociologist of the 19th century was William Graham Sumner, who had a gloomy and pessimistic view of the possibility of effecting positive change in race relations. He is best known for his references to such things as "the absurd attempt to make the world over," "the tide will not be changed by us," "stateways cannot change folkways," and "you cannot legislate against the mores." This, when he applied it to race relations in the South, indicated that the relations between whites and Negroes were static and could not be altered by social action.

Social scientists have since modified their pessimism considerably, spurred on chiefly by Gunnar Myrdal who vigorously expressed "grave skepticism" toward Sumner's views and pointed out the bias in American social science "against all attempts to intervene in the social process by legislation." However, some social scientists maintained the view that it is necessary to change individual prejudicial attitudes before actual racial behavior would change. But more recently, social scientists who have actually looked at the evidence of change in American race relations, are beginning to take the opposite view. Here are some examples:

(Dr. Gordon Allport, at Harvard) "Turning now to social programs...there is first of all considerable agreement that it is wiser to attack segregation and discrimination than to attack prejudice directly."

(Dr. Robert MacIver, at Columbia) "Wherever the direct attack is feasible, that is, the attack on discrimination itself, it is more promising than the indirect attack, that is, the attack on prejudice itself. It is more effective to challenge conditions than to challenge attitudes or feelings."

(Dr. Kenneth Clark, at City College of New York) "...Desired changes in the behavior of individuals and groups can be brought about by a change in the social situation in which they are required to function....Some of the examined evidence suggests that compatible changes in attitudes and motivation may occur as a consequence of the changed situation and changed behavior".

(Cornell University Intergroup Relations Study) "Major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment rather than from information and exhortation alone."

These conclusions are supported by other social scientists, such as Milton Gordon and John Roche at Haverford College, Dietrich Reitzas and Joseph Lohman at the University of Chicago, and John P. Dean and Alex Rosen at Cornell University. The future thinking of the American layman may become strongly affected by these studies of sociological evidence, indicating the desirability of attacking discriminatory practices as well as, or rather than, prejudicial individual attitudes "in a vacuum." The reader might ask himself what practical implications this point of view has in his own community.

B. Other social science propositions on race relations.

We will not detail the numerous social science propositions here. The job of pulling them together and systematizing them still remains for some thorough analyst to do. We seek here merely to indicate that they exist, to offer some brief examples, and to urge the practitioner to ask himself whether they are consistent with or contrary to his own past experience. First we cite five of the summary principles suggested by Robert MacIver in his book, The More Perfect Union.

---Rally to the cause of national welfare and unity rather than to particular groups.

---Attacks on discrimination along several fronts are more effective than giving priority to a single strategy.

---The primary business of strategy is to explore the weaker points and lines of least resistance of the discriminatory forces.

---Appropriate leadership must be recruited from the great potential forces that can be rallied to fight discrimination.

---Minority groups have an essential part to play in the conquest of the discrimination to which they are exposed.

A succinct and concise book on the "how-to-do-it" of integration has recently been published by the University of Chicago press. It is A Manual of Intergroup Relations by John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, and it presents 27 propositions on racial change, drawn from careful study of successful integration experiences. Some sample propositions from this book are as follows:

Proposition 5: Fullest minority participation in planning policy and program involves the participation of minority persons with insight into minority problems, skills in social relationships with persons of different social and ethnic status, articulateness in discussing minority-majority relations, and the emotional poise to handle touchy subjects and situations without becoming bitter or hostile.

Proposition 9: Leaders who control the operating practices of an institution or social enviroment can establish intergroup policies and practices for that environment within a wide range of community customs...

Proposition 10. Desegregation that proceeds by firm and decisive steps backed by the responsible authorities is more readily accepted and taken for granted than a halting desegregation that appears unsure of itself.

Proposition 16: Interaction in a favorable environment generally leads to friendship formation between majority-and minority group persons, regardless of the level of disengaged prejudice in the individual.

Proposition 23: Social conflict on an intergroup relations issue, if successfully resolved, usually leads to a further movement toward better intergroup relations.

A final example of principles on the process of desegregation and integration might be summarized from Kenneth Clark's monograph on Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence. After reviewing hundreds of examples of successful desegregation, Dr. Clark concludes that the accomplishment of successful desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance depends upon the following five factors: (a) A clear and unequivocal statement of policy by authorities; (b) firm enforcement of and persistence in the execution of this policy by authorities; (c) a willingness to deal

with violations by resort to the law and strong enforcement action; (d) a refusal by authorities to resort to subterfuge or other evasions of the policy; (e) an appeal to the individuals involved in terms of moral or democratic principles.

Other sources of general principles on race relations might be cited. The Governing of Men, by psychiatrist-anthropologist Alexander Leighton, contains numerous principles of government for the administrator, drawn from experience in the Japanese-American relocation center. Robin Williams' The Reduction of Intergroup Tension, contains 102 propositions summing up the best of social science knowledge on subjects like tension and conflict, individual prejudice, the minority community, and propositions for successful change in intergroup relations. Robert Johnson's The Nature of the Minority Community suggests hypotheses on raising the action potential of the American Negro community. These materials are easy to obtain; a harder task looms when the practitioner seeks to translate the general statements into specific actions in his community. However, they might serve as a valuable adjunct to his own tried-and true-experiences.

C. There are more and less effective intergroup practioners whose characteristics may be described.

In large part, the success or failure of a given intergroup relations program is related largely to the caliber and abilities of the staff member assigned to carry out the program. A staff member may grow through instruction or experience, from a less able practitioner to a more able one. Finally, we believe that careful study of more and less effective practitioners may reveal the salient characteristics of each, and contribute greater self-insight to whoever reads it.

We report here on one study that attempted to state the characteristics of the effective and the naive, ineffective professional worker in intergroup relations. This study was done by John Dean and Alex Rosen, in A Manual of Intergroup Relations. The authors were able to match the responses of practitioners to a questionaire with ratings of these practitioners by a national body. With the assistance of statistical tables, the authors listed the characteristics of the effective and the in-

effective worker in terms of (a) attitudes, (b) knowledge, and (c) skills.

Briefly, the effective professional worker was characterized by these attributes: In terms of attitudes, a commitment to integration, a longrange view, self-insight, an understanding of the minority community. In terms of knowledge, an understanding of the nature of prejudice and the diversity of minority experience, the bases of friendly action, the processes of social change, and the available community resources. In terms of skills, being at ease and putting others at ease, interpreting minority and majority experiences accurately, handling tension incidents wisely.

These are the characteristics of the naive, ineffective worker: (attitudes) timidity and vagueness about intergroup goals, patronizing actions that resent the minority group's non-appreciation, consideration of self as completely unprejudiced, oversentimentality toward minorities; (knowledge) failing to understand the nature of prejudice, lack of understanding of the diversity of minority experience, expecting prejudice to wither away by itself, using crude rules of thumb and cliches, feeling that his particular intergroup problems are unique; (skills) making "slips" or using testimonials or stereotypes toward minorities, by-passing interpretation in favor of exhortation that people are all alike, perceiving racial incidents as bad and shying away from anything that might lead to friction.

The activity of any intergroup relations organization might well be directed toward (a) trying its best to recruit staff members who possess the characteristics of the effective professional worker; (b) trying to determine the kinds of training and experience that might move a staff member to a more effective performance in this field; and (c) taking a careful inventory of staff and personnel practices in terms of the criteria that Dean and Rosen have outlined above.

D. There are more and less effective techniques, assessable in terms of the varying types of community.

Effective work in the intergroup relations field requires a great degree of flexibility and a fertile imagination. The range of specific techniques that may

be applied to a given community problem is great. But past social research and social action experience is beginning to give a small but growing body of knowledge on which specific techniques are more effective and which are less effective. In other words, if a program's finances, energies, and other resources are to be optimally allocated, the organization must decide "which horse to back," as far as techniques are concerned.

As an example, we might state a few brief conclusions of social scientists and practitioners on some actions that are considered somewhat less effective. A primary example is the use of mass media in the intergroup relations field. This is especially important if an organization has to decide whether to invest in mass media, in educational programs, or in legislative drives. Sociologist Robin Williams has suggested that "it is reasonable to doubt that racial and cultural conflicts can be appreciably alleviated by conventional methods of mass education," adding that "it would appear that the most promising area of study here is rather that of attitude and behavioral change resulting from education in group situations." Sociologist Robert MacIver adds that while he cannot question the high potential value of mass appeal materials, he believes that "they constitute the most hazardous of all the activities undertaken"by the Jewish agencies that he studied.

Numerous other reservations have been stated about various techniques in this field. However, in order to view at firsthand the range of action methods available to the practitioner, we present the following "exercise." A research instrument was constructed by the Cornell Intergroup Relations Study group, for the purpose of determining intergroup practitioners' evaluations of the most effective and least effective techniques of intergroup relations. (It is attached as appendix A.) In analysing the results of this inventory, the 17 suggested methods are re-arranged into a continuum ranging from methods that do not attack either prejudice or discrimination, to methods that attack prejudice only, and finally, to methods that attack discrimination directly. The reactions of practitioners to this instrument may be matched against the best available knowledge about what is effective in

intergroup relations. Methods and techniques known to merely waste time and money, or to have "boomerang effects" may then be discarded in favor of proceedures that are more effective. In addition,practitioners from a wide variety of communities might assess the relative effectiveness of various methods in terms of the unique structure and functioning of their own community.

E. There are more and less effective ways of utilizing each action technique.

A further point may be added here: the effective community worker should concern himself not only with which techniques are effective and which are not; he should also consider that there are more and less effective ways of utilizing each technique that exists, on the continuum ranging from action within the minority community, through action to change majority group prejudices, to action to change majority group discriminatory practices. We present, on the ensuing two pages, a suggestion of the more and less effective practices in regard to each technique.

We recognize the tentativeness of this scheme, and realize that each person may relate himself to it by classifying himself "on the side of the angels." We, nevertheless, present it on the next two pages hoping (a) to end some of the fury of the "change attitudes -- change practices" controversy; (b) to suggest that practitioners should move away from excessive emphasis on a single technique since action should be undertaken along a multitude of fronts; and (c) perhaps to illustrate the slang phrase; "'Taint what you do - it's the way that you do it."

F. There are certain "specifics" that every practitioner should know.

So far, we have emphasized general principles applied by social scientists and practitioners to race relations. We feel that we should move increasingly toward "specifics" - toward the more immediate details affecting the life of the race relations worker. Our observations of intergroup practitioners at the Fisk University Race Relations Institute and at other gatherings convince us that the effective practitioner should know the following things:

1. Know the best of the theoretical thinking on race relations that can be applied to his specific program, as suggested above.

MORE AND LESS EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED BY INTERGROUP PRACTITIONERS

Type of Action	Less Effective Procedures	More Effective Procedures
1. Action in minority community.	Laying the burden on minorities to improve themselves in order to end prejudice; making the minorities take the initiative in changing patterns; forcing minorities into painful situations without support.	Raising minority aspiration levels; promoting minority initiative; increasing minority self-conficence and self-esteem.
2. Exhortation.	Speaking over and over to those already "saved"; using broad generalizations like "the wages of sin are death".	Dramatic presentations accompanied by recommendations or action proposals; speaking to groups in terms of their most cherished values.
3. The media approach.	Signs, slogans and posters that do not tell people what do do. For example, "Love thy neighbor" or "All men are brothers".	Statements by "culture heroes"; immediate personalized media that reach the individual and indicate specific courses of action.
4. Education.	The straight recounting of corrective facts, sometimes insufficient, because of the many emotional facets of prejudice.	Education involving emotions as well as intellect, becoming educated is part of an integrated interaction process; "learning what we live".
5. Surveys.	People confining their actions to gathering and discussing facts, or duplicating surveys already done; using surveys as an excuse for not taking action.	People participating personally in fact-finding, increasing their emotional involvement, with a stated intent to implement any facts they find, and with interpretation.

Type of Action	Less Effective Procedures	More Effective Procedures
6. Revelation or "shock treatment".	Stating unverified facts without context or interpretation, engendering surprise, disbelief and resistance.	"Shock treatment" of audiences backed by solid fact, and involving process of (a) confrontation, (b) interpretation and (c) redirection.
7. Participation.	Self-conscious inter-cultural "talent shows" that place an undue emphasis on the cultural characteristics of the minority that are unique; throwing unprepared persons together without goals, context or guidance.	Joint integrated activity on an area of vital common interest, preferably involving equal status contact.
8. Negotiation.	Quelling each individual discrimination complaint by private agreement without consulting others; compromising, appeasing, or "selling out".	Representative community groups persuading discriminators to adopt and state a specific, clear-cut non-discriminatory policy; holding a spirit of no compromise.
9. Legal and legislative action.	Failure to coordinate action, resulting in confusion, crystallization of resistance, or acceptance of compromise solutions.	Carefully planned and coordinated action with an unassailable case, access to competent legal talent, thorough knowledge of all sanctions and "klobbering" devices available.
10. More direct action.	Adopting the illegal or immoral tactics of the opposition in the process of picketing, boycotting, mass demonstrations.	Determining the legality of these "protest techniques"; operating within the frame work of the law; mobilizing maximal community support.

2. Know the total range of possible effective race relations techniques, and study the timing and strategy involved in applying effectively the most appropriate technique.

3. Know how to work with his board; how to keep them (a) interested, (b) informed, (c) active, and (d) flexible. More specific ways of doing this can be outlined for the interested reader.

4. Be familiar with the best resources. In addition to social science knowledge, the effective practitioner should know the best of the intergroup relations materials and how to obtain and distribute them rapidly, without getting involved in too much needless paper work. The term "resources" should also include all the other intergroup organizations, and the practitioner should readily know (a) what they are set up to do, (b) what they actually do, (c) what their limitations and advantages are, and (d) how they can help his organization, and how he can help them.

5. Know the policy statements of community organizations and how they propose to implement them locally. Study the 40 or so statements made at Fisk's Southwide Interorganizational Conference in 1955, and press local constituencies of these groups to implement them as far as possible. Also, local bodies might be "moved" through their regional or national headquarters.

6. Know about the conditions of tension and violence and the ways of handling them. Social scientists have done some study in this area but even more directly useful information may be obtained from such persons as sociologist-sheriff Joseph Lehman, who has developed effective techniques and handbooks, in teaching policemen how to quell racial tension.

7. Know all the outside sanctions that can be brought to bear on a community in times of stress or crisis. For example, under what conditions can the practitioner take legal action, bring in the State Bureau of Investigation; get the state to cut off local school funds?

These actions, ambitiously stated will call upon the best of the practitioner's knowledge, attitudes, and skills. But we believe that maximum effectiveness will be definitely hampered unless the race relations worker masters them.

G. There is a variety of possible alternative actions in each area of segregation and discrimination.

We gather that some organizations are set up specifically to work on problems of schools, others on employment, others on housing, etc. But there are also organizations that are not limited in this way, but are dedicated toward working in any area where segregation and discrimination are rampant, and where human rights are being violated. For organizations such as these, we urge them to decide (a) in what area they can work most effectively, and (b) what the most effective action is, that they can pursue in that area. For example, suppose an organization wants

to work in the area of public school desegregation but is unable to do so because (a) other organizations are working in that area, or (b) the area is "too hot to handle." Then the organization might consider that It could be working effectively in any one of these areas:

1. Employment
2. Transportation, and other public accomodations
3. Housing
4. Dealing with tension incidents
5. Religious life
6. The Negro community

The criteria for selecting a given area over others might be these: (1) it is not an "impossible" situation, (2) there is "symbolic value" in the area as far as the minority community is concerned. (3) there is a serious need for improvement in that area, and (4) staff or directors have some knowledge, influence, or experience in that area. We suggest, briefly, a range of actions that might be pursued in each of the above mentioned areas:

1. Employment:
   - (a) Persuade qualified minorities to make personal application for non-traditional jobs.
   - (b) Seek integration of Negroes into city, state, and federal jobs.
   - (c) Approach key employers in the community to see if they will establish a precedent by changing their employment patterns.
   - (d) See that the non-discriminatory provisions of the President's Committee on Government Contracts are fully followed in the community, helping persons discriminated against to file a complaint, if necessary.

2. Public accommodations
   - (a) Gather the facts on the amount of public accommodations available to Negroes, and the amount of discriminatory incidents that occur.
   - (b) Write to all relevant transportation authorities asking them to issue policy statements implementing the recent Interstate Commerce Commission rulings.
   - (c) Set up a "test case" to show how this ruling is being evaded.
   - (d) Boycott the Negro facility and ask that facilities be opened to all.

3. Housing	(a) Seek better housing for Negroes, particularly new developments, within the existing area where Negroes live.
	(b) Encourage and support Negro families seeking homes in predominantly white neighborhoods.
	(c) Work to stabilize "changing neighborhoods" by encouraging whites to avoid "panic selling."
	(d) See if the powers of FHA or VA can be invoked to prevent the construction of government-financed segregated housing developments.
4. Handling Tension incidents	(a) Keep an accurate, up-to-date file on all incidents of racial tension, conflict, atrocity
	(b) Try to get publicity for anti-Negro tension incidents in the media of communication.
	(c) Be "on-the-spot" in order to do what you can to solve tension incidents personally.
	(d) Be alert to the forces of law and order that can be evoked in event of racial tension, and keep them informed of potential problems, e.g., the police, national guard, governor, FBI.
5. Religious life	(a) Urge white and Negro ministers to deliver more church sermons urging tolerance and understanding.
	(b) Encourage church clubs and youth groups to have joint meetings and discussion groups.
	(c) Urge white and Negro ministers to meet together or to integrate the Ministerial Alliances.
	(d) Review the national policy statements about segregation and discrimination made by each local church body; urge the local body to implement the policies in the most effective manner possible.
6. The Negro community	(a) Persuade minorities to be on their best behavior, and to equip themselves for possible new opportunity.
	(b) Remind Negroes of all state and federal laws protecting their rights, and indicate wherever these laws are being violated.
	(c) Help or persuade the Negro community to pay poll taxes or otherwise qualify to vote; teach youths how to register as they come of age.
	(d) Organize the most effective economic counter-boycott possible in the Negro community.

These are but a few of the actions that are possible in Southern communities. Note that under each heading, they tend to range from less to more "direct action" methods, in order that some allowance may be made for differences between various communities or states. The area of action in public schools has been omitted here, but numerous publications on effective action in school desegregation exist and are readily obtainable. We recommend here that each staff member of an intergroup organization, in collaboration with his board of advisors, consider the criteria for selection of an action area, and then decide within the limits of his environment, and its policies, what is the most constructive and decisive action that can be pursued effectively.

H. Living the effective personal life in intergroup relations.

In conclusion, we feel that in addition to the perhaps overwhelming recommendations on effectiveness that we have listed above, the effective worker can add to his contribution by considering how to lead the personally effective life as far as race relations are concerned. Each person must work out for himself the best way of doing this. We will not detail our suggestions here, although the writer has advanced some suggestions in the 1956 Winter issue of Child Study Magazine, in an article called "The Family's Stake in Desegregation." Briefly, the suggestions are: "Know thyself" and the extent of your own prejudices; know the facts - know what is effective; learn how to "silence a bigot;" learn how to handle tension incidents; and "set a good personal example." And a sixth point might be added for all white and Negro persons interested in effectiveness: Wherever possible, stop supporting segregation. And who knows, we may wake some morning only to find, happily, that we have "worked ourselves out of a job."

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ACTION TECHNIQUES IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Instructions

Suppose that you and several other interested persons wanted to develop a program to improve intergroup relations in your community.

Check in the appropriate column how effective you think each of these techniques would be if you undertook them: very effective, fairly effective, or not so effective. Also make a check if you think a technique might have negative effects.

Now go back and check which one of the "very effective" techniques you think would be most effective.

	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not so effective	Might have negative effects
1. Arrange group discussions among parents to modify their intergroup attitudes, since prejudice begins at home.	___	___	___	___
2. Protest discriminatory acts by petitions, open letters to officials, and other publicity.	___	___	___	___
3. Arrange forums, lectures, and public meetings to interpret to the community the accomplishments and cultural backgrounds of different minority groups.	___	___	___	___
4. Organize a citizens' committee to study the local situation and make recommendations.	___	___	___	___
5. Set a good personal example of your social circle, work relations, and friends.	___	___	___	___
6. Get dramatic posters and exhibits in public places such as restaurants, libraries, show cases, and public transportation.	___	___	___	___
7. Arrange meetings at which outside experts can discuss intergroup relations with civic leaders and influential persons.	___	___	___	___
8. Persuade minorities to stop agitating and give time a chance to solve the problem.	___	___	___	___
9. Get a few influential persons to negotiate privately behind the scenes with establishments that discriminate.	___	___	___	___
10. Get clergymen throughout the city to deliver sermons urging greater tolerance and understanding of minorities.	___	___	___	___

	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not so effective	Might have negative effects
11. Organize boycotts or mass picketing of firms that practice discrimination.	___	___	___	___
12. Negotiate with violators of civil rights and fair practices legislation to initiate better intergroup practices or face legal consequences.	___	___	___	___
13. Arrange for radio programs, newspaper articles, etc., that will attack prejudice.	___	___	___	___
14. Bring legal action against persons or firms that continue to practice discrimination.	___	___	___	___
15. Organize intergroup relations workshops for specific groups that are handling intergroup situations.	___	___	___	___
16. Get minority leaders to spend most of their time encouraging members of the minority to improve themselves so majority group members will be more willing to accept them.	___	___	___	___
17. Arrange education courses on intergroup relations that are open to the public.	___	___	___	___

AVAILABILITY FOR SRC CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

1. Are your services available as consultant in SRC Consultant Service Program? Yes___; No___.

2. If so, during what periods of 1956? Answer (a), (b), or (c).

   (a) January through December, 1956? Yes___; No___.

   (b) January " " " excluding vacation period? Yes___; No___.

   Please indicate vacation period._____

   (c) If not available for the entire year, indicate for the following periods (1956) whether you will definitely or probably be available, or not available:

	Available Definitely	Available Probably	Not Available
January thru March			
April " June			
July " September			
October " December			
Other single months or combinations: (List them)			
_____			
_____			
_____			

3. In general, during what part of the week can you accept consultant assignments in another city from yours?
   All of Saturday + Sunday AM? Yes — No —
   Any time in week, if planned in advance? Yes___; No___
   Week-end - Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday morning? Yes___; No___
   Other days of week (List them):_____
   _____

4. What week or weeks in the month are acceptable for assignments?

Any week	Yes___;	No___
First week (or beginning of month)	Yes___;	No___
Second "	Yes___;	No___
Third "	Yes___;	No___
Fourth " (or end of month)	Yes___;	No

5. Indicate any specific dates during 1956 that are now definitely filled or are customarily filled on which you could not take a consultant assignment, e.g., examination period, registration, professional or other meetings, etc._____
   _____
   _____

6. Do you have a car available for transportation to out-of-town assignments? Yes___; No___

   If not, do you have a driver's license? Yes___; No___, or could you readily obtain one? Yes___ No___.

   Would you be willing (and able) to use a rental car, if available, for such assignments? Yes___; No___.

   Do you have any objection to travel by scheduled airlines for such purposes? Yes___; No___.
   Trains? Yes___; No___.
   Buses? Yes___; No___.

minister, with whom Alexander had previously talked, seemed reluctant to talk with the consultants unless the other ministers were present.

Somewhat more preparation, arranging, and "spade work" would probably have been desirable. The biographical data on the consultants had not been sent by the Council to Mr. Alexander or to the local people, as we had understood they would be. Mr. Alexander's contacts with the Swain County school people apparently had been fewer and less recent than we had anticipated; a visit to the county a few days before the consultation, if possible, might have helped in pinning down arrangements, preparing the superintendent and the Board, and being ready to utilize the consultants to the fullest. A list of questions the Board wished discussed might have been useful. However, I am aware that Mr. Alexander is an outsider, as well as the rest of us, and it undoubtedly would have been a mistake to push things too far or too fast. If the Council insisted on adequate preparation, it might not get invitations at all.

Dr. Turpen's performance as a consultant was entirely adequate. It was good of him to agree to take two days out of a busy schedule, and the cooperation of the Fayette County School Board in allowing him to go should be appreciated. Dr. Turpen said nothing which would in any way conflict with the objectives and philosophy of the Council. His being able to speak as an administrator who had "been through the mill" on desegregation was most useful.

It may be that the most immediately useful result of the experience will be a by-product. While we were there, Mr. Alexander discussed with us a workshop he is tentatively planning for Greensboro in the late spring. The Superintendent of Schools has encouraged him to go ahead, although the schools cannot participate officially. The plan is to assemble a group of key white and Negro teachers for discussion of desegregation problems, with consultants brought in who have been involved in desegregation. Dr. Turpen was willing

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to allow and encourage Fayette County school personnel to participate, if invited, provided there would not be a lot of publicity. The tentative plan that emerged was to bring in a white principal and a Negro teacher from a mixed school in Fayette County, plus perhaps a white and a Negro high-school student from a desegregated school. The Friends Service Committee would sponsor the event.

PAGE (s) MISSING

(mcf) 8/10/56

Reports and correspondence for these filed in State Files under Tennessee!

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CAREFULLY NOTE!

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Young, Mr. Whitney, Jr.
Dean, Atlanta Univ. School of Social Work
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Ga.

SRC's Consultant Panel

FILE COPY

Dr. Kenneth Clark, Professor of Psychology, City College of NY; Research Director, Northside Center for Child Development. Noted author; NAACP's chief consultant before U.S. Supreme Court. Incisive mind.

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky. Native of Georgia. Experienced in working with people in rural areas on local problems. Quiet, effective.

Dr. Robert Johnson, Director of Research NCCJ. Son of the late Dr. Charles Johnson, President of Fisk. Did evaluative study of effectiveness of field program, American Friends Service Committee. Real brain, well organized mind.

Dr. William Jones, Professor of Sociology, University of Tennessee. Native of North Carolina. Experienced in working with people of all races on social problems. Down to earth, good guy.

Dr. Lewis Killian, Professor of Sociology, Florida State University. Native of Georgia. Did attitude survey for State of Florida used in brief before U.S. Supreme Court. Refused to be "used" by Florida Attorney General. Friendly, persuasive.

Dr. Hylan Lewis, just named Associate Director of Community Relations Division, Unitarian Service Committee; formerly Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University. Experienced analyst of social conflict episodes. Sharp, articulate.

Dr. Bonita Valien, Professor of Social Studies, Fisk University. Did survey of St. Louis integration experience; worked on "Ashmore," study of biracial education in U.S.; analysis of Clinton, Tennessee, situation. Charming, very able.

Dr. Harry Walker, Professor of Sociology, Howard University. Former Associate Director of Mayor's Committee on Community Relations, Chicago. Experienced process man. Particularly good at eliciting creative ideas from lay people.

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., Dean, School of Social Work, Atlanta University. Former Executive Director, Omaha Urban League. Native of Kentucky. Keen mind, empathetic.

2/5/57

4/30/57

This is a list of Prespective Consultants Suggested by one or more Staff and Present CSP Consultants to date. Classifications are highly tentative based on limited information. Please arrange in ascending order of preference those you think should be invited to Consultant Conference (First 6 or 7) and fill in additional information needed. Will telephone afternoon Wednesday May 1st.

General Purpose -- Sociologist, Inter-group Practitioners, etc.

Brisbane
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Lois Dean
2461 Glen Mary Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Sam Dorsey
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Robert Martin, Ph.D.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. J. Kenneth Moreland, Head
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Randolph Macon College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dr. Ralph Patrick
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

Dr. S. U. Smith, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology
Florida A. and M. University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Willis Sutton,
Sociologist
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Thompson
Professor of Sociology
Dillard University

Robert Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Economic Emphasis -- Economic Development Labor, Labor-Management, Minority Utilization, etc.

Mr. Harry Alston
Southern Office
National Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Thelma Babbitt,
National Director
Job Opportunity Program
AFSC

Dr. Eli Ginsbert, Ginzberg
Professor of Economics,
Columbia University;
Research Director,
National Manpower Commission

Phillip Hammer
Hammer and Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Ben Segal,
Labor Consultant
Fund for the Republic

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Consultant, SRC

Mr. Carlton Yeldell
Labor Consultant
National Urban League
New York, New York

Religious Emphasis

Rev. Nick Hood
New Orleans, Louisiana

Rev. Carlton Lee
Touguloo College
Touguloo, Mississippi

Canon McCloskey

Others -- (Classification based on my lack of information only)

Earl Brewer
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Bryce Ryan
Sociologist
L.S.U. Or Southern Methodist

Rc'd Sept. 4, 1957
from John Hope, II

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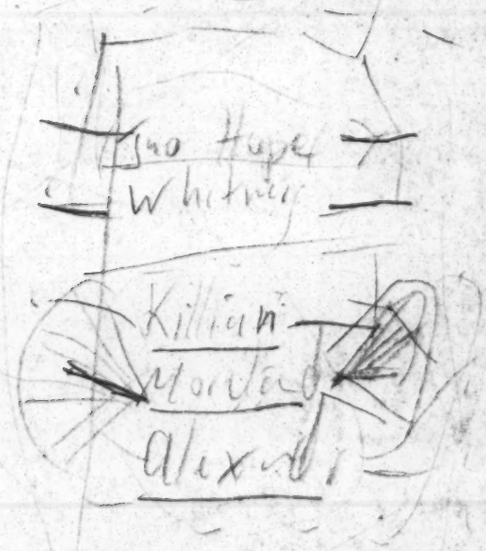
John Hope II
C. N. Parrish



Dr. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon College
Lynchburg, Va.

CONSULTANTS INVOLVED IN THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

1. Panel of Regular Consultants

xDR. KENNETH B. CLARK -- Associate Professor, Psychology, City College of New York; Associate Director of Northside Center for Child Development; Ph.D. Psychology, Columbia University (1940); book -- Prejudice and Your Child; numerous articles; (b) New York City; Negro.

DR. A. LEE COLEMAN -- Associate Professor, Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky; editor, Journal of Rural Sociology; Ph.D. Sociology-Anthropology, Cornell University; The Negro Population of Kentucky at Mid-Century and other bulletins of Kentucky Agricultural Experimental Station, University of Kentucky; (b) Devereau, Georgia; white. (Consultant, Kentucky Council on Human Relations, NCCJ, ADL.)

xMR. JOHN HOPE, II -- Director of Consultant Service Program and Chief Consultant, SRC; Director of Industrial Relations, Race Relations Department, Fisk University; M.A. Econ., Brown University; further study University of Chicago; books -- Three Southern Plants of International Harvester (Negro Employment) and Equality of Opportunity; (b) Atlanta, Georgia; Negro. (Consultant on intergroup relations to municipal and state government bodies, industrial firms, unions and other private organizations.)

DR. W. B. JONES -- Professor of Sociology, University of Tennessee; Ph.D. Sociology, Vanderbilt University (1939); (b) Tennessee; white. (Director, Tennessee Civil Defense, Preliminary Operational Survival Plan Project; on several state and other commissions dealing with penal problems and institutions; consultant, Tennessee Council on Human Relations and Tennessee Commission on Youth Guidance.)

DR. ROBERT JOHNSON -- Research Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Ph.D. Sociology, Cornell (1955); contributed to A Manual of Intergroup Relations, Dean and Rosen; (b) Nashville, Tennessee; Negro. (Evaluator of AFSC Community Relations Program and of Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights.)

DR. LEWIS M. KILLIAN -- Associate Professor of Sociology, Florida State University; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago; book -- Collective Behaviour, with Ralph H. Turner, Prentice Hall, 1957, and numerous articles; (b) Darien, Georgia; white.

xDR. HYLAN LEWIS -- Associate Director, Unitarian Service Committee, Boston; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago; book -- The Blackways of Kent, and numerous articles; (b) Richmond, Virginia; Negro. (Research Consultant, Commission on Race and Housing, Fund for the Republic.)

xDR. HERMAN H. LONG -- Director, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Church, Fisk University; Ph.D. Psychology, University of Michigan (1949); book -- People versus Poverty, and numerous articles; (b) Birmingham, Alabama; Negro. (former President, NAIRO; Consultant

on Intergroup relations to municipal and state government bodies and private organizations; member Commission on Educational Organizations, NCCJ.)

DR. C. H. PARRISH -- Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville; Associate for Program Development, SRC; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago; (b) Kentucky; Negro. First Negro faculty member, University of Louisville.

*MRS. BONITA VALIEN -- Associate Professor, Sociology, Fisk University; M.A. Sociology and further study, Wisconsin; books -- The St. Louis Story; A Study of Desegregation and The Clinton Story (with P. Valien and Holden); (b) Fort Worth, Texas; Negro. (longtime research assistant to the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson; Consultant, Southern Education Reporting Service.)

xDR. HARRY J. WALKER -- Associate Professor, Sociology, Howard University; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago (1945); book -- The Negro in American Life, Oxford Book Company, 1954; numerous articles and research projects in intergroup relations. (formerly Director of Community Services, Southside Planning Board Chicago; Secretary of Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations, University of Chicago; Research Consultant, Commission on Race and Housing, Fund for the Republic.)

MR. WHITNEY M. YOUNG, Jr. -- Dean, Atlanta University School of Social Work; M.A. Social Work, University of Minnesota (1947); formerly Executive Secretary Omaha Urban League; (b) Kentucky; Negro.

11. Potential Consultant Resources who are on Call

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College

Dr. Robert Brisbane
Morehouse College

Dr. Earl Brewer
Emory University

Mr. Will Campbell(a)
National Council of Churches
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Emmett Dorsey
Howard University

Dr. Samuel Gandy
Dillard University

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League

Dr. Robert E. Martin
Howard University

Dr. Robert G. Menefee
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Miss Irene Osborne*(a)
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dr. Willis Sutton*(a)
University of Kentucky

Dr. Daniel C. Thompson
Dillard University

Mr. Robert Thompson
Atlanta Urban League

(a) Used as consultants since May 1957 Consultant Conference.

111. Special Consultants

Three local school superintendents whose names must be kept confidential by agreement.

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director, SRC, and Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, SRC, have served in consultant program from time to time without cost to this program.

* Member field staff, Ashmore Project, Fund for the Advancement of Education.

x Rosenwald Fellow.

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*DR. HYLAN LEWIS — Assoc. Director, Unitarian Service Committee; Boston Ph.D. Sociology, Univ. Chicago [redacted]; book, The Black Ways of Kent, numerous articles; (b) Richmond, Virginia; Negro (Research Consultant, Commission on Race and Housing, Fund for the Republic)

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[a] Used as consultants since May, 1957 Consultant Conference

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*Member field staff, Ashmore Project, Fund for the Advancement of Education

xRosenwald Fellow

Harry Walker Of Howard U.

Harry J. Walker, an associate professor of sociology of Howard University who lent his findings on community and race relations to a host of desegregation troublespots, died of a heart attack Saturday at Freedman's Hospital. He was 54.

Mr. Walker's studies throughout his career aimed at documenting community reaction to key questions of desegregation and slum clearance. He was known as an extremely articulate student of race problems with a keen sense of humor.

Mr. Walker

Last fall he testified in Alexandria Federal Court on the Arlington desegragation issue, saying he felt the County could desegregate as easily as Washington had, if not more so.

He devoted a year's research in 1955 with Robert T. Bower of American University on adjustment to integration in Washington public schools. Another study, made with a Howard colleague, G. Franklin Edwards, uncovere adverse effects of urban renewal on minority group housing in six Eastern cities.

Other testimony helped the Interior Department decide to desegregate Washington's swimming pools in 1950, and helped pave the way for hiring of Negroes by the Capitol Transit Co. in 1954. The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta found him a valuable consultant to desegregation trouble areas throughout the East.

Mr. Walker, a native of Muncie, Pa., had served the Howard University faculty from 1939 to 1942 and from 1948 to the present. In the interim he earned a doctorate at the University of Chicago.

While in Chicago he served on the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations and was a member of the city's Southside Planning Board. He was also a lecturer at Roosevelt University there.

Currently serving as president of the D. C. Chapter of the American Sociological Society, Mr. Walker was the author of the pamphlet, "The Negro in American Life."

He is survived by his wife, LaVergne, and a son, Harry J. Jr., of their home at 4711 Blagden ave. nw.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. CONFIDENTIAL
Atlanta, Georgia

September 16, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: Situation in Little Rock - report of telephone conversation with Nat Griswold

The city of Little Rock at least on the surface is calm. There is the obvious presence of the U. S. Marshals. There is a growing ground-swelling, according to reporters with whom Nat has talked, to re-open the closed high schools, even on a desegregated basis. This sentiment got a shot in the arm when the school board voted to cancel all football games, dances, and other school activities for this semester since the schools are closed.

There is some evidence that the state would like to open a "private" segregated school system but fears that the federal government has anticipated this move and is prepared to counter it. Governor Faubus is trying desperately to hang the monkey on the back of the federal government but the man on the street is beginning to recognize Mr. Faubus as the hand-organ player.

Mrs. Terry, who has been in touch with Mrs. Tilly, is holding a meeting of church women. She reported to Nat that interest in this has increased terrifically, that many more people than she originally expected now want to come to the meeting.

A group believing in the non-violent approach to social problems has held an eighteen hour vigil in one of the Little Rock churches, praying for acceptance by the community of the court order. This was covered by the press, radio, and TV. Nat worked with the sponsoring group.

The State Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission has asked the Arkansas Council to do a study on the status of desegregation and civil rights in Arkansas. They have asked Cartwright to do the writing.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 23, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Subj: Little Rock - a report of a phone conversation with Nat Griswold

The sixty-one lawyers who signed the statement opposing closed schools and "private" schools represent the cream of the Little Rock Bar Association.

The president of the student body at Hall High School polled the students; 70% voted for an open, desegregated school! This has caused quite a stir in Little Rock.

The Boards of two churches have gone on record opposing the closing of schools and defiance of the Court decision. Two ministers - one at Brooks Hays' home parish - preached sermons urging compliance with the Court decision.

The "ladies" went to the TV stations and asked for equal time to answer Faubus' speech of the other night. One TV station has granted this, the other will probably do so, too. The "ladies" have a panel all set to go - three lawyers and three laymen - who will hit at the constitutionality of the "private" school plans. The Arkansas Council has had quite a part in this.

-:-

c. c. John Hope II
C. H. Parrish

Establish Women on Civic Unity

Committee to Open One Back City Manager Board to Have 'Unity' to cope (Po... and to foster the ...

Women

...

Joe R. Brown of Scott, ... of the Women's Committee ... Civic Unity Commission ... Board "very soon."

... in the city that ... so severe that "not can ... anything done."

Reaction Yet

There was no reaction yesterday from city officials. City Manager Dean J. Dudley was in ... Mayor Werner C. Knopp said he hadn't seen the Committee's letter.

A copy of it went to the Chamber of Commerce along with a request for the "support and advice" of the Chamber. The Chamber Board met yesterday but President Wesley R. ... said the letter didn't arrive in time for consideration at the meeting.

... Committee ... be made by having ... groups, agencies and organizations ... a list of those ... in the City Human Relations Board, which was ... See WOMEN on Page 8A

Present City Government

... Present City Government ...

... "Unity" ... community ...

Through this "Unity" ... said ... organizations ... organizations ... to begin a movement ... community ...

Mrs. Brown said ... have established such groups ... but they had ...

She said Council ... who had worked on the commission proposal ... with misgivings and ... had reacted favorably.

Mrs. Brown said ... interest ... the City Manager Board. She said she had ... Board ...

'Unity' Group Plan May Get Board Today

The first official mention ... proposal that the City Manager Board form an advisory ... parent committees to attempt to ease racial tensions in Little Rock may come today.

The Board will meet this afternoon for the first time since it received the petition from the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools. The Board will have an agenda meeting—the session at which it will decide what matters it intends to formally consider at its bi-monthly meeting Monday night.

Mayor Werner C. Knopp said Committee probably would be discussed if any Board member wanted it taken up. He said the letter would be answered when the Board tries to answer all communications.

City Manager Dean J. Dudley said he thinks the letter probably would be considered at the agenda meeting.

'Commission on Unity'

The Committee, in a letter dated December 19, suggested the formation of a "City Commission on Civic Unity" which would have a membership drawn from "all areas of society."

The Committee said the new group could "cultivate understanding and friendly relations between all the various segments of population" and attempt to restore lines of communication that have been disrupted by the integration controversy.

The letter suggested 18 organizations and city agencies as a "beginning list" from which the Board might choose Commission members. It recommended that these organizations submit a list of names from which the Board could make its appointments.

Mrs. Joe R. Brown of Scott, chairman of the Women's Committee, said other cities had established such groups and that they had been successful.

Commission ...

Few cities have a ... Little Rock for the sort ... an Civic Unity ... of Directors by the ... Committee to Open ...

The proposal is ... people ... simply calls for the ... recognize that these ... provide a forum ... be discussed in an atmosphere ... and reason.

The women's group urges that ... sentation on the Commission be as ... as possible — letting such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, ... Bar Association, civic clubs, and the ... their own delegates. It would of course be integrated, with our Negro population having a proportionate number of places.

We doubt that any such organization will produce any concrete results, certainly not in short order. But it could establish as official recognition that we have all got to live here together, and that the tensions produced by extreme words and extreme action have created an intolerable situation.

The Commission would be a ... start toward resolution of our basic community problems, but it would be a start — and no one has suggested anything better.

[illegible]

—Staff Photo by Don Miller

So, That's How It's Done

Here Robert L. Thornton of Dallas, who has a reputation as a "City Builder", whispers the secret of his success to E. Grainger Williams (right), 1959 Little Rock Chamber of Commerce president, who figures he can use them.

Time to Evaluate School Situation, Leaders Advised

The new president of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce said last night that "the time has come for us to evaluate the cost of education and the cost of the lack of it."

E. Grainger Williams, a vice president of the insurance firm of Williams & Rosen, Inc., touched briefly on the Little Rock school situation in an informal speech at the Chamber of Commerce annual dinner. At the outset, Williams substituted Warren E. Bragg.

"I have neither the purpose nor the desire to discuss the political and social aspects of the [illegible] problem," Williams said in making his statement about the evaluation of education.

He urged that the business leaders, while [illegible] to re-establish [illegible] means of communication, "so the city's problems could be discussed without anger and [illegible] without fear of reprisal." Doing that, he said, "would be one of the greatest contributions we could make, and to that end I am dedicated."

His remarks were applauded.

(Related article on Page [illegible])

ARKANSAS GAZETTE 1/15/59

The Extreme Stand —And the Moderate

In his well organized and sometimes eloquent inaugural address, Governor Faubus, in perhaps the strongest terms he has used, called for continued defiance of federal laws and federal court orders relating to the operation of the public schools.

In a summary paragraph he said this:

> To say that we must resist such unwarranted and evil efforts by every means short of violence and armed conflict, is to state it lightly indeed.

This, then, is the extreme position endorsed by a majority of the people of Arkansas. Those who hold it contend that anything less is weakness—and they have made moderation a bad name.

Yet those who are still willing to listen might consider the real meaning of moderation—and whether it does not after all bespeak the conscience of most of us, indeed whether the concept is not essential to an orderly and progressive society.

Here is a definition offered by a man who has reason to know what he is talking about, former Representative Brooks Hays of the Fifth District, who went down to defeat in defense of these principles. Writing in the New York Times Magazine, Mr. Hays offers this standard to which "just and prudent" Southerners may repair:

> (1) Adherence to the concept of equal justice under law and recognition that the Fourteenth Amendment is a vital part of the Constitution (the Supreme Court's "separate but equal" decision of 1896 was based on this amendment, as was the 1954 school desegregation decision repealing that concept);
>
> (2) A commitment to use only lawful processes to obtain any desired revision of the 1954 court ruling or the 1955 implementation decision, regardless of whether one approves or disapproves of the detailed provisions involved in specific instances;
>
> (3) The search for alternative methods of desegregation that will do least violence to the South's traditions and attitudes;
>
> (4) The desire to help the Negro improve his economic condition and generally achieve a status more in keeping with human dignity and self-respect; and finally,
>
> (5) The continued expression of devotion to country by the denunciation of acts of violence and racial hatred and by repudiation of those who urge defiance of the law.

The Chamber's Concern

From the beginning of the Little Rock school impasse the Chamber of Commerce has remained largely mute, the argument being that this was primarily a political controversy.

But at the Chamber's annual dinner the rising president, E. Grainger Williams, took note of the fact that the school [illegible] has gone far beyond politics and now colors the industrial and commercial life of the city with which the Chamber is directly concerned.

The time has come, he said, for business leaders, [illegible] to evaluate the cost of education and the cost of the lack of it. To that end he said he declared himself dedicated to re-establishing the [illegible] communication so that the problem could be discussed freely without anger and hatred, without fear of reprisal.

The need is certainly urgent. While the side effects of the school impasse have not been measured—and in many cases defy exact measurement — there are alarming indications that the impact is spreading in many directions.

One such turned up in the current issue of the University of Arkansas alumni magazine. In a letter addressed to seven top administrators of the University, Dr. F. Douglas Lawrason, planner for medical affairs, had this to say:

> The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the public school problem there. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community.

If this experience, multiplied as it may well be in the case of many private industries and businesses, isn't a matter of proper concern for the Chamber of Commerce it is difficult to think of what would be.

1/16/59

State's Racial Unrest Blamed on Subversion

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT 1/16/59

By R. B. MAYFIELD,
(Democrat Staff Writer.)

The special education committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council declared today "that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our state."

The findings are the result of a three-day hearing conducted a month ago probing the activities of the NAACP and other organizations which allegedly played a part in events leading to the Central High School impasse in Little Rock.

A report on the committee findings was released today by Atty. Gen. Bruce Bennett, who handled the legal aspects of the hearing.

"The committee is convinced that the racial unrest in Arkansas was deliberately planned by the Communist party as part of the directive handed down by Moscow in 1928," the report said.

"The NAACP appears to have been heavily infiltrated with subversives and wittingly or unwittingly, is now a captive of the Communist apparatus," it added.

Bennett told a reporter that he believes this is the first time any investigating agency has ever found the NAACP subversive.

The House of Representatives passed a resolution yesterday adopting the "findings of fact" by the committee, and ordered the transcript of the hearing entered in the House journal. The vote was 95-1.

Permanent Record.

Bennett said that this did not mean that the lower chamber actually adopted the report, which hasn't been presented to it yet, but rather provides that a permanent record be made of the proceedings.

The principal witnesses for the hearing was J. B. Matthews, New York City, a former aide of the late U. S. Sen. Joe McCarthy, and Manning Johnson, New York. A Negro who admitted he once belonged to the Communist party.

The 33-page report today was largely a summation of the proceedings. Here are some excepts from the conclusion.

"This committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on Sept. 2, 1957, (the beginning of the open integration fight there) was not something planned . . . that just happened overnight.

"It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motivating factor the International Communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

Many in Arkansas.

"Communism, heretofore, has

See PROBE on Page 2.

* * *

Red Link Denied By NAACP

Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas Chapter of the NAACP, promptly denied today that the organization had any links with subversives.

She told The Associated Press:

"I think I would prefer taking the word of J. Edgar Hoover and the Justice Department about our organization. They have clearly given us a clean bill of health many times."

PROBE

(Continued from Page 1.)

always been something that happened elsewhere; but the record reflects that for a number of years an almost incredible number of Communists, pro-Communists, fellow travelers, dupes and those who make a career out of being duped, have flitted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they have sowed the seeds of dissension and discord."

"We believe that the NAACP is and has been sympathetic toward Communist causes, and that the goal of the Communist is not to help the Negro as such, but merely to use him. In that desire to use the Negro, we find that the Communists have always tried to infiltrate organizations attractive to the Negro race."

The report also criticized "some segments of the press" which it said attempted to discredit the committee's work.

"Some members of the press seem determined to bedevil the issue, smear the purposes of the hearings, and reach any conclusion other than the fact that there was subversion present in our difficulties here. This the committee deplores," it said.

"It is the conclusion of this committee . . . that subversion was present in the racial unrest. . . ."

The report also castigated the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and interracial group, and the Southern Regional Council.

Found No Good.

"We have been unable to learn of any public or private good . . . rendered" by either organization, the report said.

The committee was headed by Perry Rep. Paul Van Dalsem, with Sen. Charles F. Smith, West Memphis, vice chairman.

Other members are Sens. Lee Bearden, Leachville; Clifton Wade, Fayetteville; Tom Allen, Brinkley; Max Howell, Little Rock, and Marshall Shackelford, El Dorado. House members are Mississippi Rep. Gene Fleeman, Parkin; Rep. John Bethell, Phillips; Rep. Marcus Howell, Little River; Rep. Marion Crank, Bradley; Rep. Carroll Hollensworth and Pulaski Rep. Joel Leffler.

Little Rock file

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

January 20, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am sure that you will be interested in the copy of my letter to Nat Griswold of Little Rock, hereto attached, as well as the newspaper clippings regarding the Report of The Senate Education Committee.

I have just completed the reportorial summation of developments in Little Rock from December 15, 1958 to January 17, 1959, and will send you a copy as soon as it is typed.

During my visit to Little Rock, I conferred with E. Grainger Williams, President of the Chamber of Commerce, regarding the organization of a Little Rock Commission on Community Relations. He is interested in the formation of such a group. I also consulted with Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman of the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools and suggested that the name of the group be changed to The Little Rock Citizens Committee for Better Schools which will enable the group to retain its original purpose of re-opening the High Schools without identifying it specifically with the integration issue.

You will also be interested to know that the first steps are being taken to interest a group of leaders in Houston to organize a local Commission on Community Relations.

In planning your Texas trip, I hope that you will be able to include Houston and Little Rock in your itinerary.

Cordially,

Gustave

GF:EF

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RALPH E. SAMUEL, *Chairman, Executive Board*
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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

261

cc Fred.Routh

January 20, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold, Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Nat:

Before I left Little Rock, I telephoned your office but unfortunately you were out. Mr. Walker answered, however, and we had an interesting chat. I want to tell you how much I enjoyed my visit with you, John and Mrs. Powell.

I also conveyed our discussion to Jerome Levy, AJC local Chapter Chairman and he assured me of his interest in the Council program. I would suggest that you acquaint him with the Council activities. He informed me that the Chapter would be happy to cooperate with you in providing limited funds for distribution of AJC literature whenever you consider such a piece for distribution. I am also sending you under separate cover 15 complimentary copies of the Louisville Story and other material which you might find useful.

I would like to receive, if possible, two or three copies of the 32 page report of the Senate Education Committee which was reported in the Arkansas Democrat. John promised to inquire about the possibility of securing these copies.

Fred Routh wrote to me of his contemplated trip to the Southwest in February. I presume he will also visit Little Rock.

My meetings with Grainger Williams and Mrs. Brewer were interesting and promising. I am sending them material which I hope will prove useful in furthering their ideas and plans. I am sure that you can be helpful to them.

Please give my regards to John and Mrs. Powell.

Cordially,

MATERIAL SENT:

GF:EF

5 Pursuit Of Equality
5 They Learn What They Live - Trager
21 The Louisville Story - Carmichael
25 The People Take The Lead - AJC 1959
25 American Security & Freedom - M. Goldbloom
3 Bigotry in Action
5 AJC - 50th Anniversary Proceedings
40 McCall's Reprint
1 Proceedings of 51st Annual Meeting AJC

January 20, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee To Open Our Schools
P. O. Box 122
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

It was a genuine pleasure to meet with you and your co-workers for the purpose of discussing the important subject of mutual and vital interest. You and the other ladies should be complimented on the courageous and forthright stand being taken in helping to resolve a critical situation and of expending every effort to preserve the educational principles and standards in Arkansas.

In reviewing our discussion, I believe that much could be accomplished without sacrificing the basic aims and purposes motivating your group by changing the name of your organization to The Little Rock Citizens Committee for Better Schools or any other appellation describing the purposes for which the present Committee was formed. This will disassociate the organization directly from the desegregation issue and refute the accusations hurled against your group by its critics. At the same time, however, we all understand that re-opening of the schools cannot be accomplished in any other manner than prescribed by the law. Emphasis could be placed on the broader problems of preparing our children for their place in life through better schools and educational opportunities.

Fortunately, you need not work alone in this fight. There are like-minded citizens throughout the country organized into National and State committees. The National Citizens Council For Better Schools can help you in achieving your goals.

In accordance with my promise, I am sending you the folder of material of the above organization, explaining its purposes and types of services available. Mr. Leads R. Lacy is Southwest Regional Director and is prepared to visit your community and assist you in setting up the necessary functional structure. I shall also be happy to cooperate with you as well as Mrs. Levy

and members of the Little Rock AJC Chapter.

Mr. Leeds address is 501 Mercantile Building, 1031 15th Street, Denver, Colorado. I would suggest that you write to him for further information, if desired, mentioning my name in this connection. There will be no obligation in this request.

Please convey my regards to Mesdames John Samuels, Helen Helvenston and Jerome Levy, who are receiving copies of this letter and material. I shall be happy to continue our association and to consult with you in forwarding your program.

Sincerely,

Gustave Falk

GF:EF

cc Dr. Jerome Levy

January 20, 1959

Mr. E. Grainger Williams
Williams & Rosen, Inc.
National Old Line Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Williams:

I want you to know that I enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you and discussing your plans for the organization of a Little Rock Commission on Community Relations. I hope that I was of help to you in crystallizing your thinking on the subject and pointing out procedure for the implementation of your plans. It is not an easy goal to achieve, especially in the present emotionally charged climate but the backing of the fine leadership of the Chamber of Commerce certainly assures the success of this effort.

In accordance with my promise, I am enclosing a draft ordinance which I believe would be adaptable and acceptable to the community. You will note that emphasis has been placed on the modus operandi for the establishment of lines of communication between the various groups and races in the community, so essential to the future welfare and growth of a progressive city as Little Rock.

I am including several additional types of ordinances already in existence and reports of these Commissions. If you wish further information from these cities, I would suggest that you write to the directors listed on the enclosed roster of Commissions on Community Relations.

Please be assured of my desire to cooperate with you and your community in a constitutative capacity. Henry Spitzberg, Dave Grundfest, Dr. Levy and other members of the Little Rock AJC Chapter are, I am sure, prepared to assist you whenever their services are required.

Sincerely,

Gustave Falk

GF:EF

1-21-59

PARTIAL LIST

COMMISSIONS ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Mr. Daniel S. Anthony, Director
Mayor's Commission on Group Relations
City Hall - Room 214
Newark 2, New Jersey

Mr. Frank W. Baldau
Community Relations Board
123 City Hall
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Mr. Marshall Bragdon, Executive Director
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Mr. John A. Buggs, Executive Secretary
L.A. County Committee on Human Relations
1851 S. Westmoreland Avenue
Los Angeles 6, California

Mr. George W. Culberson
Commission on Human Relations
518 City-County Bldg.
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

Mr. William A. Stewart, Advisor
Human Relations Council
177 Church Street - Room 310
New Haven, 14 Connecticut

Mr. Frank W. Fager, Secretary
Board of Community Relations
565 N. Erie Street
Toledo 2, Ohio.

Mr. William Gremley, Executive Secretary
Commission on Human Relations
City Hall - 25th Floor
Kansas City, Missouri

Mr. Robert C. Sweet, Secretary
Mayor's Commission on Human Rights
Armory Bldg. - East 1st & Des Moines Sts.
Des Moines, Iowa

Mr. Robert A. Hoffman, Executive Director
Board of Community Relations
1502 City Hall
Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. Augustine J. Bowe, Chairman
Commission on Human Relations
54 West Hubbard Street
Chicago 10. Illinois

Mr. Burton I. Gordin, Deputy Director
Commission on Human Relations
Commercial Trust Bldg.
16 South Broad Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Mr. William A. Stewart
Human Relations Advisor
Office of the Mayor
New Haven, Connecticut

Mr. Chester E. Stovall, Executive Sec.
St. Louis Council on Human Relations
1320 Market St.
St. Louis 3, Missouri

Mr. Corneff Taylor, Secretary
Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights
811 North Broadway
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

Mrs. Anna M. Weeas
Director of Human Relations
1651 Sycamore
Waterloo, Iowa

Mr. Howard W. McKinney, Executive Dir.
Community Relations Commission
606 Commerce Bldg.
Erie, Penna.

Mrs. Eugene Gould, Chairman
Mayor's Commission on Human Relations
1224 Metropolitan Bldg.
Minneapolis, Minn.

ORDINANCE NO.

AN ORDINANCE TO BE ENTITLED
LITTLE ROCK COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

AN ORDINANCE CREATING A LITTLE ROCK COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROVIDING THE MANNER OF APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION'S MEMBERS: SPECIFYING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION AND THE TERMS AND MANNER OF APPOINTMENT AND REMOVAL OF MEMBERS; AND PROVIDING FOR THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE COMMISSION AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS AND BOARDS.

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE CITY COUNCIL:

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Section 1. Little Rock Commission on Community Relations. There is hereby created a Commission on Community Relations to consist of twenty-one members, broadly representative of the social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic and racial groups comprising the population of the City of Little Rock. These members of the Commission shall be appointed by the Mayor with the approval of the City Council, and one of the members shall be designated by the Mayor as chairman. Initially, seven members shall be appointed for one year, seven for two years and seven for three years; thereafter, all appointments to the Commission shall be for a term of three years. In the event of the death or resignation of any member, his successor shall be appointed to serve for the unexpired term. Members shall serve without compensation but shall be reimbursed for actual and necessary expenses incurred in official duties, as may be determined and approved by the Commission.

Section 2. General Functions. The functions of the Commission shall be:

(1) To foster mutual understanding and respect among all economic, social, religious, ethnic and racial groups in the City of Little Rock.

(2) To make studies in the field of intergroup and interracial relations.

Section 3. Powers and Duties. The Commission is empowered:

(1) To act as conciliator in controversies involving intergroup and interracial relations.

(2) To cooperate with Federal, state and city agencies in developing harmonious intergroup and interracial relations.

(3) To cooperate with and enlist the support of civic, religious,

veterans', labor, industrial, and commertial groups and civic leaders in the development of educational programs dedicated to the improvement of intergroup and interracial understanding.

(4) To make studies and to have studies made in the field of intergroup and interracial relations, and to prepare and disseminate reports of such studies.

(5) To recommend to the Mayor and the City Council such ordinances as will aid in carrying out the purposes of this ordinance.

(6) To submit an annual report to the Mayor and the City Council.

(7) To accept grants and donations on behalf of the City of Little Rock from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out the above listed functions.

Section 4. Staff. The City Manager with the approval of the Mayor and City Council shall appoint an executive director, qualified by a minimum of five years professional experience in the field of intergroup and interreligious relations, to direct and coordinate the activities of the Commission subject to the provisions of the civil service law, such additional personnel as he may deem necessary and to fix the compensation of persons thus employed within the limits of funds made available to the Commission.

Section 5. Finances. At the June meeting, a budget for the next fiscal year shall be adopted by the Commission and submitted to the Mayor and the City Council. No expenditures shall be authorized without approval by the Commission. The Treasurer shall make a report of the financial condition of the Commission at each monthly meeting.

Section 6. Relations with City Departments and Boards. So far as practicable, the services of all other City departments and boards shall be made available upon request of the Mayor by their respective heads to the Commission for carrying out the functions herein stated. Information in the possession of any department or board shall be furnished to the Commission upon request.

Section 7. Frequency of Meetings and Facilities. The Commission shall meet not less than once a month and shall adopt such rules as it shall deem expedient for the conduct of its business. Eleven members shall constitute a quorum. It shall elect a secretary and a treasurer and such other officers as it shall deem necessary. The chairman thereof shall appoint such committees as the rules of the Commission shall provide, ankd such other committees as the Commission shall find necessary from time to time. The City Manager shall assign to the Commission adequate office space and facilities and necessary clerical help for the proper exercise of the functions of the Commission.

Section 8. Separability. If any provision of this ordinance or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, the remainder of such ordinance or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

Section 9. Effective Date. This ordinance shall become effective ten days after its enactment by the Mayor and City Council.

THE WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
TO
OPEN OUR SCHOOLS

Policy and Purpose

The Women's Emergency Committee to Open our Schools is dedicated to the principle of free public school education, and to law and order. We stand neither for integration nor for segregation, but for education.

Our aim is:

to get the four free public high schools re-opened;
to get students back in their classes;
to retain our staff of good teachers;
to regain full accreditation by the North Central Association.

We know that the "school situation" at Little Rock is not simply a local problem . . . and that Arkansas has been disgraced in the eyes of the entire world. We realize that what has happened here is elsewhere considered symbolic of "American Democracy" and so has made every American citizen the object of distrust and even hate.
We believe that our free public school system is essential to the future of our city and state.
It is our hope to say to the world that there are many of us here who care enough to do something about this problem.

Copy to Atlanta Rentmore 10/5/60 SM.

LWD ✓ HLF ✓ MF. file 2 DP Make folder Sumter, S.C.

A REPORT TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

"Attempts of the 'Turks' of Sumter County, South Carolina, to Secure Equal Schooling"

Kenneth Morland -- September 30, 1960

The report that follows is based on a visit I made to Sumter County on September 23-25, 1960. During this time I talked with Mr. Ira Kaye, a lawyer representing the Turks, and with a number of the Turks themselves. I visited in seven of their homes and in two of their crossroads stores where I conversed with school children, their parents, and with older members of the group. I attended a special meeting of the Turks at their church and later interviewed their pastor. Three of the leaders of these people drove me in their car to and from the Columbia airport and took me to the homes I visited. I had especially lengthy talks with them.

Identification of the Turks

The "Turks" are one of several enclaves of people found scattered inland from the Atlantic along much of eastern United States. These groups are especially numerous in South Carolina and in other parts of the state are known as "Brass Ankles," "Red Bones," "Buckheads," "Croatans," "Greeks," "Portuguese." No one seems to know with any degree of certainty just where these people came from, although legends about their origin abound. For example, one story is that the Turks are descendants of Turkish pirates whose ship was marooned on the South Carolina coast. General Thomas Sumter relied on their services during the Revolutionary War, and in recognition of their help gave them land in the county on which they settled. One student of these groups (Brewton Berry, "The Mestizos of South Carolina," American Journal of Sociology, 51 (July 1945), 34-41) suggests that all of

these enclaves came from the interbreeding of Indians of small tribes which originally inhabitated the South Carolina coast with whites and probably freed and runaway Negro slaves. Their isolation and inbreeding led to their present distinctiveness, although they are by no means homogeneous in appearance. The Turks themselves vary in physical appearance. Most are darker in skin color than most whites, and most have dark, straight hair. However, there are some with light skin and light hair, and there are others who have some evidence of Negroid characteristics. The Turks think of themselves as white and refer to themselves as "the Turkish people."

Informants among the Turks told me that there are about 100 Turkish families in Sumter County. However, there appears to be less than half this number of families in the northern and western area around the city of Sumter involved in the present struggle for equal education. The Long Branch Baptist Church made up exclusively of Turk members has a membership of 300, including children in their teens. In this church there are about forty-five families. Many of the Turks have jobs of various sorts at Shaw Air Force Base, near which their homes are scattered. Others do construction work, odd jobs, and part-time farming.

Present Status

The Turks remain separate from others who live in the County, both Negro and white. They associate primarily with one another and most of them are kin. They say that there is more marriage outside "the family" at present, however. A few family names like Bennenhaley, Buckner, Hood, Oxendine, and Ray dominate, and one of the chief ways of identifying a Turk is by family name.

Evidently there is stronger prejudice against the Turks in the County than in the city of Sumter. In the city they may attend schools with other whites, go to white movies, and be served in white barbershops.

They are admitted to the white wards of the Sumter hospital, although their children born there are designated racially as "Turk" on official birth certificates. The Turks resent this to the extent that some try to have their children born in nearby Richland County where they will be recorded as "White." The whites in Sumter County, however, look upon the Turks as nonwhite and insist that they tend a separate elementary school. Social separation of Turk from non-Turk in Sumter County is complete.

The School Situation

There are three white county schools north and west of Sumter. One is Shaw, set up to serve elementary and junior high school children of parents connected with Shaw Air Force Base. It is under the supervision of the County School Board, although its financial support is provided by the federal government. Another school is Hillcrest, which has both elementary and high school units. The buildings at Hillcrest and Shaw are modern structures of brick, erected a few years ago. The third school is Dalzell, attended exclusively by Turk children. It is a four-room, wooden structure, built more than 40 years ago. Lavatories and flush toilets were not added until 1957. This school has three teachers and eight grades, with grades 1,2, and 3 taught in one room, grades 4, 5, and 6 in another, and grades 7 and 8 in a third. The fourth room is a cafeteria, in which one woman must do all the preparation, serving, and cleaning. The library consists of a set of World Book Encyclopedia and a few miscellaneous books, supplemented by a bookmobile that comes once a month. Altogether, seventy Turk children are enrolled at Dalzell. Their parents would like to abolish this school and have their children attend either Shaw or Hillcrest, whichever is closer. Since 1954, following a court fight, Turk children completing the eight grades at Dalzell have been going to the high school division of Hillcrest.

Attempts to Transfer Children from Dalzell School

In 1952 parents of Turkish children requested the County School Board that all of those attending Dalzell be transferred to Hillcrest. This was approved by a majority of the Board, but dissenting members went to Governor Byrnes who advised them that they did not have to transfer the children. Following this, the Board changed its decision, and the case was carried all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled in 1954 that the lower courts were technically correct in refusing to allow the transfer. The ruling was based on a South Carolina law saying that applications for transfer must be on an individual rather than a group basis.

In 1953 the Turks requested that their children be allowed to enter high school at Hillcrest after completing eight grades at Dalzell. A high school certificate, granted upon finishing elementary and high school grades at Dalzell, was found to be unacceptable as a high school diploma in the rest of the state. A Turkish child had been refused entry to a Columbia hospital to study nursing, because her high school certificate was not honored. Through the help of a lawyer, who obtained a court order, the Turks were able to secure a promise from the County Board that their children would be admitted to Hillcrest High beginning in the fall of 1954. Turkish children have been attending since that time, and, at present, about twelve or thirteen are in the high school grades at Hillcrest.

Since 1954 there have been several attempts by individuals to transfer their children from Dalzell. None has been successful. However, in 1957, after repeated attempts, a Turk who works at Shaw Air Base was able to enter his daughter in the first grade of Shaw. In September of 1960 the newspaper published at Shaw Air Base announced that the Shaw schools would accept the children of all personnel, including civilian employees. Several of the Turk families registered their children. But the next day

the principal of the school said there had been a mistake and that all the Turkish children, including those of an air force sergeant, must go to Dalzell. No explanation was offered, according to informants. The principal only said, "My hands are tied."

In the spring of 1960 the Turks persuaded Mr. Ira Kaye, Sumter attorney, to take up their case, and through him eight parents sought to have their eleven children transferred from Dalzell. Applications were filed the first part of May, but they were ruled one day late in meeting the deadline prior to the opening of the fall school session.

Present Move

The Turks now plan to get as many parents as they possibly can to apply within the next month for transfer from Dalzell for the 1961-62 term. The purpose is two-fold. The applications will be made in more than ample time to meet the deadline, and a large number of applications will demonstrate the unity and persistence of these people in fighting for equal schooling. Mr. Kaye has chosen to base the case on inequality in schooling rather than on "proof" that these people are white. He contends that race is no longer a legal issue due to the Supreme Court ruling declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional. The opposition would probably welcome a fight on this issue since it could divert from the matter of unequal schooling.

Recommendations

In my opinion these people are suffering a grave injustice, and they and their courageous, able lawyer deserve every support the Southern Regional Council can give. The SRC's purpose of working toward equal opportunity for all in the region can be unqualifiedly carried out in this case through such support. The majority of Turks themselves are apparently willing to

exert every effort to secure an equal education for their children. Their lawyer, Mr. Kaye, believes so in their cause that he is making great sacrifices in time and money on their behalf. Mr. Kaye is convinced, and his arguments seem sound to me, that if ever the case is actually tried by a court, the Turks will win. Evidently the opposition realizes this, for their approach has been to keep the case from being tried by dismissing it on the basis of technicalities.

The belief that the case could be won in court are based on the following factors:

(1) The facilities of the Dalzell school are much poorer than those at the Hillcrest and Shaw schools. In the latter there is one teacher and room for each grade, while at Dalzell three grades are in the same room with one teacher. The Dalzell library is pitifully inadequate, as is playground and other equipment.

(2) The school bus that takes Turkish children to Dalzell must pass by the Shaw and Hillcrest schools. The round-trip of the Dalzell school bus is 68 miles in distance and three hours in time. Almost all of the Turkish children live closer to the Shaw and Hillcrest schools than to the Dalzell school. On the other hand, some non-Turk children attending Hillcrest live nearer Dalzell than Hillcrest school.

(3) If the case is actually tried, it might force South Carolina to have its pupil placement law tested. The United States Supreme Court has said that the placement law is valid on its face. However, if it is ever ruled that it has been applied unjustly, it could be declared invalid. It is unreasonable to suppose that the state would allow the law to be tested in circumstances so unfavorable to the law.

(4) One of the reasons for refusing transfer given by the County Board is that the Turk children would not be happy with non-Turk children in Shaw and Hillcrest. While this argument is of doubtful legal validity,

there is no evidence to assume that it is sound anyway. I talked with Turk children in each of the grades at Hillcrest High School and with some who had graduated or dropped out. They reported that they got along all right and were unanimous in agreeing that they preferred Hillcrest to Dalzell. They felt that if Dalzell were abolished the Turkish children could get getter training and compete more favorably with non-Turk children. Furthermore, if Turkish and non-Turkish children came together when they were younger, they would get along even better.

Mr. Kaye wants to develop a budget for the case and secure the testimony of expert witness as they are needed. The Turks themselves are poor (some of their homes are without runningwater), and they have already invested money they could scarcely afford over the eight-year period since they began fighting for equal schooling. They desperately need whatever help such organizations as the S. R. C., the A. C. L. U., and the American Friends can give.

Respectfully submitted,

J. Kenneth Morland

J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman of the Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Va.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
~~1101 BLODGETT STREET~~
~~HOUSTON 4, TEXAS~~

NEW ADDRESS:
SUITE 209, 2405 SAN JACINTO STREET
HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

Alexander F. Miller

A. Levin

Houston file

Ted Freedman

January 5, 1959

COPY

Several years back I reported to you on the activities of an organization in Houston called the PARENTS COUNCIL FOR IMPROVED SCHOOLS, whose primary activity was political action in their efforts to elect a "liberal" school board. Since that time the leadership and emphasis has shifted somewhat and in an effort to remove the stigma attached to the old organization, a new one called the HOUSTON ASSOCIATION FOR BETTER SCHOOLS was organized. Needless to say, some of the same leadership prevails, however it's much broader in scope and outlook and might justifiably be considered a mass organization. The antics of the school board of late, on every conceivable item, has been so ludicrous that today persons are members of HABS that never would have considered it before.

While I have been a member of HABS since its inception, I have not played a prominent role other than to serve on several special committees. Of late there has been a growing sentiment on the part of the HABS members that something must be done to prepare the community for desegregation when it does come to Houston. There is a group of PH.D's in the organization, who feel very strongly on this and who wanted to take some action.

This desire for action provided me with an excellent opportunity of working with this group which was formed into a special committee by HABS to look into what might be done. I met with this group at least a half dozen times and spoke to members of the committee by phone even more. On December 29th, a special meeting was held by this committee, to which were invited representatives of all organizations, Negro and white, which either directly or indirectly were concerned with the problem. The purpose of the meeting was to get their ideas as to whether in coping with this problem a new organization should be set up, a coordinating committee of organizations or whether it should be a committee of HABS. I presented a detailed analysis of the desegregation process in other communities, with some specific suggestions as to action which might be taken.

The group was generally in agreement that in the beginning the committee be made up of individuals and organizations interested in desegregation but that much of the direction and activity eminate from HABS; that the committee concern itself with peaceful desegregation and not become involved directly, that is, with a specific plan for desegregation. This is one point which was worked over at considerable length, there being many persons at the meeting who felt that it was essential to submit some proposal for desegregation.

As things now stand HABS will consider the proposals at a Board meeting tonight. There is every indication that they will accept the suggestions of their special committee and help organize a group similar to what I have described above. Plans for this group will consist of a speakers bureau, newsletter, and consideration is being given to radio and TV panel programs dealing with the problem. As I stated earlier the emphasisw will be on law and order, on peaceful desegregation and

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
~~1101 BLODGETT STREET~~
~~HOUSTON 4, TEXAS~~

NEW ADDRESS:
SUITE 209, 2405 SAN JACINTO STREET
HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

not on any plan for bringing about desegregation. We are going on the assumption that the School Board will submit the plan. Of course we anticipate that the action of such a committee will tend to keep the pressure on the School Board, so that some plan would be forthcoming. At the same time avoiding any specific proposal will tend to enhance the group's chances of attracting the moderates in the community, who at the moment have no place to go.

At the same time, I am in the process of bringing together some of the social scientists from the University of Houston and Rice Institute along with the few human relations pros in the community, for regular skull sessions in the hopes that these fellows will be able to provide ideas and counsel for activities in the community. As an example, one of the faculty persons I have in mind has done considerable work in the area of public opinion research. It would be invaluable to community action contemplated to have the benefit of public opinion surveys that can be conducted quickly on various aspects of the desegregation process.

As things move along, I will keep you posted on significant steps which are taken in this community.

TF:es
cc: Mr. Oscar Cohen
Dr. E. Ernest Goldstein
Southern Directors

COPY

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 19, 1959

Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed is the report which I wrote after my visit to Houston last September. I have borrowed this copy from a colleague and will appreciate it if you will return it to me after you have read it.

Appeals to two foundations were made on the basis of this report. We are anxiously waiting for replies and look forward, if money is forthcoming, to announcing the expansion of our merit employment program into Houston.

I appreciated the comments you made about Houston and hope we can get together sometime to share information on our contacts there.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF:mt

Enc.

January 21, 1959

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thanks for the copy of your fine report on Houston; we have made a copy for our files. I concur with your evaluation of the situation there. A merit employment project would be of real significance and there are sufficient resources in terms of interested people to make it successful. I hope that the AFSC will obtain foundation help for this proposal.

It was good to see you at the recent Southern Interagency Conference here in Atlanta. I, too, hope we can move Houston ahead in the whole area of human relations including school desegregation.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

March 6, 1958

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I am sure that you will be interested in the confidential resume (attached) of the meeting on February 17 which I prepared to give Mrs. Morton Sanger perspective and guidance in arranging for the next meeting scheduled on March 10. Because of the agreement that the meeting was in executive session and in order not to violate any confidences, I avoided individual references and identifications.

Jack Goren, Dallas Chairman, who was ill on the day of the meeting and unable to attend, also wanted to have a more comprehensive report which he could study at his leisure. He received a copy of the attached. No other persons received copies.

You are at liberty to use the whole or any part of this report at your discretion, ever mindful of the confidential nature of our discussion on February 17.

I am in communication with Ed Kloppe and with Mrs. Sanger. Also, with Reverend Sims - preparing for the session on March 10.

Cordially,

Gustave (jm)

GF:im

Gustave Falk

NATIONAL OFFICERS

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
RALPH E. SAMUEL, *Chairman, Executive Board*
MURRAY I. GURFEIN, *Chairman, Administrative Board*
FRED LAZARUS, Jr., *Chairman, National Advisory Council*
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COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

ELY M. AARON, *Chairman*

A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

261

Similar letter also sent to John Hope and CH Parrish.

March 11, 1958

Mrs. Bonita Valien
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Bonita:

I am certain that you would want this for your files. It also gives some insight into how Gus Falk views the Dallas situation.

Please note that it is labeled "strictly confidential". The only people I am sending it to are you, C.H., and John.

Your own memo on Dallas was excellent and we are well pleased with it.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Enclosure.

Church Welfare Bureau

OF THE

Council of Churches of Greater Houston

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
The Rev. Virgil E. Lowder
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
The Rev. James R. Noland
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Mrs. Maurice E. Faubion
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James B. Giles
Mrs. Thomas E. Greacen
Mrs. Joseph Greenhill, Sr.
Mrs. W. C. Hildebrand, Jr.
John Hull, M.D.
Mrs. Robert Kneebone
Joseph Knowles, Th.D.
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Mrs. Walter A. Lewis
Mrs. Alfred Lott
Miss Thelma Mills
E. W. Morris
Charles Nelson, Ed.D.
Mrs. S. R. Nicks
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor
Arthur Riedel
Mrs. Orville W. Rote
J. Donald Stillwell
The Rev. Thomas Sumners
The Rev. C. Rodney Sunday
Mrs. Kern Tips
Mrs. Walter Vater

9 CHELSEA PLACE
HOUSTON 6, TEXAS
PHONE JAckson 6-2247

April 1, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I talked by telephone with Ed Kloppe yesterday to report to him all that we have done and are planning in our Human Relations Council here.

He suggested that I send to you the report from our Steering Committee which has been adopted. Also enclosed is a copy of our proposed constitution which has been discussed but not accepted as yet.

In our work here we shall give priority to item "o" originally, and then move on to other projects as we gain experience.

Mr. Kloppe will write you with reference to our financial need, and we in Houston are most hopeful that the Southern Regional Council will give our work favorable consideration.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

James R. Noland

James R. Noland
Executive Secretary

JRN:msb
enclosures

A UNITED FUND AGENCY

The Welfare of the People Is a Concern of the Churches

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee met on February 24, 1959, and on March 4, 1959. There was considerable discussion and exploration among members of this group to arrive at the following recommendations:

1. That, at the next general meeting, those present vote to organize a Council on Human Relations.

2. That those present constitute themselves as a temporary Board of Directors to be responsible for the work of the Council until a duly authorized Board can be elected.

3. That the person now serving as convener be asked to continue to serve in that capacity until officers are elected.

4. That a small committee be authorited to select names for an Advisory body.

5. That the Council consider one or more of the following projects and begin to work immediately:

   a. Ask the Mayor and City Council to organize a Council on Civic Unity and help set up this organization. This could have a quasi-judicial function, with power of subpoena, to investigate discrimination in employment, housing, and other areas. At first it should be a body of responsible citizens who would be called together to analyze the situation, and make recommendations to those who can affect a change.

   b. Encourage the police department to hold a training program on how to handle violence and race riots. Also, help policemen to be more objective in making arrests in situations involving parties of more than one race.

   c. Gather facts on how a community is affected economically by the closing of schools, and share this information through the Chamber of Commerce and other community groups.

   d. Be a coordinating organization for other action groups in the city.

   e. Be an information center, gather facts and figures and material on all phases of human relations.

   f. Organize a program of public interpretation, using forums, speakers to be sent to existing groups, radio, T.V., newspapers, and other media.

   g. Get responsible leaders of both political parties to write into party platforms a statement to the effect that they will not resort to bigotry, and will stand behind a program promoting goodwill among the races.

   h. Stimulate local branches of national organizations, such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, labor, church groups, etc., to effectively promote the national policies in race practices.

   i. Work with the United Fund in order that local agencies may be free to pursue policies and practices they deem best without economic pressure being applied.

j. Begin educational spade work with real estate boards to ease the tension in the housing situation.

k. Approach the universities of this area to see what their plans are in regard to desegregation.

l. Encourage cultural institutions such as the Art Museum, the Symphony, the theaters, etc., to adopt and maintain a liberal policy toward the attendance and participation of minorities in their activities.

m. Support the effort of doctors, ministers, teachers, lawyers, and others as they promote integration of their professional groups.

n. Encourage local radio and TV stations to use members of minorities in their various programs - e.g. in a program on history, use a Negro historian, etc.

o. Inquire what plan the local school board has for desegregation. Work with PTA, churches, and civic groups in the geographical areas which will be specifically affected in an effort to build understanding and a smooth transition.

p. Urge the School Board to integrate the faculty and other school personnel.

q. Organize a letter writing campaign to the newspapers, offering rebuttal to those who are bigoted, and supporting the efforts of democratic groups and responsible leaders in making desegration effective without violence.

r. Offer a series of lectures, featuring experts and community leaders, to provide a channel for discussion, pro and con, on the crisis of education in Houston as it is affected by the Supreme Court decision. A nominal charge might be made to cover costs.

s. Work with the teachers who will be teaching in integrated schools to prepare them for this assignment. Approach the University of Houston and the University of Texas and ask them to offer courses on the technical problems involved.

t. Begin a wide-spread advertising campaign using billboards, handbills, bus signs, etc. to promote goodwill in the community. The Institute for American Democracy and the Anti-Defamation League could be helpful in this enterprise.

u. Ask the churches to refuse to use their facilities for private schools in the event the public schools should be closed. A clear cut statement from the churches <u>before</u> the local school authorities consider this possibility would effect their thinking and decision.

v. Organize an effort to eliminate all the signs and symbols of segregation which are embarrassing to Negroes and white people alike. This would include signs on drinking fountains, eating facilities, transportation depots, etc.

April 9, 1959

Mr. James R. Noland
9 Chelsea Place
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your letter of April 1, containing the recommendations of the steering committee of the Greater Houston Council on Human Relations, and also the constitution.

I am in between trips, hence the delay in answering your letter. I will be back in the office Monday, the 13th, and will answer in some detail at that time. This is just a note of acknowledgment.

In haste, but with best regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
SUITE 209, 2405 SAN JACINTO STREET
HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

FBR - Suggest you share confidentially with JH II, + Bonita

HCF

RECEIVED APR 23 1959

COPY

Alexander F. Miller

Ted Freedman

April 20, 1959

Some time ago, I wrote you relative to my activities with the Houston Association for Better Schools, Committee on Peaceful Desegregation.

While the progress has been slow, each step has been taken with exacting care. At this writing the group is operating at two different levels. First, there has been involvement of our so-called status or power people, who are being prepared for a specific public role when actual desegregation does take place in Houston. There is general agreement over their need to speak out publicly when the time comes. This group is headed by Palmer Hutcheson, a judge and a person of high repute, who is marshalling supporters for this aspect of the program.

The other aspect of the Committee's work will be of a general informational nature with hopefully mass support. Attached is a copy of the credo they have adopted. One of their first projects will be to attempt to get the Houston Chamber of Commerce to send out copies of "The Economic Effect of School Closing" by Jim Montgomery to all of its members. Failing this, HABS will send it out on their own. They are planning a speakers bureau, a library of information on desegregation and a public meeting featuring a person of the stature of Arthur Fleming.

The group appears to be functioning fairly effectively. How they will hold up under fire when their activities are splashed over the front pages of the local press is another question.

Kindest regards.

Ted

TFies
cc: Messrs. Oscar Cohen, E. Ernest Goldstein
Southern Directors

We believe that the uninterrupted operation of the public schools is essential to the continued development of the informed citizenry so important to our existence as a free society.

We believe that legal means of preventing desegregation, short of closing the schools, have failed.

We are opposed to the use of violence or the threat of violence as a means of resisting desegregation.

We believe that responsible leadership can prevent or greatly lessen the emotional tensions that lead to violent actions.

We believe that each of us as a citizen is to some extent a leader in organizations, jobs, church or family. None of us can escape a measure of personal responsibility for the course of events in our own community.

Hans Tom file

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 28, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Hope II
Mrs. Bonita Valien

FROM: Fred Routh

:

I am enclosing for your files a confidential report we have received, written by Ted Freedman of the ADL office in Houston. I think you will find it helpful.

- : -

Houston Plan

Selective Desegregation Proposed

Here is the text of the desegregation plan presented to the Houston school board by its attorney, Joe Reynolds. No action has been taken on it:

All of the courts have held that a program to implement desegregation may vary with each school district. What has been approved or not approved in other areas may or may not be a criteria for the Houston Independent School District, hence this special program:

1) Commence desegregation on an area basis rather than a grade basis.

A) Because of the vastness of the Houston Independent School District and because of the tremendous confusion that would result from a district-wide program, schools should be selected on a careful basis to commence the program. Secondary schools particularly should be considered.

B) Because resistance and hostility might arise by the designation of any particular school, it is suggested that a survey be made of every school in the Houston Independent School District by inquiring of the parents of each child in the district as to whether or not they would object to desegregating the school where their child attends on the assurance that the scholastic achievement and grade level would not be lowered appreciably by such a program.

C) Because some parents perhaps would object because of a fear of reprisal, a special committee appointed by the board should tabulate the results of such a survey with the statements of the parents remaining secret.

D) This would allow the board then to designate specific schools where there is the least objection. This method of determination is in keeping with democratic processes. It also serves to advise the board how many schools will be needed for the program originally.

E) Because of a liberal-transfer policy which would have to be part of any such program, an accurate estimate could be made as to the number of pupils that would be involved, necessary arrangements could be made whereby necessary classroom space can be made available and whereby sufficient teacher personnel can be designated to teach such classes. It is suggested that the teachers selected for this type of duty be selected from volunteers among the white teachers. (It is recommended that none of our colored teachers be assigned to teach the white students at this time. We know of no court decision which requires otherwise and it is felt in light of comments made by the Federal District Court that such procedure would be in order.)

F) In order to assure the proper grade level of achievement, it is suggested that students of a different color applying for admission to the school to be desegregated, be individually tested by the regular testing teams of the school district.

G) The Corpus Christi plan required prior to the transfer of a colored student to a predominantly white school that permission of the principal of the school from which the child would be transferred be obtained. This may or may not be desirable, but it is suggested that the principal of the desegregated school, after testing the students, be given the responsibility for passing upon the application of the child seeking transfer. The principal should be instructed that no application would be denied solely on the grounds of race. Moreover, all parents should be advised that if their child is denied admission by the principal that they be given the right to appeal such decision to the Board of Trustees.

2) Inasmuch as the Federal District Court has stated that there are no court decisions requiring an integration of social programs within a school, we do not offer any suggestion in that connection. From our point of view, this is purely a matter of administration.

3) A liberal transfer policy should be allowed.

A) After the program above mentioned has been in operation at an area school, children desiring to attend a desegregated school should be allowed to transfer to said school upon complying with the conditions aforesaid provided space is available.

B) After the selected schools have operated on a desegregated basis for a period of time sufficient for the superintendent to study the programs, the desegregated schools could become available for all the children in the district desiring admission to such desegregated schools. The same strict supervision would apply.

4) At such time as the selected schools became inadequate to house and to take care of students desiring to go to desegregated schools, additional area schools could be designated desegregated schools by following the same procedures and program as outlined for the original schools.

5) It is felt that the above program will meet the spirit and the letter of the law as presently required by our federal court. It complies with the good faith requirements of the court order, allows the school patrons themselves to determine the selection of the schools, maintains the high academic standard desired by the entire school district, does not force integration upon anyone, and provides for desegregation for all who want it. Moreover, it is designed to function without seriously affecting the ever-present problem of overcrowded schools of the Houston Independent School District.

6) The above plan is subject to Article 3900a, Texas Civil Statutes, which provides in Section 1 that no board of trustees shall have the right to abolish the dual public school system unless by a prior vote of the qualified electors residing in such district. Section 2 provides that an election shall be called only upon a petition of at least 30 per cent of the qualified electors residing in such district and further provides in Section 4 that in the event the school district attempts to desegregate without complying with this act that such school district will be ineligible to receive the funds from the foundation program. In addition, any person who violates the act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be fined not less than $100 and no more than $1,000. The federal court in Dallas refused to consider the question of the constitutionality of this statute until the matter was determined by a Texas court. In light thereof, it would appear that we are compelled to follow this statute until otherwise determined.

It is suggested that the board take affirmative action to obtain a petition signed by at least 30 per cent of the qualified electors in the district in order that such election may be called.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE HOUSTON, TEXAS "CLIMATE FOR DESEGREGATION"

Bonita H. Valien, SRC Consultant
May 10, 1959

After a thorough analysis of the field reports on Houston, Texas, found in the files of the Southern Regional Council, it seemed that the most profitable approach that an SRC consultant could make at this time was not that of "fact-gathering" as such, but rather, by using certain leads gathered from the reports, to see what these "facts" mean. Thus, the emphasis was upon assessing the community climate in terms of "feeling tones" -- what, for example, does the community feel about itself? What is the "community attitude" with reference to its leaders, its organizations and institutions and their relative effectiveness? With reference to their institutions and organizations, to what extent are they value-oriented, power-oriented, or participation-oriented? What are the major problems in the community as seen by the people? As seen by the leaders? To what extent do the people and their leaders see their problems as being of a sort that can be handled through the use of ideas and institutions which they already possess? Do they perceive the problems at hand as those that require collective solution? Do they perceive the possibility of influencing policy makers by the combined efforts of many people working in coordination? If so, do they perceive that such coordination is possible?

In an attempt to answer the above, persons representing a cross-section of the community, both Negro and white residents, were interviewed. Because of a felt need on the part of the consultant, more of the consultant's time was spent "assessing the Negro community" than has usually been the case in visits to other communities.

HOUSTON, As A Community:

Houston, the seventh largest city in the United States, growing rapidly as an important industrial center, can best be described sociologically as a "frontier town." As is to be expected, within this more or less "frontier mentality", one feels

rather widespread discontent (still somewhat covert) with the status-quo, and a sense of expanding horizons.

In its institutional pattern, Houston is a rigidly segregated community, but within this segregated community there are many paradoxes. Sociologically, Houston reflects many social patterns characteristic of the deep South. While adhering to a pattern of strict segregation in its more formal aspects, there is considerable rapport established in interpersonal relationships. Negroes and whites work together in some organizations on an equal-status basis, visit together in each other's homes and refer to each other as "friends". This type of association, though limited to a few of the Negroes and whites at middle and upper-middle class levels, has kept lines of communication open between the two racial groups. Within this special group, however, there is the feeling on the part of some Negroes that the relationship between the two races became "somewhat strained" immediately following the 1954 Supreme Court decision. While there is the feeling on the part of some Negroes that there appears still to be a bit of "uneasiness" and "cautiousness" on the part of whites, as compared with pre-1954 Supreme Court decision days, there continues to be sufficient "communication" and "understanding" that cooperation and association across racial lines continue.

There is the feeling among a fairly large segment of the population -- both Negro and white -- that there is far more racial "good will" and cooperation across racial lines than is generally known or believed. The recent conduct of Mrs. White's campaign for membership on the Houston Independent School District Board is given as an example. Mrs. White's campaign manager, Gould Beach, is a white liberal. It was pointed out somewhat significantly that not only did Mrs. White receive the largest number of votes of any other candidate, but that there was not a single box, irrespective of its location (even in the most conservative white areas) which did not

carry votes for Mrs. White. There are many interpretations as to why Mrs. White, a Negro, was a successful candiate at this time There are many groups which, naturally, take sole credit for her election. Perhaps no one interpretation is wholly correct; it is reasonable to assume that no one organization did the job. What does seem highly significant is that it was accomplished by Negroes and whites working publicly together, and this in an environment where Minute Women and White Citizen Council Members continue to be vocal and wield considerable influence. Whatever the election says or does not say, it is reasonable to conclude, it seems, that there are positive influences at work in the Houston community which cannot be ignored and which ought to be encouraged. A well-respected Negro leader insists that the election of Mrs. White shows clearly that "the people of Houston are well ahead of their leaders and their politicians". (This, I am certain, could be said of many communities; maybe it can be said of Houston, moreso; I don't know). Whatever might have been the reasons for the election, both Negroes and whites point to Mrs. White's election with pride. It makes their community "look good". It is this intense pride which the Houston community has in and for itself that is one of the big positives which makes one confident that this community could, without too much difficulty, desegregate many of its institutions -- given the proper leadership.

While there appears to be some evidence that there is slowly emerging a small group of whites who are addressing themselves to the principle of "total equality" and unrestricted opportunity for all of its citizens, it seems to be entirely valid to say that by and large, the majority of whites working across racial lines still subscribe to a "separate-but-equal" philosophy, and to the "gradual" approach. This philosophy is not always articulated, and many persons and groups hold it without being aware of it. Some Negroes justify their failure to participate more actively in inter-racial organizations on the basis that "most whites in their

racial views are still thinking in "separate-but-equal" terms, and that they view any positive step, no matter how small, as a monumental gain. "What Negroes are gaining in Houston," complained one Negro leader, "is what many communities, with much less the potential, accomplished twenty or more years ago. I can't agree with those who think we are making progress when, in a city like Houston, there are still signs plastered everywhere calling for the most insulting type of segregation and rank discrimination."

What, then, are some of the impediments? In the opinion of many, many citizens, both Negro and white, what happens or fails to happen in Houston is almost invariably attributed to "politics" and "money". Little, if any importance, is placed upon those organizations which operate without the "blessings" of either. Organizations which are formed without this expressed objective are viewed with suspicion -- either they are the vehicle to promote one into the political arena, or it is a means of "getting some quick money." Houston is a city of many organizations. Within this plethora of organizations it is possible to find all types and shades -- ranging from the most reactionary, as found in the Minute Women and Citizen Councils, to the most liberal, characterized by DOT -- the young Democrats of Texas (who refer to themselves as "liberals"). Most organizations fall somewhere in between. Many organizations exist in "name" only, some are"crisis" organizations; some, because of either ambiguous goals or ambivalently-held compromises, carry neither sustained public interest nor action. Sustained public interest require both direction and focus.

Despite what appears to be an over-emphasis on power-oriented organizations, there are value-oriented and participation-oriented groups working across racial lines. Included in these categories are: The Council on Education in Race Relations, composed of: Council of Churches of Greater Houston, YWCA, Ministers Association of Greater

Houston, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, Jewish Community Council, Houston Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Rabbinical Association of Houston, United Church Women of Houston; the Interracial Forum; the Texas Commission on Human Relations, etc. (This does not exhaust the list). In some of the organizations mentioned above, work across racial lines has begun only recently; some have had a longer history. The nature and extent of interracial cooperation are viewed by both groups as being far from ideal. In dealing directly with the real fundamentals of the race problem, these organizations were often described by some as being "disinterested" or as "giving only token support."

As is true in most communities, such organizations working across racial lines include many of the same people -- the "human relations people". Again, as is true in most communities, Negroes view whites who participate in such groups variously, ranging from the extreme of "deceitful", "opportunists" --"they only use Negroes to make their point to get where they want to get and then forget about the Negro"-- "without courage" -- will fold up and run for cover when there is a major crisis, "do-gooders"; to the other extreme they are described as "hardworking" -- work much harder for the cause than Negroes themselves, "sincere", "dedicated", and a "real liberal". Each person or groups of persons supplying an adjective felt there were adequate examples to document their particular point of view. Whites on the other hand view Negroes as "lacking in aggression", "easy to become discouraged," "suspicious", and "over sensitive"; the other extreme include "sincere", "intelligent", "dedicated" and "militant". They, too, feel that an experience or so justifies their particular adjective as fitting. This group typology is not unusual, neither has it interferred with the normal working relationships between racial groups.

In discussing organizational structure, it became clear that objectives and programs of many organizations are not usually well known (both by the people within the organization and those without) and thus organizations are most often criticized

for not doing things which within their organizational structure and programming it was never intended to do. A Negro organization which has as its primary purpose that of holding luncheon meetings and presenting various speakers (and in this role is doing an important job in the community) is described by some as simply useless — "They simply meet and eat!" Almost invariably, one hears that there are "plenty of organizations", "plenty of meetings", but"nothing really significant is being done". This charge is made by many people both Negro and white within and outside of organizations. This, too, is not unique in Houston. But, and this is important, there is not satisfaction with a state of "doing nothing" and one finds a significant group, both within and without organizations anxious to do something constructive. One senses feelings of frustration, and an unwillingness on the part of some concerned people to use their energies in what may be described, and often is "just busyness". There seems to be a real potential in Houston for solid, well focused and directed activity.

What About Leadership?

As is to be expected in any large urban center, there is no one person who is thought of as being the leader. There are many persons and groups considered influential in certain areas of activity. There is, perhaps, no strata of the population in which there will not be found persons concerned, and working in the area of human relations. While white men representing the business interests of the city are considered very conservative, some of the most dedicated workers in the field of community betterment are substantial business executives. Also, persons representing some of the oldest and richest families of the area can be found identifying with groups and organizations working for the betterment of all its citizens. Within the Houston community, there is a significant number of whites

who are recognized by both Negroes and whites alike as being forthright and willing to be openly associated with and assume leadership in community groups working for better human relations.

It should be stated, however, that while there are those who identify positively on the side of human rights, for the most part, the voices most often heard, and the influence most often felt by the entire community are those of the conservative elements. It is in this particular relationship where most criticism is voiced. There is the general feeling that had the liberal element taken a more positive and aggressive stand immediately following the Supreme court decision, especially in the election of school board members, the school desegregation story would be a very different one. Instead, the liberal elements have been described as "burying their heads in the sand", and only now are they becoming alive and "asserting themselves in a responsible manner."

Within the Negro community, perhaps the largest potential for leadership -- the Negro minister -- is the weakest. An uneducated group, it is jealous of its position in the community and offers little support to organizations or groups which they do not organize or which they do not control. (In this same vein, the white minister is also considered weak and not a particular dynamic influence in the community). The teachers, representing the largest middle class group in the Negro community, are without any influence, and very little prestige. They are described by the Negro community as "the most pathetic group of all." Fear of the loss of their jobs is given asthe primary reason for lack of participation in human relations activities. Business men give sporadic support to organizations and movements, but have had, in the opinion of the average Negro citizen, little impact on bringing about better human relations in the larger community. Labor groups consider themselves strong. (The estimate of their strength is not shared to the same extent by

the Negro community). Labor union members relate more directly to the rank and file Negro, and feel that they are fighting the "battle" in the Negro community alone. With the exception of the militant leadership of publisher Carter Wesley, and perhaps the somewhat less militant but dedicated insurance executive Charles Shaw, this group seems to feel that the "so-called upper-class Negro is interested only in buying fancy homes and cars; they care nothing for the rest of the community, and to escape the discomforts around the school situation, they send their children away to school." The NAACP is weak and, in my opinion, will continue so under its present leadership. While there is excellent potential in both the Negro Chamber of Commerce and the Harris County Council of Organizations, each of these organizations has suffered from lack of effective leadership. There is some hope that under its new leadership, the Harris County Council of Organizations (composed of some 57 organizations) will become a more effective instrument in the Negro community.

The Negro community is, for the most part, a proto-type of the larger community. While one senses an all-too lethargic Negro community, it is, for the most part, a concerned community. There needs to be considerable work done with this segment of the population to help them see their potential and actually set themselves in motion to do something about realizing it. Somehow they must be made to realize that in many of these problem areas they will have to take the initiative. At the present, Negroes seem to be afraid to project themselves alone, yet they stand in fear that by working with other groups they will be either "taken advantage of and committed to a long-drawn out gradual program," or "taken over." This is a natural kind of fear of people in insecure positions. But it has to be both reckoned with and met. The Negro community must be activated, stimulated and encouraged to work aggressively in its own behalf. It must be encouraged to seek out and work with all groups whose

concern is for community betterment. Negro women should seek membership in and work with such organizations as the League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, and like organizations.

With the limited employment opportunities available to Negroes, Houston's loss in human resources has been very great. The major job openings for the Negro college trained has been that of teaching in the public schools. Up until the past two or three years, when national teachers' examinations were instituted, "influence" was the basis upon which a Negro secured a position in the public schools; qualifications were secondary. Under such a system, paternalism was the accepted pattern, and teachers were treated very much as "domestics" rather than professionals. Even today, school officials refer to Negro teachers by their first name, while white teachers are addressed using the appropriate title of respect. Thus, persons without "influence" (this "influence" was usually at the level of servant-master relationship) could not secure a teaching position and consequently left the city. There was also a group which refused to adopt the type of accommodating behavior which was expected; they,too, left. It is, therefore, not surprising that these teachers, for the most part, would exhibit such behavior patterns. It is also understandable that school officials, at the present time, evince much concern regarding the preparation of the Negro teachers for an integrated school system. They know only too well the basis upon which these teachers have been employed. It should be stated, however, that there are within the public school some Negro teachers who are well qualified, and some better qualified than whites.

With industrial expansion, employment other than teaching is gradually being opened up in Houston, and if the AFS Merit Employment Program gets underway (the initial and required $5,000 has already been raised) this should do much to raise the general level of Negro employment. It is expected that TSU, which is already

being felt as an influence in the community, will become increasingly effective and will provide some positive leadership.

WHAT ABOUT THE DESEGREGATION OF THE SCHOOLS?

When asked about the desegregation of the schools, the typical and standard remark from the Superintendent of Schools on down is that "It's coming". But just when, no one is able to hazard a guess, and even the most optimistic person doesn't see it "coming" soon. The School Board majority is opposed to the desegregation of the schools. It is reported that the Board has "thrown out" every plan that has been presented them -- even from committees whom they appointed. The Superintendent confided that some consideration had been given to a plan which would be "very gradual and would provide a minimum of integration." A Committee, appointed by the Board has drawn school district lines, and there has been "much study", according to the Superintendent. The Superintendent, having carried through the successful desegregation of the schools in Amarillo, Texas, seems to be knowledgeable, but it is very clear that he will not take the leadership in proposing a plan of desegregation for Houston. He appears to have little or no influence with the school board, and is very anxious to "keep his job" — and this, he obviously interprets, is possible only if he remains uncontroversial and does the bidding of the majority members of the Board. His lack of influence with the Board was clearly demonstrated recently when the Board voted down his nominee for a business officer, and appointed a person whom he said he did not want. The person approved by the Board was the assistant to the business officer who is being retired because of unscrupulous fiscal policies. After the appointment of this business officer, the superintendent stated, he "could work with this appointee."

There is no preparation being made within the school system itself for the desegregation of the schools. With the exception of the work which the superintendent says Negro teachers are doing with the Negro pupils, there is no other preparation.

The superintendent stated that the Negro teachers are working extra hard to bring up the achievement level of the Negro child so that the Negro child will be prepared to meet the competition in a desegregated school. He pointed out that the wide discrepancy between Negro and white children in their achievement scores, beginning as early as the third grade, could make integration almost impossible at this time. He says considerable work is being done to bring the Negro child up to the level of the white child. Negro and white teachers meet separately; there is no in-service training program; neither "is there any anticipated at this time or the immediate future," according to the superintendent.

Every attempt is being made to build physically attractive schools for Negroes. This is with the clear hope that Negroes will then become "satisfied" with their own schools and will not push to enter the public schools nearest their homes. A bond issue, calling for monies to build additional schools, and the replacement of temporary school buildings with more permanent structures, comes up for a vote during the latter part of May. It is being opposed by Negro groups and some white groups, because it is felt that to build additional schools before there is a commitment to desegregation will help to perpetuate segregated schools. The proposed schools are being located, for the most part, in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. There is, however, considerable pressure in support of the bond issue. Attached to the bond issue is a provision for the raising of teachers' salaries. While there will be opposition, there is the general belief that the bond issue will be approved by a substantial majority.

It is believed that the two factors which will most likely contribute to the desegregation of the public schools are: (1) vigorous and consistent pressure from the Negro community for the prompt desegregation of the schools. NAACP officials confided that they have been working secretly and will perhaps start some activity

within the next week or ten days. The nature of the activity was not disclosed. The NAACP has been getting constant criticism from the Negroes and whites alike for its lack of activity. Some Negroes have even accused NAACP officials of "selling out", but there are others who consider the officials simply "inept" and give little or no validity to the charge of "sell out". At any event, activity is promised before the opening of the next school year. The nature of it, and its effectiveness are yet to be seen. (2) Defeat of the conservative members of the school board and their replacement with liberal members who will put into effect a plan for desegregation. Two members of the conservative wing of the Board come up for re-election next year. Already there are groups at work in the hope that they might find acceptable liberal candidates tc replace these conservative members.

AN OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Houston is essentially a power-oriented community. Whatever is proposed as community action must, of necessity, take this into consideration, and it is within this frame of reference that recommendations are being made.

The formation of public opinion occurs in large measure through the interaction of groups. The expression of public opinion is in the form of direct influence on those who are to act in response to public opinion. Through coordinated activity, interested groups and individuals bring their views and positions to bear on the key persons who have to make decisions. Views count pretty much on the basis of how the individual judges the "backing" of the views and the implications of the backing. It is in this sense, again, that the organization of the society with its differentiation of prestige and power, enter into the character of public opinion, and consequently community action. As the sociologist Herbert Blumer once said, unless one wishes to conjure in his imagination a very fanciful society, he must admit that the servant of public opinion is forced to make an assessment of the expressions

of public opinion that come to his attention and that in this assessment consideration is given to expressions only to the extent to which they are judged to "count".

As indicated throughout this report, power-oriented Houston is characterized by many organizations, and at every strata of its population there are informed and dedicated persons, both Negro and white, who are willing to be associated with groups working for better human relations. There is communication between the races. There are whites in the community willing to work with Negroes on an equal-status basis. With this potential, the following is being proposed as important next steps in community action:

1. A Clearing House and Central Coordinating Committee: In order to eliminate the feeling of "idle busyness", unnecessary duplication and frustration which seem to characterize the organizational structure of Houston, and to promote a more effective utilization of organizations and the human resources available, it is being recommended that A Clearing House and Central Coordinating Committee be set up. It is being suggested that the committee which has been assembled by Mr. Noland assume this responsibility, and that the committee which is now in the process of being formed not be officially organized until it is clear what function it could more realistically perform. A check among persons in the commuhity revealed that the persons on this committee, including Mr. Noland, enjoy the highest respect in both the Negro and white community. A group enjoying such confidence of persons in the community are ideally suited for performing a clearing house and coordinating function. It would be the function of such a committee, among other things, to set up a complete file of all organizations setting forth their program

and objectives; stimulate each group to work in the area in which it is most competent, and seek to eliminate duplication while at the same time it preserves the integrity of each group, creating both a sense of unity and participation in this coordinated venture, rather than one of competition.

2. Involvement of the Professional in Practical Research: To provide a scientific base, and undergird social action, there is need for practical research in Houston in the whole area of human relations. There is a job for the professional. It is being proposed that the university faculties of the various local universities be encouraged to initiate such research. Members of the social science faculties at both the University of Houston and Texas Southern have indicated interest in such inter-disciplinary cooperative research. A professional who might be induced to take the initiative to convene such a group is Ted Freedman, regional executive of the ADL office based in Houston.

3. A Workshop for Key Community Persons: Concerned persons have indicated interest and need of assistance from professionals in defining and working through, in an effective manner, problems in the community as they relate to the whole area of human relations. It is being suggested that a workshop, involving key community people, and staffed by SRC consultants be held. Here major problems and approaches would be discussed.

4. Community Involvement: Following this smaller workshop, and relying heavily upon the smaller workshop (held earlier) for major emphases, there would be an attempt to involve as many community organizations and persons as possible. It is being suggested that SRC would assist in providing leadership and consultant services.

5. A Community Self-Survey: Because of the therapeutic value it would have on the entire Houston community, it would seem to me to be highly desirable that an appropriate group request the AMA Race Relations Department, based at Fisk University, to come into Houston and assist in conducting a Community Self Survey. In my opinion, Houston is ready for such a survey, and my guess is that at the culmination of such a survey, Houston, too, like Minneapolis would report, "How It Beat Its Bigots".[1]

---

[1] A report of the Minneapolis Self Survey as reported in the Ladies Home Journal

Church Welfare Bureau

OF THE

Council of Churches of Greater Houston

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
The Rev. Virgil E. Lowder
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
The Rev. James R. Noland
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
Mrs. Mildred Bier
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Mrs. Maurice E. Faubion
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Mrs. Joseph Greenhill, Sr.
Mrs. W. C. Hildebrand, Jr.
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Mrs. Walter A. Lewis
Mrs. Alfred Lott
Miss Thelma Mills
E. W. Morris
Charles Nelson, Ed.D.
Mrs. S. R. Nicks
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor
Arthur Riedel
Mrs. Orville W. Rote
J. Donald Stillwell
The Rev. Thomas Sumners
The Rev. C. Rodney Sunday
Mrs. Kern Tips
Mrs. Walter Vater

9 CHELSEA PLACE
HOUSTON 6, TEXAS
PHONE JAckson 6-2247

June 8, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Mrs. Bonita Valien's visit to Houston was very well received and most beneficial. We are grateful to The Southern Regional Council for sending her. Naturally, we shall be eager to receive her evaluation of our situation.

You will be interested to know that since she was here, the NAACP entered the suit against the school board; and our need for a Southern Regional Council program has become more critical.

As I size up the situation it is like this:

1. Our need is critical.

2. There is readiness of community for a constructive program.

3. If we had financing to make a staff person available, we could surround him with strong lay people who are willing to work.

4. A positive move now could save Houston from becoming another Little Rock, and it could be the symbol for other Texas cities, and perhaps cities in other Southern states, to follow.

5. In the meantime our group is moving ahead with a number of limited projects, but I hesitate to build up too much steam unless it can be supported through a professionally offered service.

I should appreciate hearing from you as soon as you can give us a favorable word.

Sincerely,
James R. Noland
James R. Noland
Executive Secretary

A UNITED FUND AGENCY

JRN:msb

The Welfare of the People Is a Concern of the Churches

Green copy for P.R.

VIA AIR MAIL June 17, 1959

Mr. James R. Noland
Executive Secretary
Church Welfare Bureau
Council of Churches of Greater Houston
9 Chelsea Place
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Noland:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 8 addressed to Fred Routh. Fred evidently failed to let you know that he was leaving the Council to become director of the Michigan Fair Employment Commission.

In any case, I am sorry, as he undoubtedly is too, that his departure from the staff came in the midst of negotiations about possible aid by SRC to a Greater Houston Council on Human Relations. As Fred has told you, our attitude is favorable, provided that the final arrangement can be worked out agreeably with the Texas Council on Human Relations and the other cooperating agencies.

Fred's replacement for field work is Paul Rilling, presently executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, who will join us on July 1. Although I am sorry for the delay, I do feel we must wait until he is

on the job before proceeding further; for it will be Rilling who must maintain future liaison between SRC and such like-minded efforts as yours.

Please accept my apologies for this further delay and my assurances that the Houston situation will be at the top of Paul Rilling's list of priorities.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Church Welfare Bureau

OF THE

Council of Churches of Greater Houston

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The Rev. C. Rodney Sunday
Mrs. Kern Tips
Mrs. Walter Vater

9 CHELSEA PLACE
HOUSTON 6, TEXAS
PHONE JAckson 6-2247

July 1, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

For myself and for the Steering Committee of the Houston Council on Human Relations, I want to welcome you to your new post with the Southern Regional Council.

Last year your predecessor, Fred Routh, was in Houston and stirred up quite a bit of interest in a local Houston organization to be affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. We immediately found 90 plus citizens, of fine standing in the community, who would work in such a movement.

Out of this number we organized a provisional group, and have undertaken a few ad hoc projects. Mrs. Bonita Valian, a member of your field staff, surveyed our situation, and I understand she felt our situation was ripe for action.

She recommended, among other things, that we sponsor a closed workshop to inform our leaders what the problem is in Houston, and to determine what our resources are, and what our common strategy should be. She said the Southern Regional Council would provide leaders for this and for other public meetings. What would be a suitable early date, and whom could we expect as leaders?

On July 24, at the South Central YMCA, our group will hold a noon luncheon to develop plans for the closed workshop, for a large public meeting, and for a number of smaller projects. I was asked to write you to see whether you would be free to attend this meeting. I personally will not be in town, but I am sure enough of our people will be here to give you a good opportunity to further explore our city for programming.

A UNITED FUND AGENCY

The Welfare of the People Is a Concern of the Churches

This fall, as early as possible, we would like to have Marion Wright to come to Houston for a large dinner meeting to which we would invite some of the opinion making leaders of this city. We wonder if you will arrange this for us with Mr. Wright and inform us about a suitable date. Also if you will let us know the extent the Southern Regional Council will help finance this public venture, we would appreciate this information. Perhaps Mr. Wright would be available for other educational programs, and if so, we should be glad to make whatever arrangements he needs.

Our situation in Houston, as I wrote Mr. Fleming, is critical. We need: (1) pump priming financial help until we can build local support; and (2) a full-time executive staff person. Your help is earnestly solicited and your service will be rewarded many fold.

Again welcome to your new assignment. We shall await eagerly to hear from you.

Sincerely,

James R. Noland

James R. Noland
Executive Secretary

JRN:msb

cc - Harold C. Fleming

Please return for filing
H.F.

July 1, 1959

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thanks for your letter regarding the Houston situation. This background is very helpful, and we'll be prepared to give Dr. Bayles and his group any assistance we can.

We've been negotiating for some time with Jim Noland and other human relations people there about the possibility of financial aid to an inter-agency effort in Houston. Did this proposed activity come to your attention while you were there? If so, your reactions would be helpful.

Paul Rilling starts with us next week, at which time the Houston situation will be high on his list of priorities.

I hope you will have an early breakthrough on your projected Merit Employment program; Houston strikes me as a very logical place for one.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
COLIN W. BELL

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Rcd 6-26-59

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 25, 1959

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Shortly after the Houston School Board voted to call for a special election on school integration, I was in Houston and had an opportunity to talk with some of the people who are concerned about desegregation. The call for the election has placed liberals in a difficult dilemma. They do not want to cooperate with the School Board in an election under a state law which they believe to be unconstitutional. If they boycott the election and do not make an effort to get out the moderate vote, there will undoubtedly be an overwhelmingly pro-segregationist victory. This would have no legal significance, of course, if the law is thrown out by the courts but considerable damage could be done if more segregationist sentiment is aroused at this time. I suggested to them that perhaps the best strategy would be to prevent the election if they can possibly find good legal grounds.

One of the new groups which has come onto the scene is the Committee for Peaceful Desegregation which is an outgrowth of the Houston Association for Better Schools. The chairman is Dr. Stephen Bayles, 5018 Indigo, Houston. I had a brief session with some of the members of this Committee on my way to the airport the night I left. They were planning to have a meeting and I have not heard whether any decisions were made. I urged them to get in touch with you and told them of the availability of consultants through SRC who could share with them the experiences of other communities. I am sure he would be very grateful if you would write him about the resources which could be made available to Houston through SRC.

We are still waiting to hear whether several foundations which we have approached are willing to underwrite the Merit Employment Program which we hope to establish in Houston. We have been waiting for almost a year and the delay for an impatient neophyte like myself has been almost intolerable.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Barbara W. Moffett
Garnet Guild

July 7, 1959

Mr. James R. Noland
Executive Secretary
Church Welfare Bureau
Council of Churches of Greater Houston
9 Chelsea Place
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Noland:

Upon receiving your letter of July 1st, I went over the back correspondence concerning the H ouston situation. I agree with you that it is important that we move as rapidly as we can to work out whatever arrangements may be possible concerning the Houston Council.

I will definitely plan to be with your group at the South Central YMCA on July 24th to consider plans for a closed workshop and other activities. I am today writing Mr. Marion Wright in an effort to secure him for a dinner meeting in Houston in September. I am suggesting that Mr. Wright clear his schedule for two or three days in case it may be helpful to use him in other programs around this time. I will write you within a few days and suggest some of the staff leadership that might be available for the workshop; although I would suggest that the final selection of leadership be deferred until after the workshop planning meeting July 24th.

We are still not in a position to make final commitments concerning financial aid to the Houston Council. As Harold Fleming wrote you last month, this depends to a large degree on arrangements with the Texas Council on Human Relations and other cooperating agencies.

I anticipate that we can resolve this matter at an early date. In the event that financial assistance has not been made available to you by early fall, the Southern Regional Council will be happy to handle the expenses of a trip to Houston by Mr. Wright. Your group is in the best position to know when a closed workshop would be possible in Houston. I would think the earlier the better, perhaps some time in late August or early September.

I am disappointed to learn that you will not be on hand for the July 24th meeting. I am anxious to meet with you as soon as possible. Would we be able to get together if I came to Houston several days in advance of July 24th? I have done my best to orient myself on the situation but nothing can take the place of first-hand discussion and evaluation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Services

PMR/mf

April 20, 1959

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mrs. Bonita Valien
227 Hamilton Street
Albany 10, New York

Dear Bonita:

True to my word I am forwarding to you the following materials: 1) travel advance for $300, 2) a copy of Jean Fairfax's Houston report, and 3) a letter from Jim Noland of the Houston Council of Churches, with attached materials. Note: please return items #2 and #3; they are SRC's file copies.

As you recall, it is our agreement that you will contact key persons in the Houston area, much as you did in Dallas. The object here, however, is to ascertain their interest in working with an interracial effort - with Jim Noland. The second purpose is to seek agreement with Mrs. Crate that some of the money allocated to the Texas Council for this year be channeled to the Greater Houston Council on Human Relations. We would appreciate a report on this matter. If you need further information, feel free to call me collect.

Best regards to Preston and to you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosures - 3 (check #26, Houston report, ltr. from James Noland)

April 27, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. James Noland
9 Chelsea Place
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Jim:

Sorry about the delay in following up my last letter to you, but I have been out of the office a good deal of the time and administrative details took further time.

I about a week, Mrs. Bonita Valien of SRC's Consultant Service Program, will be in the Houston area. She will talk with you, Mrs. Crate and other community leaders about the possibility of establishing a Greater Houston Council on Human Relations, and of the possibility of providing financial assistance from SRC's current allocation to the Texas Council on Human Relations.

I was well pleased with your program proposals. I believe you will find Mrs. Valien of considerable help in reviewing them. She is one of the most competent, action-oriented social scientists I know. You will find her to be sensitive to the problems of the community and knowledgeable about techniques of involving leadership - both Negro and white. I hope this moves things in the right direction.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
cc: Mrs. James Crate

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
COLIN W. BELL

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED JUL 9 1959

July 7, 1959

Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just written to Dr. Stephen Bayles in Houston informing him of the Southern Regional Council's willingness to assist his Committee for Peaceful Desegregation and hope he will get in touch with you to tell you more about the group and its objectives.

When I was in Houston last month, I wanted very much to talk with Rev. John Knowles about a new interagency co-ordinating body which he had called together shortly before my visit. Evidently, three groups recently approached the Mayor requesting the formation of an official human relations committee. Concerned about the fact that many different groups are working for the same objectives without consultation with each other, John Knowles invited representatives of human relations organizations to meet together. Fifteen groups, participated in this meeting including the G. I. Forum. I am not sure whether this will be a permanent co-ordinating group but it could make a very valuable contribution. Although I have been to Houston a number of times in the last eighteen months, I am still very much confused about the relationship which some of the human relations organizations have to each other. Some of them seem to be composed of the same people sitting together under a different name. John Knowles seems to be a central figure and could probably give you good advice on how a financial subsidy could most profitably be used in Houston.

If Paul Rilling plans to go to Houston soon, I would be very glad to give him names of people who have been helpful to us. I would especially recommend that he plan to see Irwin Glatstein of the Jewish Community Council, 2020 Hermann Drive. I do not think that your efforts should be centered in Jim Noland's office at the present time. Jim is a terrific guy and we are very grateful to him for the leadership which he gave our effort in its early stages. He has been on the carpet this year, however. The United Fund requested a study of his Bureau because it was felt that he was trying to do too many different kinds of activities. He may not,

therefore, be free to give the kind of oversight to a local co-ordinating effort which you would like to have.

Please let us know what you and Paul plan to do in Houston.

What do you know about the "Circuit Riders?" I heard about this group when I was in Houston and I am curious to know whether it is active in many southern communities. From what I heard it is a laymen's group, promoting in the churches an anti-international and anti-integration program. Somehow I find the picture of modern "Erlkoenigs" more ridiculous than frightening but I am curious.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

July 7, 1959

Tartt Bell

Jean Fairfax

The Role of Deliverer

Friend, 'tis not the role for me. As Barbara and I have talked more about it, we have decided that the time for ceremonial delivery of Intimidation, Violence and Reprisals to impressive personages in Washington has probably passed. If we thought that the personal deposit of this record of sin on some important desks could open up some valuable future contacts, it might be worth putting a priority on it. At this point we are inclined to doubt the value of putting a lot of time on it in view of other pressing responsibilities and would favor a procedure which would get the document to the appropriate people most quickly. What about mailing it with a covering letter from James Dabbs?

JF:mt

cc: Barbara W Moffett
Harold Fleming ✓

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

Mrs. Frank Erwin
Kif grp, Thun
Mrs. E Plny Shaw
Mrs. Crate
J. Nutter
Mrs. Rayzor, III

July 20, 1959

Mrs Richardson

Dear Paul,

Good to talk with you today. Here are some addresses. Hope someone will provide you with a car. Houston is terrible without one. The downtown YWCA is a good meeting place and has an open policy in its cafeteria, if you wish to meet someone there for a meal.

Thelma Mills. Executive Secretary, YWCA
Atty. Plummer, head of the Council of Organizations. Don't have his address but his office is downtown
Mr. and Mrs. Carter Wesley, Editor, THE INFORMER, 2418 Leeland — FA 3-8347
Dr. John Knowles, First Christian Church, 1728 Sunset Boulevard — JA 6-2561
Irwin L. Glatstein, Jewish Community Council, 2020 Hermann Drive — JA 2-5127 — 710-5 6620
Ted Freedman, ADL, 2405 San Jacinto — CA 2-9803
Mrs. Jean Childers, 270 Blalock Drive (our chairman) — HO 5-3981
Dr. Samuel Nabritt, Southern University, 3201 Wheeler — JA 8-0611
Mrs. Olan Rogers, 1238 Althea (was head of the liberal group when it had the majority on the School Board) — OV 6-1947
Dr. Stephen Bayles, 5018 Indigo Street (Houston Committee for Peaceful Desegregation)

I wanted to see members of the Catholic hierarchy but a local emergency prevented their keeping the appointment. Msgr. Roach, Father Lee and the head of Catholic Charities were recommended to me. Also, members of Latin American groups; I think the G.I. Forum participated in the meeting which Knowles called when he was interested in a coordinating council of human relations organizations. If you are interested in the political situation Woodrow Seals, Chronicle Building, CA 3-4633 would be a good contact. The Harris County Democratic Organization, of which Seals is chairman, works interracially.

Mrs. White is the Negro member of the School Board. She is not considered to be a very strong person. Another Negro whom you might wish to meet is Charles Shaw, head of the Watchtown Insurance Company, 2206 Dowling, CA 8-6363, an active Episcopalian who has participated in many of the interracial groups. Good man but you'd learn more from Plummer or Wesley, I think. Labor is quite active in Houston. Perhaps Irwin could suggest the best contact for you, if you're interested.

Have a good trip and let me know what you find.

Hurriedly,

Jean

11.40 — 2 pm
S (Cntr) YM
3531 Wheatley

Houston

under order to submit plan by August 17
ordered to plan as of 1957--accepted, not appealed
Negro suit pending aimed at fall, '59

school ~~plans~~ board plans referendum--41 vote (N mbr, Mrs. White no)
required by state law--if not affirmative vote, no state aid to desegregated schools

Negroes opposing hike in school taxes, also 32 mill $ bodn issue

school board meetings televised

SIT
climate
regards

Visit of SRC Consultant to Arlington, Virginia

January 23-24

My visit to Arlington coincided with one of the now numerous legal climaxes in the movement toward ultimate desegregation of schools in that county. The important news events, in Arlington and the Federal District Court in Richmond, are adequately covered in the clippings enclosed with this report. To save time they will not be recapitulated here.

The key to what happens in Arlington is almost exclusively now to be found in Richmond and in the Federal courts. The string of appeals has almost run out as certainly the school board lawyers, and perhaps even Governor Almond, knew it would. The board and its attorneys never thought they were doing anything but buying time. To have gained any less time would perhaps have meant closing Arlington schools so the board attorneys now feel that their efforts may positively be credited at least with keeping open Arlington schools (with an assist from Judge Bryan).

The school board has now agreed to accept Judge Bryan's order to admit the four Negro children to Stratford school if a stay cannot be obtained from the Supreme Court, to which they will appeal this coming week the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding Judge Bryan. Only one board member, James Stockard, opposed seeking the stay. I had a long luncheon session wth him in which he described his argument with the board on this issue. The board is still frightened of Richmond and are convinced that for the future safety of the community they must play the drama out to the last appeal. For the majority of them this course is consistent with their inermost disposition. Stockard feared Richmond retaliation up to a point and went along with previous board action dictated by such fear, but now he says the board must accept the Bryan decision. The only other previously considered liberal member has become more cautious than he was at the outset.

Stockard is a Texan who grew up with traditional viewpoints but now finds himself the only person on the board with the least bit of conviction and courage to openly support desegregation.. The Northern Virginia Sun school reporter, Helen Dewar, says he is the only person on the board she has consistenly found reliable. The others simply cannot be relied on to give consistently straight reprts as to board activities or intentions. Bernard Joy (an Ed.D. from Oregon employed by the Department of Agriculture) was thought to be the most liberal member and Lee Bean, with whom I talked in August, seemed a cautious but fair and honest fellow. Much of what he told me the board was considering turned out to be not true. The collapse of Joy's liberalism and the failure of Bean to come through has disheartened and even infuriated many liberals in the community.

My informants tell me that there are personal political ambitions and personality conflicts (particularly in regard to Joy and to some extent Bean) behind the collapse of what was thought to be a potentially liberal majority on the board. State pressure does not adequately explain it. State attorney General Harrison met with the board in August but Stockard said his approach was pleading and consisted of forbodings about what the legislature might do rather than one of direct threat from the State administration.

Stockard has tried to get the Board to accept a strictly geogrpphical assignment scheme. He has emphasized to them that the evasive criteria of assignment and selection they have tried to develop will lead to dreadfully complex and even untenable precedents, with no consideration for the future. This idea I worked on with Bean in August and he readily agreed that geography was the only tenable ground for school assignment. He then proceded to support the weird scheme that rejected the 30 applicants. xxxxxxxxxxxxxx There is no question in my mind that Bean and Joy know fully just what they are doing, and are aware of its ultimate folly, at least in terms of any criteria we may find relevant.

The amount of influence I have had on the board muct be rather small when measured by the constant pressure on these men from local leaders with prestige who head the now 4,000 members of the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools (CPPS). Bean may have learned something but his other interests and concerns are constantly present and paramount. He told Stockard that he looks at the school situation with three distinct viewpoints and is very careful not to mix them or let them influence each other: 1) as a Christian , 2) as a school board member and 3) as a native southerner in a southern community. Actually he is a decent and charming guy.

The paradox of this board is that while it votes at the same meeting to seek another stay it also passes a sound and firm resolution that no disorder will be tolerated and that peaceful integration will procede if the stay is not granted. It is a model resolution. From my conversations with two board members andwith the former county board chairman (Kaul, still on the board but no longer chairman) I am confident they know the kind of firmness needed to deomonstrate to the community that they mean business. Bill Korey of ADL and others have emphasized this to them and the statement in the enclosed clippings indicates they have learned their lesson.

The governor has made his position less and less popular in Arlington by its irrational and extreme nature. The bigots have been quieter than ever and no one I met expects anytrouble from them. The police are ready if they make trouble. The liberal majority on the county board is now an outspoken 4to 1 majority andthe county manager and police chief are firmly under their command. At the suggestion of Hope and Routh I urged Bill Korey to get clearance to distribute the Hannson report from Dallas in Arlington. Bill gave it to county board chairman Krupsaw who gave it to police chief Fawver. The latter had it mimeographed--the bulk of it, not quite the whole report--and distributed to every man on the police force.

The only fear I heard expressed was that the governor might get a few Defenders or other bigots from outside to come in and create just enough of an indident to give him and excuse to close Stratford school in the interest of safety. According to present court orders, contingent of course on the Supreme Court not granting a stay order, this is the only recourse left to the governor unless he were to close schools throughout the state. This he well might do as a last resort, until he could summon the legislature into special session and put up some more legal hurdles to be declared unconstitutional. His actions now seem to have lost all rationality and he seems to view himself in a messianic role. There certainly seems to be now way by which anyone can influence him or even hold a sane and rational conference with him on the issue. The stories told about his recent interviews are bizarre.

Even more so than in August I am again able to say that no community could be more ready under the circumstances than is Arlington for desegregation. I spoke with Howard R. Bovee, Assistant Superintendent of Education, who cautiously let me know that they did not expect the least trouble within the schools. The four Negro children that may be in Stratford Junior High on Monday, February 2 are well known to the school authorities as are also the seventh grade children and teachers with whom they will work. The clear implication I received was that they would be divided in pairs and put into two sections.

Bovee is a Vermonter who was formerly an elementary principal in Arlington but he has the same cautious approach of Superintendent Reid in talking about the issue with an outsider such as I was. He believes Reid's past connection with Richmond has given the school system greater security than it otherwise might have had at this time. He is sure, however, that the morale of the system has suffered from anxiety of uncertainty as well as from the inordinate amount of effort devoted to desegregation problems, time that might better have been spent on educational matters. He reiterated Reid's emphasis that because of pressures they could not engage in the understandably desireable preparation for desegregation. No trouble makers are known to be among the parents at Stratford. Although Bovee would not comment on the question I am sure that the school officials have at least met with the parent leaders at Stratford. All Stratford parents attending the meeting Thursday, January 22, described in the enclosed clippings, received copies of "The Truth about Desegregation in Washington Schools", articles by Erwin Knoll of the Washington Post. These were distributed by the local Committee for Social Progress. They also are going to mail it to all the ministers in town and to a number of other key people with a covering letter. I suggested this to them in a gathering I attended Friday night. The nearness of Washington and the use Almond recently made of the issue makes this of strategic importance.

Bovee told me to come right to see him when I called and when I arrived in a few minutes I found him in with Supt. Reid. I gathered I was to get the official word and that was all I received, although it was cordial. I believe them when they say that they will likely have no problems within and in fact I am confident they would have no objection to and no difficulty with a thorough desegregation job. But I found no one able to talk or think about anything but the contested four children and the additional 26. The board and the school system now would not be surprised if the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals were to order desegregation of some of the remaining 26 whose apppeals from rejection are still under study by that court.

There is sheer irony in the fact that now with all State defenses struck down the Arlington case is coming to a head and desegregation will possibly slip in here in almost an interregnum between state massive resistance schemes. The governor will be caught with a "little bit of pregnancy" in Arlington, almost between the rounds as it were--unless he can quick turn out all the lights by closing all state schools. That is a rather mixed metaphor but I suppose makes the point. Some have said they would not be surprised if he closed all schools.

The four Negro parents and their allies are all standing firm and the children are ready to go to school on February 2. They have been invited to meet with the principal of Stratford at a Negro ele-

mentary school near their home on Thursday, January 29. They were invited by Richardson, principal of their present school, who also will be present. We have sought to arrange to have the Stratford principal invite them to see that school on Saturday.

Saturday afternoon the parents of the four as well as of the 26 will meet with their attorneys at a church. The very able Washington junior high teacher who helped with the work shop last August will be invited also to meet with the children at that time and seek to reinforce some ofthe lessons learned in August. I met in an interesting session Friday night with a group of about two dozen, including parents of three of the four prospective pioneers, Jim Nabritt (the younger) one of their attorneys, parents of some of the 26, NAACP President Carl Ferguson and other leaders of the community. They discussed and planned strategy between now and February 2. I was able to give them a recent and I think more realistic view of the school board and department of education views than they otherwise would have had. They will be as ready as they can be and well organized. There have been and will be no economic pressures in Arlington that would serve to weaken their ranks.

The white churches have done a good job of orienting their young people to theirproper roles and the ministers have officially accepted designation of their association president as a member of the board of CPPS. Paul J. Harrell, president of the association, I found a rather colorless, quiet spoken man who shows the scars of travelling the narrow line of caution on this issue necessary for survival in most Southern Baptist churches. The churches will continue to play a quiet ministerial role with their members and not be in the lead, according to Harrel. They did collectively and publicly agree, however, not to permit their premises to be used for private jim crow schools. Their stance generally is to support public schools, compliance with the law and Christian brotherhood. As elsewhere in the white community noone is openly supporting integration or even desegregation.

Warren Cox and others told me that there are parents in the Stratford area standing ready to bring suit if Stratford is closed by any ruse. Cox also told me of his connection with the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, the statewide counterpart of the local CPPS in which some 17 or 18 communities have been represented. Francis Miller was said to be available for chairman of the state group but they want someone who is not so publicly known as a Byrd opponent.

I am convinced that for Virginia this CPPS device was a real discovery and has played a decisive role in marshalling the only numerically significant opposition to massive resistance that was possible. Their plaintive pleas simply to "keep open the schools" were weak to some liberal ears and offered no really fundamental solution or understanding of the long range problem, but it was highly effective for this time. The statewide group meets about every two weeks in Richmond and has growing support according to Cox. Other agencies of a more forward position will have to be counted on to define sharply and realistically the issues. There should be no quarrel about roles.

For identification reminder, Cox has been chairman of the legal committee of CPPS and was one of the group of lawyers I met with last Summer in ADL offices.. Quite incidentally, we discovered we used to live in the same neighborhood and in fact I went to school with his brother. His father was Harvey Cox, former president

of Emory University. The South is just one big neighborhood.

I could not reach Edmund Campbell although I had written him I was coming. He was in Richmond on Friday and I pursued him in vain on Saturday morning. He is involved at many levels and is perhaps the backbone of both desegregation and CPPS support in the county. His wife has just been elected president of the local council of church women. She was also unavailable. She has recently been to Richmond with other church women to call on the governor.- a visit which was perhaps as futile as other visits to him.

David Krupsaw is now chairman of the county board--since I was here in August. I could not reach him either. He is a tough, courageous liberal according to all reports. A better person could not likely be found for his position, according to reliable informants. He is from a substantial and established local family and a graduate of Harvard Law School. Bill Korey of ADL knows him very well and sees him constantly. We have little to add to what Bill can do there. He is also a good friend of David Scull.

Korey gave me a broad fill in on the situation and convinced me again that we can with some confidence count on him to cover Arlington quite adequately for all the agencies involved in the CCD. My experience in North Carolina with AFSC and my work in Arlington and contacts with Bill Korey convince me that one very necessary function of CCD is to arrive at an effective division of labor and adequate spread of limited professional personnel resources. The agency personnel closest to various localities can be principally responsible for informing the others on developments and for pointing out areas of needed assistance.

I believe my visits to Arlington have been useful but I wonder if the total cost of this most recent visit was really warrented in view ofthe very close relationship Korey has maintained with the situation there. There must be more adequate interagency communication and perhaps a more formally defined and understood division of labor along the lines indicated above. Bill Korey should be sending a monthly report to other agencies on Arlington, Friedman and Rilling on Richmond and other communities within their reach, AFSC on North Carolina areas within their close reach, Harry Jones on Charolette, etc. Suggestions could be made in such reports for strategic assistance and reinforcement. They would serve as an effective way for the occasional visitor to an area to get quickly caught up with the situation in an area when he does visit it.

The above remarks are made with the full awareness that each agency defines its own particular role in a different way from the others. If some such division of labor and communication cannot be realized among so closely like minded groups, however, how can we ever do anything for group relations among more disparate sectors of society at large? CCD should not be simply a once a month in New York phenomenon.

I see little or nothing that SRC consultant services can do in Arlington at the present time. Arlington is blessed as no other southern community is to the same degree with many and well organized liberal resources. There is little or nothing I could tell the school board that they have not heard already from people who have a much greater call on than I on their attention and loyalty. As to the county board, at the moment at least, the political balance and contrl could not be any better if we arranged it. The school system is more favorably disposed toward desegregation than

could be asked for in most other southern communities.

As stated above I could get no one in town with whom I talked to consider what would come next after the realization of the token desegregation ofthe first four children and even perhaps some of the other 26. They could understandably not focus beyond February 2. But just here is where some important thinking and planning has to take place, I pointed this out in my reports last Summer. This was the real problem in North Carolina and will continue to arise as stringently selective pupil placement plans are tried and approved. Just how do you get systems to move beyond the minimum token first steps? How do you possibly prodede to an in fact desegregated system? Perhaps SRC can help with this fundamental next step by working with its Virginia state affiliate and the newly established Arlington Council on Human Relations. I have some concern that the latter may not be fully supported in the way it should be because of loyalties of its potential supporters for the previously existing Committee for Social Progress, which operated outof the Unitarian church.

Major interviews and contacts in Arlington, January 23 and 24:

Howard R. Bovee, Assistant Superintendant of Education
James G. Stockard, member of school board
Philip M. Stern, Editor of Northern Virginia Sun
William Korey, ADL area representative
Paul J. Harrell, Memorial Baptist Church and President of Ministerial association
Helen Dewar, education reporter for the Northern Virginia Sun
Warren Cox, attorney for Federal Housing Authority and chairman of legal committee of the CPPS
About twenty leaders of the Negro community that I met at an informal gathering at the home of Robert Alexander, attorney. I had called him and asked him to get together a few strategic people and he turned up with a houseful.

John W. Alexander

Northern Virginia Sun

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Vol. XXIII — No. 96 | Saturday, January 24, 1959 | 3409 Wilson Blvd. | Five Cents

Stratford Integration Order Upheld; Court Bans Norfolk School Closing

School Board Asks Delay in Feb. 2 Order

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Mansfield said Johnson, in sponsoring his bill, was trying "to separate the possible from the presumptuous and then to see to it that this body works to bring about the possible."

* * *

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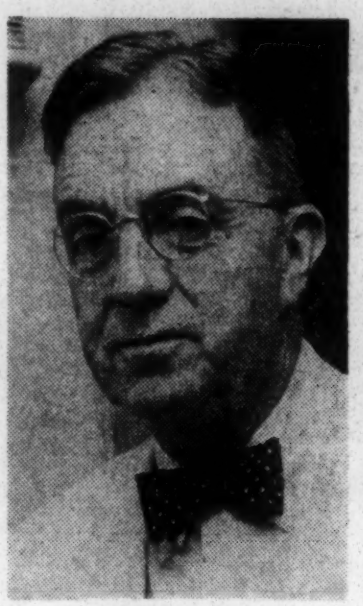
Mansfield said the voters did not give the Democrats a big majority in Congress so that they could "bask in the sun of political prosperity while the problems of the nation are shunted be-



JUDGE BRYAN
. . . his order upheld

Ike Declares Disaster In Two States

BULLETIN

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — President Eisenhower declared the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania as Federal disaster areas yesterday because of floods that have forced 25,000 persons from their homes.

By United Press International

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* * *

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A few minutes later, a special three-judge Federal constitutional panel sitting in the same courtroom killed the Norfolk City Council's plan to close its entire secondary school system to avoid integration.

* * *

THE DOUBLE-barreled decisions apparently doomed the last hopes of the two Virginia localities to circumvent integration. School boards in both places have pledged to open the schools, integrated if necessary, if given an opportunity.

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"We are in accord with this finding, for it is clear that the transfers were denied on the basis of race," the circuit court said.

Norfolk's locally-adopted plan of "massive resistance" was killed in the same order which destroyed Virginia's school-closing law.

The three-judge constitutional court, the same one that knocked the heart out of the State "massive resistance" laws, prohibited Norfolk authorities from carrying out their plan to shut down Norfolk's entire secondary school system. The move would have left more than 17,000 children without public schooling.

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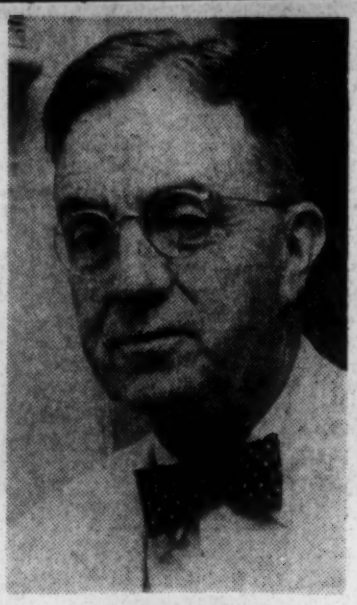
Mansfield said the voters did not give the Democrats a big majority in Congress so that they could "bask in the sun of political prosperity while the problems of the nation are shunted behind the clouds."

"Nor was it elected," he said, "to pursue the will o' the wisp of the Presidency in 1960 by presuming to do more than it can do in civil rights or in any other matter."

He endorsed all four points in Johnson's civil rights bill. They would (1) set up a Federal conciliation service on civil rights; (2) outlaw interstate shipment of explosives designed for "hate" bombings, (3) extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission and (4) give the attorney general subpena powers in investigating voting cases.



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Hope faded fast for 12 miners sought in the depths of an anthracite mine near Pittston, Pa. Floodwaters of the Susquehanna River cascaded into the mine yesterday.

Civil defense workers in Ohio said about a third of the people of Chillicothe, in the Scioto River Valley of Southern Ohio, were ev[illegible]oters [illegible]n-
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* * *

THE COURT enjoined Norfolk from "engaging in any evasive schemes or devices looking to the cut-off of funds for schools or grades affected by the mixing of races or the closing or elimination of specific grades in such schools."

The order also permanently enjoined Gov. Almond and other state and local officials from ever again closings a school to avoid integration.

The injunctive order against Norfolk was tacked on to one which was expected to be merely a formal declaration of Monday's ruling.

The Appeals Court deferred ruling on Judge Bryan's refusal to order Arlington to admit 26 other Negroes to white schools. The court, in its brief opinion, said it had not had an opportunity in the two days since the case was argued to review the grounds on which the Arlington School Board rejected the students.

* * *

THE POSSIBILITY of integration at another Virginia city arose last night. Charlottesville city attorney John S. Battle, Jr. told the city's school it had now had the "authority and responsibility to operate all its public schools in accordance with law."

Gov. J. Lindsay Almond had closed Lane High School and Venable Elementary School in Charlottesville last fall to circumvent court-ordered integration. Almond's power to close the schools was stricken earlier this week by federal and state court rulings.

Battle—in response to the school board's request for a legal opinion on where the city stood —said the two schools should be reopened within a "reasonable time."

The school board will meet Monday night to make a final decision.

Northern Virginia Sun

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Entered at Post Office of Arlington, Va., as Second Class Matter

SUBSCRIPTIONS
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Saturday, January 24, 1959

Bryan Integration Order Affirmed

Order to Maintained

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has now upheld Judge Bryan's order directing the admission of four Negro students to Stratford Junior High School a week from Monday.

Spokesmen for the Arlington School Board have said the case will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court and that the Board will ask that Judge Bryan's order be stayed pending that appeal. Whether the request for a stay will be granted, in view of the fact that a previous desegregation order for Arlington was delayed for a full year pending a similar appeal, remains to be seen.

Happily, the spectre of closed schools in Arlington vanished—hopefully forever—with the assurances of the School Board Thursday night that when Judge Bryan's desegregation order for Stratford Junior High School takes effect, the school will remain open. While the verdicts of the Virginia Supreme Court and the three-judge Federal court on Monday had made this a virtual certainty, the official assurance of the School Board on this score was welcome.

Equally welcome was the four-point "Code of Procedure" made public by the School Board, designed to assure that desegregation will take place in an orderly way. The Board has wisely put both the public and the students at Stratford on notice that no disturbances will be tolerated. Any students creating disturbances will automatically be suspended, and the Arlington Police Department has been directed to maintain order around school buildings and grounds.

This clear statement of intent not to tolerate any disturbances, which confirms similar statements during recent months by the County Board, is the best way of making sure that order will be maintained.

II

210 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
New York 27, N.Y.
July 24, 1958

file: Consultant Service Program
Arlington
Va.

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

The second trip to Arlington was rather disappointing. Ralph Kaul, chairman of the County Board, with whom Phil Stern had made a lunch date left town unexpectedly and could not make it. I did not discover it, nor did Phil, until I arrived at the newspaper office and we called Kaul's Office. Stern and I were joined at lunch by Clayton Fritchey, the publisher of the paper, and we discussed the situation further and I conveyed to them some of the specific suggestions I would have given to Kaul. They also discussed their newspaper policy on the developing situation. They view their role distinctly as one of leadership.

Phil has not had a full report on the trip to Richmond by the CPPS people. He did learn that the Governor dominated the interview and lectured them for a half hour on the conventional southern conservative line. Stern has not yet seen the new superintendent of schools but will try to see him, though he is reluctant to push him until the school board has clarified its stand.

After lunching with Stern I went by to see David Scull. He expressed the view that we should tread warily (what, another gradualist?) in Arlington as so many visiting firemen of the liberal brigades have been through the place in recent months, with most of them calling on the key people. He fears we may wear out our welcome. He said that David Krupshaw, another member of the County Board is a friend of his and much on the right side as we view it. Katherine Stone, member of the House of Delegates is also an ally. He views the situation as basically favorable. He does not see very much that can be done now. He says that he believes some of the police force have been to the Michigan police academy at East Lansing. Stern says he thinks the police have been in touch with the FBI.

I saw Dr. J.B. Johnson, head of the department of medicine at Howard, and vice-president of the Arlington Committee for Social Progress, as recommended by Harry Walker. Johnson was not sure of the name of the organization which may or may not be an indication of its strength. He does not know much about the degree of readiness or cohesion of the Negro community but he will make some inquiries along these lines and find out who I should talk to when I return. Through him I can meet Negro leaders and the liberal organization leaders (some of whom are in or have close contact with the CPPS) when I return and try to find out how they define their roles and hopefully help them clarify their roles. He knows nothing of NAACP strength.

I talked to a fellow named Brody at ADL in Washington and learned that Bill Corey, who is in close touch with the Arlington situation, is on vacation but will return by August 4. I will see him then.

As I now see it what is needed in Arlington is the following: 1. A good fact finding job as Bonita Valien did in Charlottesville, even though many visits have been made in recent months by allies. In bringing the picture up to date in the light of the more pregnant situation I can also serve the more educative role, auxiliary to the consultant-fact finder role, as we discussed in Washington. 2. Help reexamine the roles of and communication between and among liberal allies outside of CPPS. From past experience this just cannot be assumed. 3. Get a clear evaluation of the organization and leadership of the Negro community and see if I can help in any way in clarifying their role and heightening preparations. 4. In doing these to discover if there are any specific consultative services we can provide from outside. I hope to be able to talk to John Hope in New York about the auspices and credentials with which I move further into the community. The start I have may be sufficient, but I want to be sure I can answer the inevitable question of: "what's your pitch?". I told them there that I would be back August 4.

Best regards,

Jack

cc: John Hope

(1)

III

August 7, 1958

John Alexander

Interim report on Arlington

Interviews with ADL representatives

According to what I learn from Bill Korey, area representative for ADL, his organization has been the key human relations agency keeping in continual touch with the situation. He has prepared a very good summary of Arlington to date and he has agreed to let us have a copy of it for SRC files. It is about 25 pages and will be submitted to Commentary. I took notes on it and will include here some of its viewpoints and information. I believe any work in Arlington by any other agencies should be coordinated closely with ADL personnel and their contacts and activities. They have much better contacts and information that State Council on Human Relations affiliates or members.

They have helped with specific identification of the known troublemakers and leaders among segregationist elements, including Seaboard White Citizens Council Leaders in Washington. Korey has had constructive interviews with County Manager A. T. Lundberg and Police Chief Major William G. Fawver. He has discussed tactics with them and has helped to provide lists and pictures of the troublemakers so that police may get to recognize them. Korey judges that the police and the County Manager are determined to to do a competent professional job of preserving law and order with the 172 160 man police force. They do not want either Federal or State help in doing their job though they do seem willing to get counsel from more experienced hands. They have arranged to call on neighboring Alexandria and Fairfax County for help if needed at school opening time (this I got from County Board Chairman Ralph Kaul). ADL attorneys are preparing a model ordinance for them, based on a study of other communities, to be used for checking adequacy of their ordinances for handling possible peace disturbances and interference with possible desegregation. Neither the police chief or the the town manager are pro-desegregation but Korey thinks they can be depended on to enforce the law and peace. In the event of incidents and arrests the lot of prosecution falls to the county attorney, in whom there is less confidence. NOTE: I must find out his lines of responsibility, and influence, if any, Kaul has over him through the County Board, and whether he takes orders through the State Attorney General. All leaves in the police force have been cancelled for the period of school opening, although Chief Fawver is at present on vacation.

Korey stated that Milton Ellerin, director of fact finding for ADL in New york has been advising them in their consulting with Arlington officials. He is a former FBI man.

ADL has also been working with the legal committee of CPPS, of which Warren Cox, a local attorney, is chairman. ADL attorneys have prepared the attached memorandum on legal moves that CPPS might employ to keep the schools open. Korey and Edelsberg are meeting on Wednesday, August 13 with this committtee at ADL offices in Washington to discuss the problem further. They invited me to observe the discssuion. I pointed out SRC limitations in this regard, but Korey said that if I wished simply to come in as a spectator I would be welcome. NOTE: Hope and Routh please advise.

Korey and Edelsberg have an luncheon appointment with Mrs. Stone, member of the Virginia House of Delegates from Arlington, on Monday, August 11. She wishes to discuss with them the preparation of a public statement she would like to make with another woman delegate, calling on the governor to move to a peace and order position and pointing out that all he has done so far has only encouraged troublemakers to do their worst. I have been invited to join them and will do so.

(2)

One issue I inquired about from Edelsberg, who is the Washinton "lobbyist" for ADL, was whether he knew of any moves being made to acquaint the President of his aides in the White House with the impending crisis. To my mind the major variable in the situation now is what is to be donne and spoken out of Richmond and the White House. Edelsberg agrees . No matter how effective local preparations may be, the ultimate resolution is dependent on forces totally outside the community. To my mind it is urgent that further efforts be made to acquaint the President with what is about to happen. Edelsberg said that the Department of Justice representative who was in Little Rock told him that Faubus did not have his ultimate action in mind until Griffin came to town and persuaded him. The Justice Dept. man implied that if Eisenhower had made his stand clear beforehand Faubus would not likely have followed Griffin. Frankly, I wonder just how significant our present efforts are in the face of this. There are serious efforts underway but Edelsberg is not hopeful for success. Late note: The President in a press conference today was asked if he planned to see Governor Almond. He replied that he had never heard of the suggestion but of course would be glad to see the Governor if the latter wished to see him--which hardly constitutes an invitation or much understanding of the situation.

Interview with Chairman of County Board of Supervisors and assessment of Board

Membership of the Board: Ralph Kaul, chairman, Dave Krupshaw(with Kaul the most liberal member, he is also a good friend of David Scull), Leona Bucholz, Herbert Brown and a fifth member who is said to be the most conservative, but who apparently is realistic and does not violate Board confidences. The Board is unified behind maintaining law and order and keeping the schools open. They have demanded that the County Manager and the chief of police be prepared and present to the Board an accounting of their preparations. Kaul confirmed much of what Korey told me about preparations. He responded favorably to my suggestion that they send a top person from the police force to visit another community. I gave him the names of the police chief in St. Louis and the Mayor in Nashville. Kaul will give the names to Lundberg and Fawver when they return from vacation, with the suggestion. I will try to see them when they return and follow upthe suggestion. Note to Hope: perhaps a letter to Fawver from Sam Priest might be in order.

The interview with Kaul was frank and constructive. He accepted me fully into his confidences. He is a very intelligent and sophisticated young man in his thirties who, I would judge, is a successful business man with political ambitions and the personal qualities to make it in polititcs. He has taken open and forthright public positions on the school issue, not as an integrationist but as a "realist" who wants law, order and public schools. I am unable to say what his real, personal views are on the issue as such. He is one of the campaign managers for a man who is running to unseat Leona Bucholz on the Council, with a stated stand supporting maintenance of public education, integrated if necessary. (The Northern Virginia Sun is giving his campaign a good play)

Kaul states that any specific preparations for integration will have to be made without working through the school board. Its membership is as follows: Barnard Joy and James Stockard, both liberals and both former chairman of the Board; a lawyer, ~~named~~ L. Lee Bean, who is the uncommitted member and a man of some standing in the community (I am having luchch with him and Phil Stern on Thursday); Robert Peck and Helen Lane are the segregationist members, the former is chairman and the latter is an open supporter of the Defenders. Kaul states that the Board can do nothing in confidence as everything gets reprted to the Defenders immediately. He says any preparation of school personnel will have to be done off-the-record via the new superintendent, Ray Reid. He sees no reason why we should not try

(3)

this approach and indicated he might try to do what he can, but that the County Board does not have any jurisdiction over the schools. Stern feels our best approach is through Bean the swing man on the board, which is one reason he is helping us get together. Kaul indicated that he is fully behind and in close communication with the CPPS, as are other members of his board. He stated that they are all completely in the dark as to the governor's intentions, but I gather they expect to have their schools in operation this Fall, sooner or later, and integrated.

Assessment of the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools

After numerous tries I managed to get in a long phone conversation with O. Glenn Stahl, chairman of CPPS. He was leaving town the next day to be away for two weeks or more. He is head of a research bureau at the Civil Service Commission and has a full schedule--he was not avoiding me, he was just busy. His position was about that indicated earlier to me by Elizabeth Weihe, his vice-chairman. They will do all they can in a legal way to fight the governor but preparation for integration will have to be done by other agencies. He does not deny the need for such but simply says they have defined their role as carefully as possible for effective effort in the legal direction. The leaders of his committee certainly want to be kept informed on other developments. He urged me to keep in touch with Mrs. Weihe in his absence. I will see her after I have seen the superintendent next Monday. We can only respect their position. We should watch it develop carefully as it may be a significant approach, among others, to develop in other communities as things develop further South. Stahl stated they were aware of this aspect of their efforts and that they had already been visited by a delegation from Norfolk who wanted to learn how to do what they have done.

The School system

Phil Stern met with the superintendent of schools this week for lunch. He says the man is able and adroit. It is reported that he was in line to be State Superintendent of Instruction but that the powers did not consider him safe on this issue. Reid is willing to talk to me and I have an appointment on Monday, August 11. Stern has already suggested the possibility of visits to other communities by some of his key personnel, particularly principals of the to-be-integrated schools. He was, of course, noncommittal.

The school system has 44 white schools and 4 Negro schools; 22,677 pupils, 1,432 of them Negro. It is estimated that because of residential segregation only about 190 Negro children are potential candidates for integration. The contribution of the State to the local school budget has been variously estimated as from 15 to 20%. The state contributes $1.3 million to the school budget. The County paid $9 million in taxes to the state in 1957.

(the school board estimates 135)

The County PTA council, Richard L. Franz, President, has gone on record as opposed to closing schools even if integration is necessary. Council officers have been meeting this Summer and are in close touch with CPPS. I will try to see Franz and get a clearer picture of their role. He should be acquainted with the advantages of an integrated council, or steps in that direction. The County PTA Council has called on local PTAs to support for local office only those candidates opposed to closing the schools.

Requests for school reassignment.

August 1 was the deadline for applications. 26 were filed for the following schools: Gunston, 4; Wakefield, 4; Thomas Jefferson, 2; Stratford 11;

I was later told that the total count of applicants was found to be 27, plus 4 or 5 of the legal plaintiffs.

Kenmore, 1; and Washington-Lee, 4. ~~The bulk of~~ These are junior high schools, ~~perhaps all~~ except Washington-Lee, which is the fanny high school. Two white students have applied for two Negro schools, with the intention of having them closed if the white schools are closed, Langston elementary and Hoffman-Boston High School. One of the 26 was a plaintiff in the original case, the others did not submit applications, but three or four of them are still ~~considered~~ active candidates for desegregation, making the total about 30. Although the names of the original plaintiffs are well known in town the names of the 26 were ~~intentionally~~ intentionally withheld to protect them from harrassmment. If Kaul's report of leakage of information in the school board is as bad as claimed it may be presumed that the Defenders will know the names. What is ultimately hoped for is that the school board will join the County Board in requesting the governor to return the schools to local operation if they are closed.

The Negro community

I was asked by Bill Korey to sit in on a meeting at the home of Mrs. Hamm, who is chairman of a committee to plan a workshop for the 30 pioneer children. This took place this week and they were not very well organized for going ahead. About 12 people were present, two of us from outside, myself and Mrs. Josephine Kyles, education director for the Washington Council of Churches, ~~from Washington.~~ She has worked with Irene Osborne in Washington on desegregation matters. They seemed perhaps too ready to turn to us for advice, and even more, ~~in~~ organizing their workshop. It is planned for two succeeding week-ends, August 15-16 and 23-24. They plan to include only the 30 children and their parents. Irene Osborne will attend to work with the parents group. They asked me to get Paul Cook at Howard to recommend two teachers from Washington to work with the children. I suggested they have some children present who have experienced desegregation. They wish to avoid having imported professionals it possible. NOTE: we should discuss what advice and what degree of cooperation we can give them. J.B.

On Friday night, August 11, I am meeting at the home of Dr. Johnson with three leaders of the community, Mrs. Costly, Attorney Robert Alexander and Rev. Henry Sink. In addition ~~to~~ to getting their workshop organized I believe a major need is for them to designate one person to keep in close touch with the situation in the schools in the event of desegregation, so as to serve as a troubleshooter and to coordingte information and policy in the handling of indidents and to keep sensitively aware of the needs of the children--in short, someone to play the role of Mrs. Bates in Little Rock. Two white ladies, Mrs. Geraldine Davis and Mrs. Barbara Marx apparently see themselves in this role. I met the former, but the latter is away on vacation. Larson of FOR stayed with Mrs. Davis. Korey thinks Mrs. Marx is well equipped for the role and certainly will be in the forefront. Mrs. Kyles thinks the minister, Mr. Sink, is more suitable. The choice is theirs, but I believe a pattern of action should be agreed on beforehand. Personally, I lean toward Sink. I have already met Sink and Robert Alexander, the attorney. Davis and Marx have some of the virtues and difficulties of some of our good friends in Charlottesville.

I believe it would be a good idea to have Harry Walker go with me Friday night.

Segregation extremists

The local leader most vocal is Jack Rathbone, who tried to found a private "grammer school". Other local leaders are Charles W. Carter, outspoken anti-semite, Mrs. Vivian Garrell and Rev. Elmer Lucas. Korey and Kaul both told of threats to bomb the Jewish center and of plans to protect it. Kaul said one of his concerns, on which he would like counsel, is how to protect

the families of the ~~pioneer~~ pioneer children, their homes, and the children going and coming from school. The above named three are active leaders of the Defenders who claim 6,000 local members. ADL states that reliable local sources suggest the figure 60 would be more accurate. In Washington the following Seaboard White Cizizens Council leaders are potential trouble makers: Eugen Collton, Floyd Fleming and T. David Horton, who has attended school board meetings and is reported to be an advisor to Mrs. Helen Lane of the school board.

The "Coordinating Committee to Maintain Efficient Education in Virgina" has been set up to help organize private schools. The term "efficient" is used in the legislation to describe a school that is not racially mixed. The legislationiwas designated "for the purpose of maintaining efficient Schools".

Jack Rathbone has publicly threatened economic reprisals. NOTE: I should find out from the Negro community what they have planned to combat economic reprisals and whether they have anticipated the direction from which they will come. Members of the'majority'community should also be alerted to roles to be played in such an event.The Negroes should also be alerted, if they are not already, to a reported intention of the Governor to visit the parents of the children involved in the event the schools are closed, with the intention of "persuading" them to withdraw.

Liberal white leadership outside of CPPS

Principally among the ministers, none of whom I have seen yet. Ross Weston the Unitarian has probably been so outspoken that he may not be of maximum strategic use. White ministers have indicated they intend to go with the Negro children when they go to the schools the first time.

Draft prepared by Harry Merican for discussion by attorneys at ADL office 8/13/58

file with: John Alexander final report -

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

for the

EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

_____, a minor

by _____, his father and

next friend,

and

_____, personally

_____ (address)

_____.

Plaintiffs

versus Civil Action No.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

Richmond, Virginia.

Defendant

Complaint for Interlocutory and Permanent Injunction

1. This is a suit for an interlocutory injunction and a permanent injunction to restrain the enforcement, operation and execution of a certain Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia which automatically divests local school officials who make an assignment of and enroll children of the Negro and white races either voluntarily or under compulsion of a court order.

2. (a) The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked under Title 28, United States Code, section 1331. This action arises under the due process of law clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of Three Thousand Dollars ($3,000), exclusive of interests and costs.

2. (b) The jurisdiction of this Court is also invoked under Title 28, United States Code, section 1343, which provides for the original jurisdiction of this Court in suits involving civil rights.

3. Plaintiffs are citizens of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Virginia and are of the Caucasian race. Minor plaintiff, _____, is a pupil enrolled at Stratford Junior High School, one of the public secondary schools of Arlington County, Virginia. Plaintiff _____ is an adult, father of _____, and a taxpayer of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Plaintiffs bring this action as a class suit on behalf of themselves and all other Caucasian pupils and parents similarly situated, such class constituting hundreds of persons, making it inconvenient to bring them all before

the Court, but their interests are fairly and adequately represented in this proceeding.

4. Defendant J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. is the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, in whom is vested, by legislative enactment, authority, power and control over any school, elementary or secondary, in the Commonwealth, to which children of both races are assigned and enrolled by any school authorities acting voluntarily or under compulsion of any court order. Defendant is sued in his official capacity.

5. Under the color of authority of Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the defendant has publicly expressed his intention to enforce said legislative enactment and has declared that his interpretation of the statutory provision makes enforcement procedures therein applicable to a school under a "final and unappealable order of a Federal court ordering the enrollment of a given child into a certain school."

6. On the 31st day of July, 1956, this Court issued an order, in the case of Thompson, et al., v. County School Board of Arlington County, et al., 144 F. Supp. 239 (1956), that provided as follows:

> "Therefore, it is further Adjudged, Ordered, and Decreed that effective at the time and subject to the conditions hereinafter stated, the defendants, their successors in office, agents, representatives, servants, and employees be, and each of them is hereby, restrained and enjoined from refusing on account of race or color, to admit to, or to enroll and educate in, any school under their operation, control, direction, or supervision any child otherwise qualified for admission to, and enrollment and education in, such a school."

7. Subsequently, this order was affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit on the 31st day of December, 1956, 240 F (2d) 830. The Supreme Court of the United States denied a writ of certiorari on the 25th day of March, 1957, 353 U.S. 911, 77 Sup. Ct. 667.

8. On the 14th day of September, 1957, seven Negro children were denied admission to four schools by the school authorities. This Court ordered the defendants to admit the seven named Negro plaintiffs to specific schools on the 23rd day of September, 1957, but granted a stay of execution pending appeal. One of the plaintiffs was E. Leslie Hamm, Jr., who was ordered admitted either to Stratford or to Swanson Junior High School.

9. This supplemental decree was upheld by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit on the 12th day of February, 1958, (2d) . The Supreme Court of the United States denied a writ of certiorari on the 19th day of May, 1958, U.S. ; Sup. Ct.

10. On a date before the 1st day of August, 1958, said E. Leslie Hamm, Jr. notified the school authorities of Arlington County that he intended to present himself on the first day of the 1958-59 school year, namely the 4th day of

September, 1958, for admission to the Stratford Junior High School, in accordance with the decree of this Court, dated the 14th day of September, 1957.

11. On the 5th day of August, 1958, the defendant, in the course of a press conference, discussed questions relating to enforcement of Commonwealth statutes with respect to racial segregation of the public schools. While he made no specific commitment regarding operation of the schools of Arlington County or the effect thereon of the supplemental order of this Court, dated the 14th day of September, 1957, he did announce a policy for general application. He informed the press that he considered that a school was integrated when there was in effect a final order, not subject to appeal, which required the admission of specified Negro pupils to specified white schools. Defendant declared that such a school "will not open." This situation unquestionably exists at Startford Junior High School.

12. The relevant parts of Chapter 68 of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, under color of which the defendant proposes to act, are as follows:

a. "1.(1). The General Assembly declares that, as a consequence of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States affecting the public school system, school authorities of the various political subdivisions of the Commonwealth of Virginia will be faced with unprecedented obstacles if and when ordered to enroll white and colored children in the same public schools, and such enforced integration of the races by a county or city school board could destroy the efficiency of the school in which white and colored children were so enrolled, and would tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the community in which such school is located.

"(2). The General Assembly declares that the welfare of all the citizens of the Commonwealth, the preservation of her public school system and a continuance of universal public education, make it necessary that there be uniformity of action throughout the State in all instances where school authorities acting voluntarily, or under compulsion, enroll a child in a public school, which enrollment would require a child of the white race to attend a public school with a child of the colored race, or which enrollment would require a child of the colored race to attend a public school with a child of the white race.

b. "(3). From and after the effective date of this act, and in conformity with the public policy of the Commonwealth of Virginia as herein established in (1) and (2), and specifically invoking the police powers of the Commonwealth and the constitutional powers of the General Assembly, the Commonwealth of Virginia assumes direct responsibility for the control of any school, elementary or secondary, in the Commonwealth, to which children of both races are assigned and enrolled by any school authorities acting voluntarily or under compulsion of any court order. The making of such an assignment, and the enrollment of such child, or children, shall automatically divest the school authorities making the assignment and enrollment of all further authority, power and control over such public school, its principal, teachers and other employees, and all pupils then enrolled or ordered to be enrolled therein; and such school is closed and is removed from the public school system, and such authority, power and control over such school, its principal, teachers, other employees and all pupils then enrolled or ordered to be enrolled, shall be and is hereby vested in the Commonwealth of Virginia to be exercised by the Governor of Virginia in whom reposes the chief executive power of the State.

"(4). Immediately upon such control, power and authority becoming vested in the Commonwealth of Virginia, by reason of the occurrences provided for in (3) aforesaid, such school is closed, and shall not be reopened, as a public school, until, in the opinion of the Governor, and after an investigation by him, he finds and issues an executive order that (1) the peace and tranquility of the community in which the school is located will not be disturbed by such school being reopened and operated, and (2) the assignment of pupils to such school could be accomplished without enforced or compulsory integration of the races therein contrary to the wishes of any child therein, or of his or her parent or parents, lawful guardian or other custodian.

"(5). If, after investigation, the Governor concludes that such school cannot be reopened, under the conditions provided for in (4) of this Act, he is given authority to reorganize the school, its personnel, curriculum and facilities, and make such other changes therein as in his discretion may be necessary and desirable and needed to effect a reopening of such school and, in such reorganization and in making assignment of pupils to such school, or in making reassignments to the school or schools in which they were formerly enrolled if he deems it necessary to preserve the peace and tranquility of the community or in making assignments of pupils to other available schools, he shall give due consideration to the laws of the Commonwealth relative to the assignment and enrollment of pupils and due consideration to the individual safety, needs and welfare of the child or children involved and the safety, welfare and best interest of other children attending the school and the welfare and safety of the community, the availability of facilities, the health and aptitude of such child, the availability of transportation, and all other relevant factors, and their effect on such child and other children attending said school and on the welfare and best interest of the administration of the school or schools involved, which assignment and enrollment shall remain in effect for the remainder of the current school session unless otherwise ordered or authorized by the Governor; provided, however, no school which has been closed, as aforesaid, shall be reopened, or reorganized and reopened, by the Governor, unless and until he finds and issues an executive order that such school can be reopened or reorganized and reopened in accordance with the provisions of (4) above.

"(6). If, after investigation, the Governor concludes that such school cannot be reopened, or cannot be reorganized and reopened, he is authorized to assign the children in such school to any available public schools where such assignment is practicable and to the best interest of the children involved, and to the public school system of the political subdivision concerned, taking into consideration the factors aforesaid; and the Governor is further authorized to make available other facilities for the instruction of such children, and to reassign the teachers in such closed school to other public schools in the political subdivision in which such closed school is located, or to other school or schools or other facilities made available for the instruction of such children as authorized herein."

c. Subsection (10) of Chapter 68 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly was amended and re-enacted by Chapter 631 of the Acts of the 1958 Session of the Virginia General Assembly as follows:

"(10). Notwithstanding any other provision in this act, if after investigation the Governor concludes or, at any time, the school board and board of supervisors of the county or the council of the city in which the closed school is located certifies to the Governor by resolution that in their opinion such school cannot be reopened, or reorganized and reopened, in conformity with the provisions of this act, the Governor may so proclaim, in which event the said school shall again become a part of the public school system of the political subdivision in which it is located, and such school, elementary or secondary, shall, along with all other schools of its class in the political subdivision in which it is located, thereby become subject to the applicable provisions of the laws of this State."

13. In the enforcement, and in the execution of the Acts of the General Assembly specified in the foregoing sections of paragraph 12, and acting pursuant thereto and under color of these statutes, the defendant has expressed the intention of pursuing the policy, practice, custom and usage of excluding and denying admission of all Negro pupils to the public schools of the Commonwealth of Virginia, solely because of their race.

14. The enforcement of the Acts of the General Assembly specified in the foregoing sections of paragraph 12 by the defendant will deprive these plaintiffs of liberty and property without due process of law, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

15. Plaintiffs, and others similarly situated, on whose behalf this suit is brought, are threatened with irreparable injury in the immediate future by reason of the expressed determination of the defendant, as set forth in paragraph 11 hereof, to enforce the provisions of the statutes specified in paragraph 12 hereof, unless the enforcement, operation or execution of the above-mentioned Acts of the General Assembly is enjoined for repugnance to the Constitution of the United States. They have no plain, adequate or complete remedy to redress the wrongs or illegal acts with which they are threatened other than this action for an injunction. Any other remedy to which plaintiffs, and other Caucasians similarly situated, could be remitted would be attended by such uncertainties and delays as to deny substantial relief, would involve a multiplicity of suits, and would cause further irreparable injury, damage, vexation and inconvenience to plaintiffs and other Caucasians similarly situated.

16. The defendant has expressed the determination to close any school to which, like Stratford Junior High School, a child of a different race is assigned under the terms of a court order, unless the enforcement, operation or execution of the aforementioned Acts of the General Assembly is enjoined for repugnance to the Constitution of the United States.

Wherefore, the plaintiffs respectfully pray that, upon the filing of this complaint:

1. This Court immediately convene a three-judge District Court, as required by Title 28, United States Code, sections 2281 and 2283.

2. As may appear proper and convenient to the Court, the three-judge District Court advance this action on the docket and order a speedy hearing of this action according to law, and upon such hearing —

That the three-judge District Court enter an interlocutory injunction restraining defendant, his successors in office, and his agents and employees, from

enforcing or executing against plaintiffs, or other Caucasians similarly situated, the Acts of the General Assembly specified in paragraph 12 hereof, upon the ground that such Acts of the General Assembly are repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the defendant, in closing a public school and denying access thereto by the minor plaintiff and other Caucasians similarly situated, solely for the purpose of denying enforcement to a lawful decree of this Court, thereby depriving them of liberty and property without due process of law in violation of the due process of law clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

And plaintiffs respectfully pray further that upon a full hearing hereof—

3. That the three-judge District Court enter a permanent injunction restraining defendant, his successors in office, and his agents and employees, from enforcing or executing against plaintiffs, or other Caucasians similarly situated, the Acts of the General Assembly specified in paragraph 12 hereof, upon the ground that such Acts of the General Assembly are repugnant to the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the defendant in closing a public school and denying access thereto by the minor plaintiff, and other Caucasians similarly situated, solely for the purpose of denying enforcement to a lawful decree of this Court, thereby denying them of liberty and property without due process of law in violation of the due process of law clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

4. That the three-judge District Court allow plaintiffs for their costs herein, and grant them such further, other, additional or alternative relief as may appear to said Court to be equitable and just in the premises.

_____

_____, Personally, and

as father and next friend of

_____,

minor

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

for the

EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

_____, a minor

by _____, his father and

next friend,

and

_____, personally

_____

_____, Plaintiffs

versus Civil Action No.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

Richmond, Virginia.

Defendant

Motion for Interlocutory Injunction

The plaintiffs, by their attorneys, _____ _____, move this court for an order granting an interlocutory injunction against the defendant, his successors in office, his agents, employees and servants, attorneys, and all persons in active consort or participation with him, pending this suit, and until further order of this Court, in accordance with the prayer numbered as set forth in the complaint filed herein.

In support of this motion the plaintiffs attach their verified complaint, and in addition state:

1. Unless restrained, the defendant willclose Stratford Junior High School because of the provision of an order of this Court that E. Leslie Hamm, Jr., a Negro, be admitted to said Stratford Junior High School, a school designated for the instruction of, and occupied by, white pupils.

2. Irreparable injury, loss and damage will be caused the minor plaintiff by the defendant's act of closing the Stratford Junior High School and denying to him the educational instruction and opportunities to which he is constitutionally entitled during the ensuing school year, beginning the 4th of September 1958.

3. If the defendant, J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., closes the Stratford Junior High School, and the educational opportunities afforded therein are not available to the minor plaintiff, any judgment this court may later render on final determination of this action will be ineffective to repair the injury, damage and

loss already suffered, and the final judgment of this Court will not, therefore, give the minor plaintiff the full and complete remedy to which he is entitled for a violation of his rights under the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

4. If this interlocutory injunction be granted, the injury, if any, to the defendant, if final judgment be in his favor, will be inconsequential and may adequately be indemnified by bond.

_____
Name
Address

_____
Name
Address

Attorneys for Plaintiff

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

for the

EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

_____, et al

Plaintiffs

versus Civil Action No.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

Defendant

Request for a Three-Judge Court

Come now the plaintiffs in the above-entitled cause and upon the complaint herein and the motion for an interlocutory injunction suggest to the Court the necessity of convening a three-judge court in conformity with 28 United States Code, sections 2281 and 2283, for the reason that the plaintiffs seek to restrain the enforcement and execution of the Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, as set forth in paragraph numbered of the plaintiffs' complaint, for repugnance to the Constitution of the United States.

_____
Name
Address

_____
Name
Address

Attorneys for Plaintiff

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

for the

EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

_____, et al

Plaintiffs

versus Civil Action No.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

Defendant

Application for Designation of Three-Judge Court

To:

The Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit:

Plaintiffs having filed in this case their complaint seeking an interlocutory and a permanent injunction to restrain the enforcement and execution of an Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia relating to the operation of the public schools of the Commonwealth of Virginia under orders of a Federal Court -- namely, Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, Chapter 68 -- on the ground of repugnance to the Constitution of the United States, application is hereby made to the Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit to designate a three-judge court to hear such case as provided by 28 United States Code, Sections 2281 and 2283.

_____

Judge

119 Northway Road
Greenbelt, Maryland
August 15, 1958

Dear Fred:

Enclosed is a rough draft of my final report. I meant to type a finished copy but it would have taken me an interminable amount of time with my lousey typing. May I place myself on your mercy and request that you have it done in finished form, with a copy to John Hope and one to me. I did not make a copy as I hoped to send a finished one. It is late Friday night and I am leaving for a week in North Carolina tomorrow morning. I will be in North Carolina (C/O W. M. Alexander ~~Waverly Place~~ 202 Waverly Way, Greensboro, N.C.) until next Friday. I will thenpass through here again next week-end. Our welcome has sort of run out with the in-laws. We are a large family to have on hand for all summer. We will either go back to New York or go on upstate New York forazweek before Labor Day. The day after Labor Day I have to be at my desk at Columbia. I regret I cannot be here any longer, but I guess this finishes it. I have found it most interesting and I think it useful. But who really knows?

I will send from North Carolina the list of contacts or my card file on them if I can make it legible. I am hurrying the enclosed along in its present form as I know you ard eager to see it. Call me at my brothers if there are any questions, although we will likely be away fishing Monday and Tuesday.

I enclose my final expense account. If the check goes out by Wednesday it can be sent to North Carolina, and I would appreciate your sending it there so it wont be wandering loose at Greenbelt or in New York.

hastily, and apolitetically for the
state of the enclosed,

John W. Alexander

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARLINGTON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

CITIZENS OF ARLINGTON — COUNTY BOARD — SCHOOL BOARD — SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS (~~T. EDWARD HUTFER~~) Ray E. Reid — PRINCIPALS — TEACHERS — PUPILS

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  - MAINTENANCE (THOMAS B. NETTING)
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  - SUPPLIES (CHARLES B. REDMOND)
  - CONSTRUCTION (J. ALBERT SMITH)
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- DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH (John Palmer)
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MR. ROBERT A. PECK
Mr. L. Lee Bean

PREPARED BY THE OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT FOR PERSONNEL - ARLINGTON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
SEPTEMBER 1957

ARLINGTON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Department of Research

MEMBERSHIP BY GRADES

March 31, 1958

School	Un-graded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	TOTAL
Abingdon		61	54	51	49	56	--							271
Ashlawn		53	55	59	64	113	54							398
Barcroft		64	57	58	60	79	65							383
Barrett		65	77	81	97	87	92							499
Cherrydale		53	49	46	38	52	49							287
Claremont		63	75	74	65	81	76							434
Clay		--	--	61	54	71	87							273
Custis		40	52	52	49	54	51							298
Edison		5	3	4	2	1	--							15
Fairlington	26	20	29	33	30	27	150							315
Fillmore		57	64	--	--	--	--							121
Glencarlyn		38	79	60	74	68	66							385
Henry	14	115	90	116	112	122	145							714
Jackson		74	84	74	83	94	90							499
Jamestown		87	95	91	99	91	137							600
Lee		22	35	13	26	31	34							161
Madison		28	24	48	46	--	--							146
Marshall		30	55	35	44	57	48							269
Marshall Annex		--	--	106	--	--	--							106
Maury		20	36	27	29	46	41							199
McKinley		50	73	72	81	85	89							450
Monroe		53	60	46	54	66	65							344
Nottingham		99	107	--	106	143	146							601
Oakridge		62	60	74	77	108	--							381
Page	19	72	83	87	84	71	68							484
Randolph		49	66	47	58	62	59							341
Reed		67	76	116	99	108	123							589
Stewart		--	24	121	60	--	--							205
Taylor		53	58	65	70	82	97							425
Tuckahoe		86	84	--	66	114	106							456
Wilson		34	31	41	49	43	27							225
Woodlawn		30	30	31	30	26	33							180
Woodmont		25	30	33	33	34	31							186
Yorktown		--	39	44	59	51	65							258
Drew	14	127	94	--	88	96	61							480
Hoffman-Boston		26	39	19	30	24	28							166
Kemper	30	--	--	123	--	--	--							153
Langston		45	51	38	37	33	23							227
Homebound	2	3	1	1	--	1	3							11
TOTAL ELEMENTARY	105	1776	2019	2047	2102	2277	2209							12,535
Gunston (Brandon)								289	--	--				289
Jefferson								247	256	240				743
Kenmore								274	235	217				726
Stratford								347	352	378				1,077
Swanson								242	258	243				743
Wakefield	37							--	351	395				783
Williamsburg								441	436	447				1,324
Hoffman-Boston	28							118	95	87				328
Homebound	1							--	3	3				7
TOTAL JR. HIGH	66							1958	1986	2010				6,020
Wakefield	10										702	459	378	1,549
Washington-Lee											1072	719	734	2,525
Hoffman-Boston	14										80	48	37	179
Homebound											1	3	--	4
TOTAL SR. HIGH	24										1855	1229	1149	4,257
GRAND TOTAL	195	1776	2019	2047	2102	2277	2209	1958	1986	2010	1855	1229	1149	22,812

CHURCH DIRECTORY
OF
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
1957-58

Published By
The Arlington Council of United Church Women
and the Arlington Ministerial Association

Distributed by the Welcome Wagon

Editor: Mrs. Orville H. Kneen

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Study: 3600 7th St. S. JA 8-7364

BALLSTON, 11th and Vermont St., N. JA 8-9193
Pastor: Rev. R. B. Stanton, 1029 N. Vermont St. JA 8-1732

BON AIR, 800 N. Illinois St. JA 5-8079
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Assistant: Carl M. Patterson, 4444 E St., S.E., Washington, D. C. LU 4-0285

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Pastor: Dr. M. Jackson White, 2915 Key Blvd. JA 5-6582
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Pastor: Rev. A. W. Jackson, 4371 Lee Highway. JA 8-1308

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Pastor: Rev. David P. Small, Jr., 1726 Crestwood Dr., Alexandria, Va. KI 8-5040

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Pastor: Rev. Lewis L. McGee, 2720 Hemick Ave., Alexandria. KI 8-2795

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Pastor: C. W. Dickerson, 324 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D. C. LI 3-6232

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Pastor: Rev. George W. A. Lowe, 2116 S. Lincoln St. JA 2-4253
Assistant Pastor: George O. A. Lowe, 2116 S. Lincoln St. JA 2-4253

MT. SALVATION BAPTIST (Negro), 1961 N. Culpeper St. JA 8-7474.
Pastor: Rev. N. R. Richardson, 721 Quebec Place, Washington, D. C. RA 6-5388

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MOUNT VERNON BAPTIST, 23rd St. S. and S. Joyce St. OTis 4-7422
Pastor: Rev. Willard R. Pierce, 801 25th St. S. OT 4-7422

MT. ZION BAPTIST, 19th and S. Glebe Road (Negro) JA 8-1434
Pastor: Rev. Oswald G. Smith, 1522 Upshur St., N.W., Washington, D. C. RA 3-6619
Assistants:
Rev. Henry Walker, 1025 S. Rolfe St. JA 2-8357
Rev. George S. Taylor, 1775 Trenton Place S.E. Washington, D. C. JO 1-2540

OPEN DOOR BAPTIST CHAPEL, 1504 N. Rolfe St.
Pastor: Jim Pitts

TRINITY BAPTIST, 1815 N. Quincy St. JA 8-6511
Pastor: Rev. John K. Harris, 1719 N. Nelson St. JA 5-0674

WESTOVER BAPTIST, Washington Boulevard and N. Patrick Henry Drive. JA 7-0715
Pastor: Rev. W. Barker Hardison, 1401 N. Ivanhoe St. JA 8-8684
Assistant: Rev. John D. Raymond, 1011 Arlington Blvd., Apt. 448. JA 2-0627

CHURCH OF BRETHREN

ARLINGTON CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, at Stonewall Jackson School, 855 N. Edison St. (During latter part of 1957 will remove to church between 2nd and 4th Sts. N. and N. Montague.)
Minister: Rev. Glen Weimer, 5112 Eighth Rd. N. JA 2-1554

CHRISTADELPHIAN

Arlington Ecclesia:
Meeting at Lyon Village Woman's Club, N. Highland near Lee Highway

CHURCH OF CHRIST

ARLINGTON CHURCH OF CHRIST, 20 N. Irving St. JA 8-1789 and JA 8-2161
Minister: Virgil T. Bentley, 1212 N. Evergreen St. JA 7-2630

CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE

CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE CHURCH, 2005 N. Quincy St. JA 2-1041
Pastor: Rev. E. N. Masters, 1412 N. Harrison St. JA 8-2682

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Clerk: Mrs. Leonore S. Sievers, 5212 N. 22nd S. KE 6-9079

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Clerk: Mrs. May Amerman Baughan, Box 316, Route 3, Dun Loring Road, Va. JE 3-3925

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Pastor: Rev. Glendale Burton, 3811 Pershing Dr. JA 2-3888

EPISCOPAL

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Assoc. Rector: Rev. Robert H. Andrews, 912 N. Nelson St. JA 8-6772

ST. JOHN'S, Fourth and Lexington Sts. S. JA 5-6898
Minister: Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., 2417 S. Dinwiddie St. JA 7-2319

ST. MARY'S, 2609 N. Glebe Road. JA 7-6800
Rector: Rev. ~~John Bartel Reinheimer~~, 4540 N. 41st St. KE 6-7773
Assoc. Rector: Rev. Guy Louis Hill, 2103 N. Glebe Rd. JA 2-5964

ST. MICHAEL'S, 1132 N. Ivanhoe St. JA 7-2744
Rector: Rev. David R. Matlock, 5118 15th St. N. JA 7-3307

TRINITY, Columbia Pike and S. Wayne St. JA 7-8407
Rector: Rev. Gary K. Price, 635 Arlington Village. JA 5-3040

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Minister: Rev. George E. Schnabel, 2421 N. Glebe Road. JA 7-7459

JEWISH

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Rabbi: Rabbi Noah Golinkin, 2709 Arlington Blvd. JA 2-3770

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Minister: Rev. Paul Moore, 211 10th St., S.E., Washington, D. C. LI 7-6675

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For information: B. H. Roebuck, 3704 17th St., N. JA 7-1150.

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LIGHTHOUSE OF THE ETERNAL QUEST, 413 N. Irving St.
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ARLINGTON WARD, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS, 1600 N. Inglewood St. JA 7-9382
Minister: Bishop Ezra Parry, 2500 N. Upland St. JA 5-4340
First Counselor: Orval E. Goodsell, 2532 23rd Rd. N. JA 2-5162
Second Counselor: Harold S. Harrison, 5549 14th Rd. N. JA 2-3197

FALLS CHURCH WARD, 1600 N. Inglewood St., Arlington
Minister: Bishop Miller F. Shurtleff, 3106 N. John Marshall Drive, Arlington 7. KE 7-9382
First Counselor: Conrad Phyll Horne, 5919 10th Rd. N. JE 2-6817
Second Counselor: W. George Goold, 6935 27th Rd. N. JE 3-8669

LUTHERAN

ADVENT, services at Oakridge School, 24th St. S. and S. Nash St. OT 4-6803
Minister: Rev. Henry M. Schumann, 839 21st St. S. OT 4-6803

FAITH, Arlington Blvd. at N. Jackson St. JA 8-1717 and JA 5-9283
Minister: Rev. Carl G. Mengering, 415 N. Oakland St. JA 8-2388
Assistant: Rev. Elmer J. Klein, 177 Arlington Village, JA 2-7835

OUR SAVIOR, 9th and S. Taylor St. JA 7-4151
Pastor: Rev. Paul M. Kavasch, 901 S. Taylor St. JA 7-4374

RESURRECTION, N. Washington Boulevard at Powhatan St. JE 2-5991
Pastor: Rev. Luther J. Mauney, D.D., 2100 N. Illinois St. KE 6-8757
Associate Pastor: Rev. Jess H. Hangen, Jr., 5012 N. 34th Rd. KE 8-6688

METHODIST

ARLINGTON, Glebe Road at S. Eighth St. JA 8-7527
Senior Minister: Dr. W. Kenneth Haddock, 840 S. Adams St. JA 2-3044
Associates:
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Rev. Elwyn R. Burke, 3420 S. Seventh St. JA 8-0328
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Associate: Rev. Kenneth D. Argenbright, 366 N. Granada St. JA 7-2283

CALLOWAY METHODIST, 5000 Lee Highway ~~(Negro)~~
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Minister of Evangelism: Rev. Franklin M. Miles, 1501 S. 28th St. OT 4-7344

CENTRAL METHODIST, Fairfax Drive and N. Stafford St. JA 7-8844
Minister: Rev. Robert E. Forrest, 1119 N. Evergreen St. JA 7-1783

CHERRYDALE, 1903 N. Monroe. Pastor: JA 7-2621
Secretary: JA 5-8456
Minister: Rev. W. W. Hayzlett, 1903 N. Monroe St. JA 7-2621

CHRIST, 5700 Lee Highway. KE 8-5899, KE 8-4900
Minister: Rev. Louis C. Shearer, 2719 N. Lexington St. KE 8-6775

CLARENDON, Sixth St. N. and N. Irving Sts. JA 7-8574
Pastor: Dr. J. L. Robertson, 3723 N. Pershing Drive. JA 7-6929
Associate Minister: Rev. James M. John, 125 S. Hudson St. JA 5-1480
Director Christian Education: Miss Lola Long

COMMUNITY, Key Boulevard and N. Bryan St. JA 7-1085 and JA 2-6033
Pastor: Rev. H. Wark Curry, 1716 N. Barton St. JA 7-2883

FAIRLINGTON, 3900 King St., Alexandria. KI 9-7650
Minister: Rev. R. Beverly Watkins, 1416 Key Drive, Alexandria. TE 6-8713
Associate: Rev. Garland V. Dodd, 3442 S. Stafford St. KI 8-2916

MOUNT OLIVET, 1510 N. Glebe Road. JA 4-1171, JA 7-3934
Minister: Rev. J. Roy Smith, 1423 N. Glebe Rd. JA 2-8554
Director Religious Education: Melvin Buckingham

WALKER CHAPEL, 4102 N. Glebe Road at Dittmar Road. KE 8-2691
Minister: Rev. Wilson Stanley, 3832 N. Dittmar Rd. KE 8-4030.

NAZARENE

FIRST CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, 21st St. N. and N. Taft St. JA 5-2516
Pastor: Rev. Giles M. Graham, 2112 N. Taft St. JA 5-2516

CALVARY NAZARENE, 5900 Wilson Boulevard. JE 2-2565
Minister: Rev. Curtis D. Withrow, 5900 Wilson Blvd. JE 3-3544

PILGRIM

CLARK FLOOR MEMORIAL PILGRIM CHURCH, 27th and N. Harrison St. KE 8-7061
Minister: Rev. W. R. Dudley, 2631 N. Harrison St. KE 8-7061

PRESBYTERIAN

ARLINGTON, 3507 Columbia Pike. JA 7-9464.
Minister: Rev. Jay Warren Rowan, 6426 Garland Drive, Falls Church. JE 4-1898

CLARENDON, 1301 N. Jackson St. JA 7-9513
Minister: Rev. Melville D. Nesbit, Jr., 1846 N. Herndon. JA 5-3072
Director Religious Education: Miss Virginia Heirich

FAIRLINGTON (U. S.), 3846 King St., Alexandria. KI 8-9344
Minister: Dr. Charles C. Cowsert, 2115 N. Early St., Alexandria. OV 3-4909
Assistant: Rev. Howard C. Paul, 3371-A S. Wakefield, Arlington. KI 8-7965

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN, 601 N. Vermont St. JA 7-4766, JA 8-0973
Minister: Rev. George Hileman Yount, 912 N. Harrison St. JA 8-7000
Rev. Donald Welch, 601 N. Vermont St. JA 7-4766

LITTLE FALLS UNITED PRESBYTERIAN, 6025 Little Falls Road. KE 8-5232
Minister: Rev. Frank A. Erwin, 5832 Little Falls Road. KE 8-6630
Minister of Christian Education: Rev. Paul R. Evans, Lyon Village Apts., 3000 Lee Highway

TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN (U. S.), 16th and N. Inglewood Sts. JA 7-4456
Minister: Rev. William H. Foster, Jr., 1806 N. Huntington St. JA 5-6077
Assistant: Rev. Charles E. Book, 2007 N. Inglewood St. KE 8-6869

ROMAN CATHOLIC

ST. ANN'S, 5312 Tenth Road N. JA 8-6276
Pastor: Rev. R. Dixon Beattie
Assistant: Rev. John A. O'Connell
Rectory: 5312 Tenth St. N. JA 8-6276

ST. AGNES', 21st and N. Randolph St. JA 2-4793
Pastor: Rev. Robert E. Hannon
Assistants: Rev. John J. Munley, Rev. Chas. A. Ryan
Rectory: 4049 21st St. N. JA 2-4793

BLESSED SACRAMENT, W. Braddock and Radford St., Alexandria. OV 3-1020
Pastor: Rev. Martin T. Quinn
Assistants: Rev. Philip Farrell, Rev. Antonio Malabad
Rectory: 2500 Kenwood Ave., Alexandria. OV 3-1020

ST. CHARLES, 3304 N. Washington Blvd. JA 2-4771
Pastor: Rev. Leonard J. Koster
Assistants: Rev. Thomas F. Hesnan, Rev. L. Joseph Baran
Rectory: 3304 N. Washington Blvd. JA 2-4771

OUR LADY OF LOURDES, 23rd and Hayes St. S. OT 4-9261
Pastor: Rev. Charles Comaskey
Assistant: Rev. Howard P. Harris
Rectory: 807 24th St. S. (P.O. Box 3025, Arlington 2) OT 4-9261

OUR LADY, QUEEN OF PEACE, 2700 S. 19th St. (Negro) P.O. Box 2055 South Station, Arlington. JA 8-5066
Pastor: Rev. James J. White
Rectory: 2700 19th St. S.

ST. THOMAS MORE, Arlington Boulevard and N. Thomas St. JA 5-1300
Pastor: Rt. Rev. Monsignor Arthur J. Taylor (V.F.)
Assistants: Rev. John J. Hughes, Rev. Frank E. Mahler, Rev. Carl A. Poole
Rectory: 101 N. Thomas St. JA 5-1300

SALVATION ARMY

Arlington Corps, 1738 Wilson Blvd. JA 7-5520
Commanding officer: Lt. H. B. Anderson, 1406 N. Wayne St. JA 7-4091

SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST

ARLINGTON CHURCH, Ninth St. and South Lincoln
Minister: Elder W. Travis Smith, 1021 S. Quebec St., Apt 10. JA 2-1872
Assistant: A. R. P. Johnson, 4312 S. 12th Rd., Apt. 21. JA 7-4319

UNITARIAN

UNITARIAN CHURCH OF ARLINGTON, 4444 Arlington Blvd. JA 5-1565
Minister: Rev. Ross Allen Weston, 3209 N. Columbus. KE 8-6112

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

BETHEL, 4347 Arlington Blvd. JA 8-0937
Pastor: Rev. Philip J. Anstedt, 5898 S. First St. JA 8-3221

ROCK SPRING, Rock Spring and Little Falls Rd. N. KE 8-4425
Pastor: Rev. Sidney Lovett, 4969 N. Rock Spring Rd., Kenmore 8-4050.
Staff Assistant: Rev. William Harrison, 6420 22nd Rd. N. Jefferson 4-7292.
Director of Religious Education: Mrs. Gerald Stryker, Route 1, Box 237, McLean. EL 6-4948

Supplemental Report on Arlington, Virginia, Based on phone calls and visits, August 24-25

Approximately a week following my final report I returned to Arlington and was told by Edmund Campbell that he now considered Arlington an "occupied territory". He had just returned from Europe and had spoken to a number of key people in order to get himself informed on latest developments. I received the benefit of this by getting him to brief Phil Stern and me on what he had discovered.

In the week since I had been away the school board had reversed its position and was then reported to be prepared to submit fully to state pressure and reject all applicants for desegregation. They had agreed on various reasons, geography, test scores and interview impressions, for rejecting, and trying to make the decisions stick, all the applicants. In spite of Lee Bean's previous statement to me that they would likely accept, ultimately, about a dozen of the children, they were then ready to cooperate fully with the state. In later court testimony this report of Campbell was ironically validated by defense of the rejections given by Barnard Joy, reputedly the most liberal member of the board. I suggest it may be useful for the record to write to David Scull and ask him to get the full story from Joy. I understand he is well acquainted with Joy.

From Harry Mericam and Herman Edelsberg I learned that the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools had agreed to refrain from seeking any injunction in Federal court to refrain the governor from closing the schools and to compel the school board to keep open the schools. In a bitterly conducted meeting at the home of one of the CPPS leaders PTA council president Franz and district PTA leader William Lightsey led the way in persuading the executive committee and the legal committee to cancel plans for legal action. There remains the possibility that they may seek an injunction if schools are actually closed, but only after that event. I suggest that in the present climate this may even be unlikely. The result was a deep fissure in the organization and the threatened resignation of Warren Cox from CPPS. He wanted to file the

injunction as planned. Campbell stated that he reluctantly came to the conclusion that in view of state threats the community could not afford to do so.

This whole picture indicated a deep change in Arlington viewpoints during the weeks I was away. Two events occurred during this period. The attorney general of the state spent several days in town after paying a visit to Norfolk. Following his visit the Norfolk school board presented a more intransigent front. The same happened in Arlington. Effects of his visit were suggested even in the changed stance of the CPPS and other community leaders. Campbell could not track down certain knowledge of specific threats but he did say that general allegations were made by the attorney general, as the agent of the governor, that broad retaliatiation by the legislature (and by inference, state officials) would follow any official or unofficial moves to promote or even accept desegregation in Arlington. One suggested kind of retaliation was the legislative elimination of the Arlington school district and the assigning of the schools there to a "safer" district.

Apparently the attorney general assured Arlington that schools would be closed only briefly, if at all, only long enough to eliminate desegregated grades and to reassign the children elsewhere on a segregated basis. The threats seem to have frightened key people to the point where Campbell was led to make his grave assertion of "occupation".

These threats were made more public on September 4, as reported in the New York Times of September 5, when Governor Almond sent a statement to school superintendents in the threatened areas that was an exhortation to hold firm and resist desegregation. Included was the following paragraph with undisguised meaning:

> "I am deeply concerned that no charge be justifiably made that any school board has thwarted the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of Virginia and thus brought us into disfavor with the chosen representatives of the people in the General Assembly."

The other event during this period of change in Arlington was President Eisenhower's first press conference blunder when he indicated that he could not

speak out on a court decision when he might disagree with it. The status people seem to have been frightened by his weak position and continued evasion into a concern that they would get no federal support in their opposition to the state. The segregation leadership was apparently emboldened to feeling that federal power would be held in check from effectively opposing them. The state position from that point gained in boldness and intransigence.

Campbell reported that the Byrd machine was now asserting that the massive resistance stand would keep them in power for another 25 years; prior to that they were about to expire. The only note of caution Campbell could detect was a genuine expression of concern by the governor that there be no violence. He fears it and would not condone it.

From one authoritative source I gained the confidential information that Negro attorneys and NAACP leadership were relieved that the CPPS was not going into court. They felt they would just confuse the issues through their approach, which was not pro-integration, There was a high level conference of Negro leaders and attorneys in Washington on August 24 and I picked up this information on August 25. This may be an expression of basic distrust and a desire to go it alone or simply a tactical viewpoint of desiring to settle the issue on legal grounds of their own choosing. Whatever the case, I think it is unfortunate.

Irene Osborne and Robert Alexander reported that the desegregation workshop was successfully held. They both believe the Negro community is more unified and aware of roles to be played in change and crisis. June Shagaloff could not get there but they secured ample help through Irene and Paul Cook. Guests at the last session were the Negro girl who attended Greensboro High School and five of the Little Rock students. The holding of such a workshop, with the help of outside consultants, is a crucial need in any community facing such change. This I judge to be valid no matter how unified and well led the Negro community may seem beforehand. This, of course, seems distinctly an NAACP function, though other agencies can fill in where they are unavailablbe to help,

John W. Alexander

John Alexander

September 11, 1958

Information on School Desegregation Obtained in North Carolina
August 19-20, 1958

While on a trip to North Carolina I took the occasion to spend some time with the American Friends Service Committee staff working in the area of desegregation. We had one meeting at the home of Charles Davis in Greensboro with all of the AFSC program staff directors and assistants; the president of the Greensboro branch of NAACP, Ed Edmonds, was also present. On another day, I went to High Point to have lunch with the entire staff and afterwards met with Tartt Bell, Charles Davis and William Bagwell, who is the new co-director of the school desegregation program with Charles Davis.

The major concern of these people was that the increase in pressures for school reassignment that some of us there expected and hoped would follow the first year of token desegregation has not been realised. Negro parents are still reluctant to put forward themselves and their children as pioneers, even though the token moves of last year were peacefully realised. I found them all quite discouraged and convinced after a long second look that the State had contrived a cleger holding device of presently aparent legality.

Token moves toward compliance under the Pearsall plan have been followed by a quiet tightening of controls through local boards. These school boards seem less disposed to accept reassignment of Negro applicants than they did last year. In Greensboro the terms of the two most liberal board members expired—both were pro-desegregation—and the city council replaced them with "safer" members. The identity of the new people is not known by the AFSC staff, beyond their names. A new stiffening of resistance in North Carolina may be evidence of a plannedfollow-up of longer range policy under the Pearsall program. It may also be further evidence of the renewed strength given the course of resistance by Faubus and Almond successes and national political leadership default.

Whether in fact there is a net deterioration in the broader picture of desegregation—in schools and elsewhere—is not fully established to my sat-

isfaction. I believe that the total number of applications for school reasignment presented by Negroes in North Carolina is greater this year than last, in spite of the lack of increase in the area of greatest change last year—Greensboro. Applications were presented again in all areas where they were last year and additionally in Durham, Carrboro(adjoining Chapel Hill) and New Bern, an historic coastal city. Two court cases that involve clear-cut and well founded complaints are now in process. In Raleigh the Holt family was recently denied access to the Federal district court and asked first to exhaust their state remedies. The Holts live near the white high school and accross the city from the Negro school. They have a good case and are determined to pursue it.

The first case which directly challenges the constitutionality of the Pearsall apparatus has appeared in Durham. SRC has no doubt been well briefed on this case as John Wheeler is one of the attorneys.

At the University of North Carolina this year there will be 23 Negro undergraduates according to AFSC people. It is particularly significant that there should be such an increase in this category. There will be additional Negroes at the Woman's College in Greensboro. Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary at Wake Forest will enroll its first Negro and be the final Southern Baptist seminary to achieve nominally desegregated status.

Further evidence of the influence of resistance elsewhere on North Carolina was the incidence of new acts of hostility toward Greensboro Negro children in desegregated situations, when trouble spots elsewhere were in the news. This was experienced by the children in Gillespie Park junior high. This fact emphasises the need for sympathetic and fair reporting by radio-TV and press. It also raises the question of what counter measures can be taken in areas subject to such influence when incidents are occuring elsewhere. School officials should be alerted to this problem. Local press and radio-TV news executives, where they can be talked to, should be advised of the sensitivity of their communities to the way reports from elsewhere are treated.

I learned of one development in Greensboro which Tartt Bell suggests may be looked for in other areas. A Negro bell hop at the King Cotton Hotel has announced the formation of a "Mutual Association for the Advancement of Negroes", which purports to speak for the "real" Negro leadership. The voice is pro-segregation. It received appreciable publicty and news attention in Greensboro. Many people whose names were released as being supporters of the organization denied any such connection and charged unauthorized use of their names. This organizationprobably has little or no numerical support; nevertheless, the bulk of status and economic leadership in the Negro community of Greensboro is not actively behind moves toward desegregation and NAACP organizational efforts. This is discouraging, but it is a fact of life with which, perhaps AFSC, but more appropriately NAACP, might come to grips.

In the face of the pessimism shown by the people I met I concluded with them that the longer range and broader picture is probably not as regressive as they have been assuming. Moves toward desegregation in other areas than public schools must be considered as part of the picture. Success in other areas might be quickened by token accomplishment—or perhaps even failures—in public school desegregation. North Carolina is still ahead of all other genuinely southern states because, token though action there may be, there is a specific acceptance of the fact that the Brown decision is law and must be reckoned with. This is a necessary first step to "good faith Complaince", though obviously some distance from it. I am convinced that learning and change are taking place to a larger degree than a short range look at events would reveal.

We discussed at length the next steps for human relations agencies in North Carolina. The AFSC merit employment program will stress heavily its trips to Negro high schools with "panels of pioneers", to get across the larger message of integration through the specific aspect of jobs. This is acceptable to the schools; if handled well it can ultimately influence Negro high school youth to seek school integration as well. The AFSC school

desegregation program will likely continue to cooperate with NAACP and local Negro organizations and leadership to strengthen and widen Negro support for school desegregation moves. The Pearsall plan makes this necessary. Because of its small staff AFSC will limit its actions in this area principally to the near-by areas of Greensboro, Winston-Salem and High Point. Some attention will be given to strategic mountain communities comparable to Warren County, Virginia, where a few high school children are sent out of the country to school. Such areas appear logically to be ripe for desegregation, but the Negro communities are small, and frequently scattered, in mountain areas.

I urged them again to give special attention to Chapel Hill as the one area in the state where ultimately some school board initiative toward desegregation may be possible. Chapel Hill is faced with a special problem of major expansion which can be accomplished only with great awkwardness if complete segregation is retained. This is a more significant, and feasible, objective in Chapel Hill than helping to strengthen the Negro community to produce pioneers to apply under the Pearsall plan. AFSC staff can give significant assistance to the State Council affiliate in Chapel Hill in defining and working toward this objective. AFSC is closer to it than is Harry Jones.

I urge continuation of the interagency conferring and cooperation that has worked so well in North Carolina, as well as the occasional off-the-record conferences with silent but sympathetic status leaders.

Confidentially, I believe the AFSC merit employment program in North Carolina is in somewhat better hands than it has been in the past. Charles Davis of the school program has developed greatly in skill and articulateness. SRC should keep close watch on him. He would be a good person for SRC or other organizational efforts in the event AFSC school program funds are terminated, as they could be in a year or two. Davis' skills are too valuable to be lost to this type of work. The new man working with him (my belated replacement) is William Bagwell, formerly of Furman University. He had just reported to the job and I am unable to give an estimation of him.

John W. Alexander
Sept. 11, 1958

IV

FINAL REPORT ON SURVEY OF ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA BY

Southern Regional Council Consultant - July and August, 1958

The present report is a summary and concluding analysis, with a more detailed statement of significant activities and interviews since the previous report of August 7, 1958. This latter report, along with the two previous reports sent in July, with the present summary will cover all the investigation by this consultant in Arlington.

The School System

Attached to the original of this report sent to Atlanta is a table giving distribution of Arlington pupils, by schools and grades. This table does not give a racial breakdown but of the total of 22,812 pupils in attendance in March, 1958, about 1,450 were Negro. Of these Negro pupils, who comprise 6% of the total school population, from 135 to 190 are said to be living in locations that make them potentially subject to desegregation.

The lower figure was given me by Superintendent of Schools Ray Reid and the larger one appeared in an article prepared by William Korey of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith for an early September issue of Commentary. This means that little more than 10% of all Negro children are potential subjects for desegregation under present residential patterns and school locations.

Superintendent Reid was asked if the present operation of a segregated system makes any of his schools inefficient because of size or location. He stated that even if there were complete desegregation the school locations and distribution of students would not be changed or affected appreciably. No present units, he claims, are inefficient or poorly located. In spite of the small number of Negro children, the smallest school in the system, he states, is a white school. It should be noted that the one Negro high school, Hoffman-Boston, had 179 pupils as against 1,549 and 2,525 for the two white high schools. It simply does not have the facilities or richness of educational resources of the two white schools. An ultimate plan of local citizens should obviously be to transfer all high school students to the two

larger schools and to eliminate Hoffman-Boston. Such a proposal should be part of a total study of the school system under assumptions of no segregation which likely would be undertaken only by a private citizens group, and not by school officials after the first court-ordered desegregation. Perhaps it could be done by the earlier effective organization that helped Arlington realize an elected school board, the Citizens Committe for School Improvement. Although the elected board was taken away by the State, the organization is still said to have some strength.

The personnel of the school board has already been given in a previous report. Since that time I have had a long chat with L. Lee Bean, a "middle of the road" member of the school board. I was told by several people before meeting him that his position was not known although they expected him to lean toward the position of the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools, but that he was cautiously conservative. He is about 40 years old, and an attorney. His father was a school principal. He is a very personable individual with a real sense of obligation to public service.He was born in Florida and grew up in southern Virginia and told me that until he was at the University of Virginia he had no doubt but that segregation had scriputral validation. He states now that he considers it wrong and the main problem is how to bring about orderly changes to desegregation of public facilities and to equal citizenship. He is, however, a cautious gradualist in what he may personally support as school board policy.

Bean's view is that the School Board will continue to follow the State defined procedures and place the responsibility of assignment on the State until the Federal court specifically relieves the Board of any obligation to follow the state by intervening and declaring the state apparatus and legislation unconstitutional. This position is a bit shaky because attorneys for the Negro children cite rather clear statements in Judge Bryan's decisions on Arlington in which the local school board is specifically told that the court does not recognize the right of the board to yield its responsibility for assignment to the state.

The picture given me by Bean and Mrs. Katherine Stone, local member of the Virginia House of Delegates, is that the board is genuinely paralysed with fear of the two contending powers, the state of Virginia and the Federal government. They are not just delaying for the sake of delay but are genuinely afraid. The last act of retaliation by the State was to withdraw the right to an elected school board. The board is now appointed by the County Board, which has now reached a relatively liberal majority. It is now feared that the State will assign a State judge to appoint the school board as is done elsewhere in the State. In the cradle of the states rights issue it is ironic that the state government can and does exercise so much power over local unites of government. Mrs. Stone reported that the two liberal members of the school board, Joy and Stockard, have played up the possibility of citation of individual board members for contempt of Federal court and that the two conservative members, particularly Mrs. Lane, are afraid of ending up in jail on a Federal charge. Bean emphasised that Joy was particularly fearful of such an eventuality.

My considered estimation of the school board, based on information from numerous informants, is that only when the Federal court has specifically taken the state off of their necks will they carry out the responsibility to reassign the Negro applicants on an equitable basis. Mrs. Stone and Bean believe that such reassignment will ultimately be on a unanimous basis, with even segregationists Peck and Lane going along in fear of Federal authority. Bean told me quite off the record that he expected that when the strange drama has played itself out, by an as yet unclear script, perhaps a dozen to fifteen of the Negro children will be in presently white schools. He surmised, in a manner that led me to believe he was actually reporting private board conclusions, that they would ultimately get down to a geographical basis for assignment and draw school district lines that would approximate geographical convenience of residents to schools while minimizing possible integration. He said he expected the State pupil assignment board to turn down all applications for transfer and when the Federal Court finally directed the school board to act or be held in contempt they will accept some of the children.

An interesting sidelight on the school board is that when Bean was appointed to the board, he is the newest member, it was expected that he would be elected chairman. He reportedly declined to vote for himself on the grounds of modesty and on the grounds that Peck was more experienced on the Board than he. Joy and Stockard voted for Bean but Peck and Lane of course voted for Peck. This made many local liberals question his reliability. He is perhaps a bit naive about the local politics of segregation.

The superintendent of schools took office on July 1. He is Ray E. Reid, a reserved and dignified man of over 50; formerly an assistant state superintendent. He was active with the state department of education in formulating and promoting the Gray plan for local option which was rejected by the legislature and the state political leaders. Several people told me that this action spoiled the real chance that he had to become state superintendent. In his conversation with me he was polite but reserved. He states that he is surprised and puzzled over Almond's actions. He has known the man well for some years and believes he understands the realities of the situation much better than his words and actions indicate. Almond is personally a convinced segregationist but Reid believes the intensity of his position on the school problem results from claculated political considerations.

Reid is for local option on school desegregation. He believes that the community, students and teaching staff are so cosmopolitan that it could easily be accomplished and supported in Arlington. He is thoroughly southern in his view to the extent that he believes the amount of integration would be small not only because of residential patterns but because most Negroes do not really want it. He is from southern Virginia, with a highly traditional background and professional career. Lee Bean told me that Reid was hired with the understanding that he would be prepared to operate the system, with some degree of integration if necessary. Like Bean, he believes that in the political climate they operate in they cannot risk undertaking any of the preparatory actions for desegregation that have proved desirable in other communities, either with the children

or the teachers. Reid showed some familiarity with preparations elsewhere but said he thought that once the political and legal issues were resolved they would have no problems because of the nature of the community and the small amount of integration. He said he just had not thought about any kind of preparation because any hint of it would bring state retaliation. In this Bean concurred. Bean said he hoped that some of the supervisors or principals that will be involved would undertake some preparatory study and orientation to the problem, such as a visit to desegregated school systems to talk with personnel there, although unofficially and on their own. Reid said he had not thought about this yet and at first thought he doubted if it were really needed. He said he knows superintendent Fischer in Baltimore, and his assistant, on a first name basis. He also knows school people in Washington. In short, he views the problems as almost solely political. Once the legal and political maneuvers have been accomplished he believes that actual adjustment of the school system to the minimum desegregation he expects will be easy. If he then decided that any preparation is necessary he will undertake it.

It is my conclusion that no persuasion will move Reid to undertake any preparation of his staff or students for desegregation. It may well be that they will adjust to it with ease when it finally takes place. Arlington is probably more advanced and ready for desegregation than any community in which it has taken place since May, 1954.

Beyond the question of immediate desegregation I asked what he thought could be done in the longer run to realize a more fully integrated and unified school system in the face of some persistent de facto segregation because of residential patterns. He said that integrated teacher training sessions were the practice, and that in all respects the teachers were treated as belonging to one system. White supervisors work in the Negro schools but the few Negro supervisors work only in Negro schools. At the present time there is a two week training session in progress in which one of the supervisors giving instruction is a Negro.

The County PTA Council is integrated. Its leadership has given strong public support to the CPPS position. As stated in a previous report the Council urged local

school PTA units to support for office only candidates who declare themselves in favor of keeping open the public schools. I attempted to present to Reid the view that real integration of the system involves much more than simply admission of a dribble of Negroes to presently white schools by court order. He seemed to respond with understanding as he is a professional school man with obvious skill and experience. I was unable to tell from his cautious approach whether he has the heart to understand the true meaning of real integration, but I am also unable to say that he does not understand it. At this point I do not believe that this is of much consequence because as a tried professional school man he will do a highly competent job with whateverchildren the board or the courts assign to his schools.

Within the hierarchy of the school system the one serious problem is to be found in the person of the attorney for the school board, James Simmons. According to Bean he has leaned over backwards in fear of the state in spite of frequent warnings from board members that they wish above all to avoid being placed in contempt of Federal court. Bean thought that the board could have, and perhaps should have, moved against the state wishes prior to this. It is apparently Simmons' counsel that has led the board to take its present course in relation to the state procedures.

It has not been possible for me to see Richard L. Franz, president of the Arlington County PTA Council. The stated position of his organization has already been given. Mr. Franz is employed by the Department of Commerce in Washington. Bill Korey of ADL and Harry Mericam, and interested attorney from Washington, had lunch with Franz this week but I was unable to make it because of a conflict. Korey and Mericam are convinced that the council will be a strong force for supporting desegregation when it is realized and beforehand be a strong public supporter of "keeping the schools open."

Status of legal maneuvers and requests for desegregation

Five of the original plaintiffs in the action brought against the school board by Negro children of Arlington to attend presently white schools are still applicants for such transfer. One of the original 7 has graduated from high school and another is attending private school in Washington. By August 1 of this year, which was the deadline,

27 additional children had presented formal applications or letters requesting reassignment from Negro to white schools. Applications were presented on behalf of two white children for Negro schools with the hope that they might be assigned to them and get the governor to then close them, too.

The Arlington school board, in recognition of the state legislation, passed these applications on to the State Pupil Assignment Board in Richmond with the request that they be acted on by August 15. The State Pupil Assignment Board asked the parents to present themselves, unaccompanied except by the children at specified hours at an Arlington office building address on August 12 and 13, for interview by the Pupil Assignment Board. On advice of legal counsel all parents declined the request on the grounds that Judge Bryan had already directed the local school board to make the decisions itself and not pass its responsibility to the State.

The local school board then announced that new appointments to appear would be given and local representatives would appear with the state representatives. It is expected that attorneys for the Negro applicants will advise them not to accept this second invitation. Counsel for the applicants has sought private consultation with the school board attorney in an effort to negotiate a reasonable basis for interviewing or otherwise determining the conditions for acting on the transfer requests. Even the attorneys will not conjecture at this time how the legal maneuvering will work out.

Another bit of legal and political maneuvering is going on in another direction. The legal committee of the CPPS has met to discuss a plea for an injunction against the governor, restraining him from closing the schools. The first draft of the proposed injunction, which was prepared by Harry Mericam, who has volunteered his services, is being sent with this report. I was invited to attend a conference on this first draft in the ADL offices. The following attorneys from Arlington were present: Warren Cox, Larry Latto and Jacob Wasserman. Also present, in addition to Mericam were myself and Bill Korey of ADL, and the following attorneys: Herman Edelsber of ADL, Joseph Rauh of ADA and Phineas Indritz of American Veterans Committee. The final draft will of course be changed considerably, but this gives a suggestion of the legal approach.

Judge Bryan is out of the country until September 2 so it may proved necessary to request another judge as the legal tactic is to enjoin the governor before school opens, but close to the date of September 4, so that it may be considered an immediate issue and not put off. They hope thereby to prevent school closing and to clear the way for the local board to assign the Negro applicants.

Attorney Edmund D. Campbell, who is expected back from Europe after August 24, is to be the attorney of record for the injunction request. The plaintif has not been decided yet. There are several possibilities. Campbell is an attorney of prestige and standing in the community.

One point of lengthy discussion in the legal conference was whether to take legal action to enjoin the local school board as well as the governor. The conclusion was that the board should be included as defendants, to be personally and collectively served. This will be done so as to put direvt pressure on the board, which the CPPS has so far refrained from doing, and so as to get the legal point established that they have the responsibility for running the schools and cannot yield to state pressure. This is so far highly confidential as those present surmised that the board would be surprised at such action. This, I believe, was one of the most constructive changes made in the draft. Even though it is such an early draft the copy is being attached as it may be of some interest. Harry Mericam is now working on the next draft. Note: as Harry Mericam has been prominently associated with many NAACP cases it should be considered confidential information that he is involved in this way with the CPPS legal maneuvers in Arlington.

The Governor has in the meantime been continuing to talk the line of massive resistance. He states that he will surely close the schools if they are integrated and that he will consider them integrated when a final court order has been given for a particular child to attend a specific school previously open only to children of the other race. Like all his other frequent statements this is a bit confusing because such an order has already been given by Judge Bryan in Arlington. He continues to emphasise that he will consider the Negro parents, the NAACP and the Federal courts as directly responsible for any school closings and suggests that the people of Virginia should hold

them so accountable. In one sense this might be considered an instigation to local people to take retaliatory action against such parents in their communities. The only caution the governor has shown appeared in the newspapers of August 15 when he expressed concern at the suggestion of Jack Rathbone, Arlington Defenders' president, that he could provide a "600 member rifle and pistol team" to help keep order when schools open.

Local Government and Politics

There are two local political associations in lieu of the traditional parties for local elections. The Arlingtonians for a Better County (ABC) represent the more liberal wing of those who tend to be Democrats while the Arlington Independent Movement (AIM) represents Republicans and conservative Democrats. At present the County Board is ABC, 3-2. School Board members tend not to assume outright identification with these groups. In ABC there are active Negro workers and leadership. Edward Strother, a Negro and a blacksmith, is on the ABC executive committee. He is also on the executive committee of the local NAACP branch, as well as two integrated liberal organizations of local interest.

The Board of County Sepervisors, locally and in this report referred to as the county board, was described in an earlier report. Its three ABC leaders are Kaul, Krupsaw and Brown. Krupsaw has been out of town during my visit, but I infer that he is even more outspokenly liberal than Kaul. He is a good friend of David Scull and also close to Bill Korey of ADL. He accompanied Korey on a visit to Chief of Police Fawver, and is apparently Korey's best point of contact for the good work he has been doing there.

The County Mangger and the Police are responsible to the county board and their relationship has been described in an earlier report. It was announced publicly by Kaul that Fairfax County and Alexandria police would be available for assistance if needed at school opening time. All reports I have been able to gather are that the local police force is professionally loyal and efficient. Negro lawyers tell me that the police are particularly fair in their treatment of suspects and prisoners, exhibiting none of the conventional southern police brutality. I have seen several references in the local paper in recent weeks about the fairness, politeness and

competence of the local police. It may be by design, to help build up their morale.

Ralph Kaul stated that in addition to covering the schools the police will see that no harm comes to the families of the children involved and also that the Jewish Community Center is protected from threatened bombing. I passed to Kaul the information about possible consultation in St. Louis and Louisville as given me by John Hope. Kaul seemed to resist having me take it up directly with the local police and also did not want SRC to serve in any way as an intermediary. He said he would pass the information on to the County Mangger and the chief, and they would, if they desired , get in touch directly with the out of town police. The implication was that it would have more weight coming from Kaul. Bill Korey will try to get the draft of the Hanson police manual from the New York ADL office and ask for permission to release it confidentially to Chief Fawver. He agrees that this would be a useful move and would also give him a chance to see Fawver again.

Several sources informed me that Chief Fawver and the Commonwealth Attorney were scheduled to attend some FBI classes the week school opens. That Fawver might be away was finally reported in the press. I called Kaul about this and he agreed that under the circumstances the chief should be on the scene. He said as the Commonwealth Attorney is an elected official his board has no power over him. I consulted Clayton Fritchey, publisher of the Northern Virginia Sun, on this question. I suggested that if these men were to be away at such a time it would be dereliction of duty. He agreed and said he would put a reporter to work investigatimg the situation. Bill Korey will bring it up with Krupsaw when the latter returns to town next week. Mrs. Stone originally gave this story to me. I believe enough people are working on it now that both men will likely be available for any emergency.

In the House of Delegates Arlington is represented by Mrs. Katherine Stone, a very capable woman of considerable courage. She is quite liberal. It is evidence of the cosmopolitan nature of the community that she comes from Iowa by way of New Orleans (where she taught the brother and sister of Phil Stern, by way of incidental information of minor relevance). I met with her and Bill Korey and Herman Edelsberg of ADL to

consider the advisability and content of a possible public statement by her to the Governor. She proposed that it be released in her name and that of another woman member of the House of Delegates, a Republican of similar persuasion on this issue, from Southwest Virginia. The statement would specifically challenge the governor to answer why he would not allow residents of Arlington to run their schools how they chose and to challenge him on the confusion and urging to possible violence indicated by his recent public statements. The latter refers to his statements that Negro parents should be held accountable if schools are closed. Following our discussion Herman Edelsberg agreed to draft a proposed statement for her consideration. He consulted Bob Baker of the Washington Post who agreed that release of such a statement might be constructive. It will hopefully be released just before the governor's next press conference so that reporters can bring his attention to it and ask for his response.

The local representative in the U. S. Congress is a resident of Arlington, a Republican by the name of Broyhill. Local informants tell me that he has stayed as far away from the issue as possible except for his public claim that Eisenhower and Almond should confer on the problem. Although Broyhill claimed he had proposed the idea of a meeting to Eisenhower, the President and his staff denied having received such a request when the President was asked about it in a press conference. Broyhill is up for re-election this fall and has steered clear of any committment on the local issue.

Churches, Religious Organizations and Leadership

Numerous attempts were made to interview the leading ministers but they were virtually all on vacation. The new chairman of the Ministerial Association is Paul J. Harrell of Memorial Baptist Church. He was out of town. The only officer of the association that I could locate was Charles E. Book, minister for religious education at the Trinity Presbyterian Church, who is secretary. I had a long conversation with him on the phone but was unable to find him when I went by his church. He suggested some leading ministers to see but they were all out of town.

I get a poor impression of the strength of the Ministerial Association. With nearly 80 churches listed in the Church Directory of Arlington (copy enclosed with

original of this report sent to Atlanta) only an average of 25 ministers show up at the monthly meetings of the Ministerial Association. Particularly disappointing is that frequently not more than one of the Negro ministers, and rearly more than two, attend the monthly meetings. There are ten Negro churches listed in the directory.

The Ministerial Association has supported the movement to keep the schools open and Mr. Harrell is reported to be active in CPPS and was in the delegation from that organization that called on the Governor. Bill Korey of ADL and several Negro leaders reported to me that the Ministerial Association had agreed to ask a minister to accompany each Negro child to school on the first day of attendance at previously all white schools. Mr. Book, secretary of the association, said he did not think they would do this, as the majority opinion among the ministers was that they could work more effectively by taking leadership roles with their own congregations. I am not convinced that accompanying the children is necessary or even advisable. It would serve to make it seem more of a crisis situation just as readily as being a pacifying influnece. It made more sense in helping the children in Clinton to face the known mob. My advice here would be to hold such a proposal in reserve, only to be followed in the event of crisis. I discussed this with Rev. Book.

The most outspoken minister on the school issue is Ross A. Weston of the Unitarian Church. He is in Maine for the month of August. His church membership is integrated and other Negroes who are not members of the church attend an adult group at the church. His church has also been a center of leadership for the Community Council for Social Progress. The general view I encountered is that Weston has been so outspoken and his church policy has been so liberal on racial matters that his leadership in the school problem would be somewhat discounted. On several occasions integrated groups of young people have been brought togehter at his church. I was told by Dr. J. B. Johnson, chairman of the Department of Medicine at Howard, and a member of Weston's church, that a workshop was planned for Negro youth going to white schools, and some white children, during the week before school opens. I was unable to confirm the validity of this claim.

A somewhat more religiously conservative center of leadership on this issue has been the Rock Springs Congregational Church, Sidney Lovett, minister. This church held, early in the summer, a get acquainted social for the Negro children who are applying for school reassignment. The parents were also included.

Charles Book told me that he is helping to organize a human relations workshop to be sponsored by NCCJ the week of August 25 for a select group of no more than three high school age youth group leaders from each of the churches in the county. It is to be held at the Westover Baptist Church, Barker Hardison, minister. It will be integrated and will deal specifically with the school problem. It is being organized for NCCJ by Russell Bradley from the Washington office of that organization. Book told me that the regional representative for NCCJ is a resident of Arlington and is supporting this workshop. Unfortunately I cannot find his name in my notes. I suspect that this is the workshop the Johnson spoke of. Book states that the Local Council of Churches is supporting the workshop with the view that a major contribution can be made by the churches if a selected group of their youth leaders attending the schools are trained to lead the way to constructive desegregation. This seems to make sense.

In addition to the above named ministers who were unavailable I was also given the name of William H. Foster, minister of Book's church, Trinity Presbyterian. Clayton Fritchey said he judged him to be one of the most respected and effective ministers in the county. He was also on vacation.

Two Negro ministers I met were Henry Sink of the Lomax A.M.E. Zion Church and N. R. Richardson of the Mt. Salvation Baptist church. Both of these men have worked actively with the school integration committees of their respective communities, South and North Arlington. I discussed with Richardson the possible roles of the ministers during desegregation and urged him to renew contact with leading white ministers and lay church leaders on their return from vacation. He has been the most active Negro minister in the Ministerial Association so is the proper one for such negotiations.

It is unfortunate that so many of the ministers are to be away until the eve of the opening of school. I doubt that they will be coordinated enough to be very effective so closely following their summer absences. I urged Richardson to get in touch with

Edmund Campbell on his return from Europe about August 25. Campbell was described to me as being, with his wife, one of the most active lay leaders of inter-church activities. She is chairman of the Committee on Christian Social Relations of the Council of United Church Women.

Suggestions for action to be recommended by SRC: John Marion and Neil Tarpley should be urged to make brief visits to Arlington at the end of August to check on the roles being played by their respecitve constituencies. Mrs. Ennis should be encouraged to come to Arlington after the return of Mrs. Campbell (2912 Glebe Rd.; Kenmore 6-8651) on or about August 25, to see her as the best point of contact for checking on the readiness of the church women for their roles in the change. If any of the above or Paul Rilling could be in Arlington after September 1 they should check with Mrs. Josephine Kyles at the Washington Federation of Churches (1751 N. Street, N. W.; Decatur 2-3132). She told me that there is someone in their office who could help in bringing the churches in Arlington together for more effective service on the school problem. Arlington churches hold a closer affiliation to this Council than to the Virginia State Council of Churches. Mrs. Kyles is educational director for the Washington Federation of Churches and was of great assistance to the parent-children workshop held at the Mt. Salvation Baptist Church.

Community Organizations and Resources

It might be more meaningful to speak of Arlington resources in terms of leading and active individuals than in terms of organizations because there is a great deal of duplication of leaders in the various activities, religious and otherwise. The CPPS leaders, for example, are active people selected from a variety of interests and activities in Arlington. Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Campbell have been mentioned several times in my reports as active in a variety of ways, in fact they are the one couple that I found most frequently mentioned as key people for liberal leadership on this issue. Unfortunately I was able to see Mrs. Campbell only briefly on my very first visit to the community as she was leaving the next day for Europe. Rather than make an inventory of leaders, however, I will for simplicity list the effective organizations of a voluntary nature outside the religious sphere.

1. The Committee to Preserve the Public Schools has already been described in detail. Without this group and its method of approach I am sure the whole movement toward integration and keeping the schools open would not have been at all effective. This pattern will be a guide to other Virginia communities I believe. Mr. Warren Cox of CPPS told me that he had been called on by a Professor Stein of the Norfolk branch of William and Mary, who is interested in forming a similar organization down there. If our Norfolk contacts are not in touch with him they should be.

2. Although the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is principally represented in Arlington by Bill Korey of Washington it has been of inestimable service. As mentioned in previous reports it has served to coordinate the various liberal forces and agencies working in the community. It has been the sole point of effective contact between the CPPS and more overtly pro-integration forces in the community. Any contact with the community should be coordinated with ADL. ADL Washington address is 1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.; Executive 3-5284.

3. The Community Council for Social Progress grew out of activity at the Unitarian church. It may not include any membership that is not active in a variety of other organizations and churches already mentioned. They have not been directly effective as an organization in the school issue lately. I presume they include the people who would be most interested in the State Council on Human Relations, and may from time to time have been affiliated or in communication with it. My closest contact was with its vice-president, Dr. J. B. Johnson of Howard; home address, 2317 Second Street, South, Arlington - Jackson 2-4113. Paul Rilling should get to know this organization.

4. Citizens Committee for School Improvement was formed several years ago with general school improvement in view. Its most significant achievment was leadership in the establishment of an elected school board. E. D. Strother of South Arlington, 2819 18th St., Jackson 2-7093, was a leader of this organization in the Negro community. He believes that a Mrs. Jane or June Layman is now president. As suggested above I believe it should be urged on this group to undertake a post-desegregation study of the school system to find how a more efficient system can be realized from genuine and full

integration. I think elimination of the small Negro high school would be a worthy objective, for example. The planting of the idea of such a future project for this organization might be done by Paul Rilling. I ventured it with Strother but could not get his attention beyond more pressing immediate problems.

5. NAACP is relatively well supported and will be covered below.

6. The Northern Virginia Sun is a strongly liberal paper which is widely appreciated and respected in the community. Local news has never been so well covered before. Clayton Fritchey is publisher and Philip Stern is editor. They were my major and continuing source of contact in the community. Unfortunately Stern was on vacation during my last week in Arlington. He will be in close touch with the school board and the county board. Representatives of these boards were asked to communicate with Stern in the event they later decide any SRC consultant services would be of use. This was done so they would view it as coming through a local source. Stern was asked to communicate, if need be, with Harold Fleming directly, as they are already acquainted. Stern should be kept informed of any future SRC contacts in the community and Paul Rilling would do well to make his acquaintance. The office is on Wilson Boulevard near 10th Street, Ja. 4-3000.

The Negro Community

Except for ministers, lawyers and doctors most Negro leaders are employed by the government in Washington, for obvious reasons. NAACP is relatively strong, although for strategic reasons it has not taken an overt lead as an organization in the school problem locally. The leaders in the school issue are also, however, leaders in NAACP. The Legal Defense Fund has supported the legal action to end segregation in Arlington and the state NAACP lawyers have helped with the case. I did not get to meet the present President of NAACP, Carl Ferguson, who works in Washington, although I met a number of people on the executive committee.

The organization to help the community work at the school desegregation problem has been divided into a North Arlington and a South Arlington School Committee. Rev. Henry Sink and Attorney Robert Alexander are co-chairmen of the South Arlington group.

Carl Deskin, a local fireman, is co-chairman of the North Arlington group. The latter individual was assured by the County Board that his job would in no way be in jeopardy because his child is an applicant for school reassignment.

As previously reported, I assisted these two groups in getting in touch with people they invited to help with a workshop to prepare the parents and children for school integration. Irene Osborne agreed to work with June Shagaloff in helping them to organize effectively to lend moral support and coordinated backing for the children and parents when school opens. They will have their workshop over two week-ends, August 15-16 and 23-24. Mrs. Kyles and two teachers from Washington will complete their well manned staff of consultants.

In addition to very able Negro leadership there are two white women who carry a strong burden of NAACP responsibility, Mrs. Barbara Marx, who many told me is their most tireless worker, was away on vacation. She is highly respected and admired and reported to be an excellent strategist.

Dr. J. B. Johnson, mentioned several times above, brought together a group of community leaders for me to meet in his home. There were about eight or ten people present. Harry Walker accompanied me and we learned a great deal and I got some good leads from them. Much of what we learned there has been included throughout the report. They stated that they had no fears for the realization of desegregation in Arlington. If any trouble comes it will be from the outside. They thought most of the local Defender leadership would be well taken care of by the police. They said no economic pressures have been experienced or expected.

E. D. Strother was one of the most interesting Negro leaders they referred me to. He is mentioned above. He is a self-employed blacksmith. On first appearanee one might mistakenly take him for the traditional "white man's Negro leader", but he is a man of great insight and clarity of principle, though formally without much education. He was referred to by both whites and Negroes as one of the most respected Negro leaders in the county. He is active in NAACP, integrated liberal organizations and in the dominant political group (ABC). He is a member of a Negro church but attends an adult

group at the Unitarian church.

One of the most promising of the younger men I met is Robert Alexander, an attorney, Jackson 5-7367. He is a relative newcomer in the community but is very capable and energetically concerned with making a contribution. He has the advantage of practicing law privately right in Arlington, hence being on the scene at all times and getting to know people widely in the community.

Conclusions

Specific recommendations have been made above in the section on religious organizations and in mentioning the Citizens Committee for School Improvement. Suggestions for police consultation have been passed on through the chairman of the County Board. It was stated above that no overt preparation within the school system will be undertaken prior to desegregation.

Aside from specific suggestions and results from the visit of this consultant to Arlington I believe it was valuable to have one more concerned person speak with all key people he could find available at this time. Although for a relatively brief visit the contact was not wholly casual. I got to know quite a few people and engaged many of them in a frank exploration of the issues. It is hoped that this helped some of them to reassess and redefine their roles. The visit did serve in some instances to help bring some people of like mind together who were not previously in contact with each other. A few were brought to positions of concern, perhaps, more than they had been before.

The shorter range resolution of the Arlington problem, to the actual first steps of desegregation, I cannot predict. No one knows, even at this late date, what the outcome will be except the majority of informed opinion predicts some desegregation this fall. The outcome for the moment is in the legal and political area.

I still believe that some forceful statements from Washington are needed because the local Defenders are still acting with bravado, as if the law were on their side. I have made the suggestion that a new approach might be made through the new secretary

of health, education and welfare, Fleming. Perhaps Bishop Oxnam could approach him, as a former president of a Methodist college.

I believe the liberal forces in Arlington will be more confident, more outspoken, more identified to each other and more unified, as a result of the fight over keeping the schools open and seeking integration. It should be a fertile field for some cultivation by the new executive secretary of the State Council on Human Relations.

John W. Alexander
August 15, 1958

/ls

Columbia College
Columbia University
New York 27, N. Y.
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Return to

September 11, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed are a supplemental report on Arlington, a report on my conversations in North Carolina and a final expense account. The latter covers travel as we agreed in our conversation in New York, Greensboro to New York and some travel in Arlington. It includes a claim for ~~the~~ consultant fees for the agreed upon extra two days to cover the additional work in Arlington-Washington and the interviews in North Carolina. I received a check from Harold to cover the New York consultation. (The latter item was originally addressed to an incorrect address on Riverside--please note in your records that it should be 460)

MF

pls correct records

The only item I still owe you is a clean copy of the set of cards I worked with, covering names, addresses and notes of people I spoke with in Arlington. I have been in a whirlwind of activity since I returned and have had no opportunity to copy them over--I want the originals. You will get them shortly.

Best regards to you and Harold. It was wonderful working with you this summer.

John W. Alexander

ern Virginia Sun

Alexandria *Falls Church* *Fairfax County*

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Area Weather

Today, sunny and cold with high of 35 this afternoon; clear and colder tonight, low 15. Saturday, mostly sunny and continued cold.

Yesterday's high, 62 at 2 a.m.; today's low, 24 at 3:30 a.m.

Boards Pledge to Preserve Order in Integrated Stratford

SUN Photo by Edwin G. Huffman

PROMISE FOR STRATFORD—Nearly 500 persons jammed the Washington-Lee auditorium to hear the School and County Boards pledge to keep Stratford Junior High School open despite the threat of court-ordered integration. In the top panel, County Board Members (from left) Ralph Kaul, Chairman David L. Krupsaw and Herbert L. Brown Jr., listened as School Superintendent Ray E. Reid read the Boards' statement on how Stratford will be operated.

School Will Open if Stay Bid Denied

By HELEN DEWAR
SUN Education Editor

ARLINGTON — The County today is officially assured that whenever a court order directing the admission of four Negro students to Stratford Junior High takes effect, the school will remain open.

It received this assurance on an official basis last night at a joint meeting of the School and County Boards on the desegregation crisis.

Also made public at the meeting was a code of procedure designed to avoid disturbances and assure an orderly transition when desegregation takes effect.

* * *

BY A FOUR to one vote, with a fiery dissent from Board member James G. Stockard, the School Board approved its earlier statement requesting a postponement of the Feb. 2 court desegregation order, pending a possible appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. Should the stay be denied and their appeal fail, the Board said, the Negroes would enter and the school remain open.

In a four-point code of procedure, the School Board ruled unanimously that—

- Any student creating a disturbance would be automatically suspended.
- Newsmen and photographers will be barred from school buildings and grounds.
- The Arlington County Police

Dabney Sees

SUN Photo by Edwin G. Huffman

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Dabney Sees Some Mixing Inevitable

RICHMOND (UPI)—The Richmond Times-Dispatch said in an editorial today Virginians "may as well realize" that a certain amount of school integration seems inevitable.

Editor Virginius Dabney urged the state legislature and people of the state "to begin thinking positively and constructively about the future" and proposed a plan to minimize integration but allow localities to integrate schools rather than close them if so desired.

* * *

THE NEWSPAPER, a firm backer of Virginia's "massive resistance" laws which were stricken down Monday, said indications were that a pupil assignment plan not including race as a factor would be held constitutional.

"The time has come to face up to the realities of this situation," Dabney wrote. "While it is abundantly clear that Virginians don't want mixed schools, it is also clear that they aren't going to be able to avoid them entirely."

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In a four-point code of procedure, the School Board ruled unanimously that—

- Any student creating a disturbance would be automatically suspended.
- Newsmen and photographers will be barred from school buildings and grounds.
- The Arlington County Police Department will control the movement of persons "within school areas" and will provide "coverage of school buildings and grounds."

The code also provided that the desegregation of Stratford High would not "atomatically" be a valid reason for the transfer of a student within Stratford Junior High or from that school to another school. It is the policy of the School Board that any such requests for transfer would have to be approved by the Board itself.

Usually transfer requests are handled by the School Administration, and are not referred to

(Text of School Board's Code of Procedure for Stratford Junior High will be found on P. 3.)

the School Board unless the Administration's decision is protested.

* * *

THE SPECIAL joint meeting of the School Board and County Board, which attracted a crowd of nearly 500 that filled the Washington-Lee High School auditorium, was the scene of two sharply-worded attacks — one from Mr. Stockard and the other from Board Member Helen S. Lane.

Mr. Stockard branded as "phony" the criterion upon which the School Board last summer rejected the four Negro applicants to Stratford.

Mrs. Lane said there are some things "far worse than closed schools."

"All over the world, free governments are falling under Communism," she said. "It is far more important to guard our consitutional rights."

* * *

MR. STOCKARD dissented from the School Board's decision to appeal Judge Albert V. Bryan's order admitting the four because, he said, their only "problem" was they were "members of another race."

He said he went along with the Board until last September when it drew up and presented in court the five-point pupil assignment plan upon which it denied admittance of 30 Negro applicants to white schools. "This is where I got off . . .," he said.

Mr. Stockard's blast brought a sharp rejoinder from School Board Chairman Robert A. Peck. "If some of us had 'gotten off' as you did . . .," he said, "school would have closed for thousands of Arlington students, and I don't regret the stand I took."

He said he was also dissenting from the Board's request for a

(See Stratford, Page 3)

How Stratford Will Be Run

This is the statement released last night by the Arlington School Board after a joint meeting with the County Board.

In the event of an effective order of the Federal Court directing the admission of Negro pupils into Stratford Junior High School, it is recommended that the following procedure be approved in order that the continued operation of Stratford Junior High School may be carried out with a minimum of disturbance.

A. Pupils:

1. The admission of Negro students to Stratford Junior High will not automatically constitute a valid reason for transfer of students to another junior high school or for transfer of students from one section to another within Stratford Junior High School.

2. Any students creating a disturbance will automatically be suspended and will be readmitted only after a conference between the student's parents and school officials.

B. News Personnel:

1. Reporters, photographers and other representatives of newspapers, magazines, radio and television will not be permitted to go into the school buildings or on school grounds.

C. Authorized Persons in Any School Area:

1. Only students, school personnel and parents with legitimate school business will be allowed in any school area.

2. The Arlington County Police Department will control the movement of persons within school areas.

D. Additional Police Protection:

1. The Arlington County Police Department will provide coverage of school buildings and grounds.

* * *

Stratford

(Continued from Page 1)

postponement of Stratford's Feb. 2 desegregation date because it "makes the Board look like a small band of guerilla warriors who, though stripped of all weapons except their peashooters, still fight on."

Until they were declared unconstitutional earlier this week by both State and Federal courts, the State's massive resistance laws would have closed any white school to which Negroes were admitted.

* * *

MRS. LANE told the Board, "I have no right to place even one student in Stratford or direct the Superintendent to do it," she said, for such action would be "illegal" under the State Pupil Placement Act.

She voted in support of the resolution to keep Stratford open, however, after assurances from Mr. Peck that it was the Federal courts, not the School Board, that was admitting the Negroes.

The joint public meeting followed a 90-minute closed door conference between the two boards in Supt. Ray E. Reid's office. While the two boards were conferring, about 500 members of the Stratford Parent-Teacher Association were meeting in the Stratford auditorium. By an overwhelming vote, the PTA adopted a resolution asking the School Board to "continue to operate Stratford without interruption" when the Negro children enter.

PTA President J. Bernard Bradshaw asked the group to do everything it could to prevent incidents from happening at Stratford. "We don't want another Little Rock," he said.

Referendum On Education Is Forecast

ARLINGTON — Public education, Attorney Edmund D. Campbell told a meeting of the 10th District Women's Democratic Club, "is in graver danger today than ever before."

"We in Northern Virginia are going to have to stand up and be counted . . . We're going to have to work the bushes to preserve public schools," he told the luncheon meeting in Hogate's Arlington House.

Mr. Campbell, attorney for the Norfolk parents who sued the Governor to reopen schools there, predicted that "within a few months" Virginians will be asked to vote on a referendum question that will decide the fate of public schools — whether to amend Section 123 of the Constitution. This section says that the General Assembly "shall" maintain a free public school system throughout the state. A simple amendment, changing the "shall" to "may" would make the section permissive rather than mandatory.

"IF PUBLIC education is abandoned, Virginia will become a second rate State," Mr. Campbell said. "There is no middle ground . . . In the tradition of Joe Freehill, we have passed beyond party here and are interested only in what's best for the 800,000 school children in Virginia."

Dr. J. L. Blair Buck of Richmond, executive secretary of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, traced the history of public education in Virginia.

Our Schools Today

Tuition Grants May Yet Be Legal

By DEAN BRUNDAGE

Governor Almond's address to the Commonwealth on Tuesday evening was clearly designed to offset the powerful impact of Monday's State Supreme Court decision. So totally devastating was the court's edict, so resounding the blow at "massive resistance" legislation, that public opinion throughout the Old Dominion was unquestionably swayed, for the moment at least, toward a realistic appraisal of the legal situation which now prevails. Although the public respect for our Federal courts has been critically impaired during the past four years, the esteem of Virginians for their state tribunals remains high.

Dean Brundage

For this very reason the move, early last Fall, to submit resistance laws to judicial review by the Supreme Court of Appeals was a risky gamble by the administration. The gamble has now been lost. What then, is next?

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OTHER THAN the use by the Governor of his inherent police powers to maintain segregation there are now two lines of resistance which ought to be recognized. The first of these will probably involve a mounting appeal during the next several weeks to the communities to resist to the utmost by doing at the local level that which the state government can no longer do. School closings and denial of local funds may thus continue in Norfolk and in Warren County. Charlottesville is cautiously weighing the issue of reopening her schools.

Arlington alone has declared an intention to comply with Federal decrees—if only as a last resort. And despite some evidence of growing antipathy toward desegregation, public opinion in the county seems clearly to endorse the School Board's position. In a cosmopolitan area such as Northern Virginia it is unlikely that the climate of opinion is likely to be appreciably altered even by references to the "livid stench" of the "mixed schools of the District of Columbia."

If the localities cannot or will not continue massive resistance then the Commonwealth will, I am sure, turn to a system of tuition grants. There is increasing speculation in Virginia's press concerning this development. The fact that the Supreme Court of Appeals declared against Virginia's initial tuition-grant law does not rule out another act which would draw the funds from a slightly different source.

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THE FLAW in the initial act, the Court maintained, lay in the fact that tuition grants were to be paid from monies illegally withheld from closed schools. Funds which are appropriated from general revenues, the Court indicated, could properly be spent for tuition grants.

In addition to the establishment of a tuition grant system it is apparent now that Governor Almond believes that some system of tax exemption for parents whose children are enrolled in private schools should be adopted. This may be what he meant when he said some of the tax revenues of the state will be restored "to the control of the people."

To make constitutional this transition from pubilc to private education, Section 129 of the State's basic charter will have to be altered or abolished, since it requires the Assembly to maintain a public education system. Then some day, perhaps not too far distant, the Old Dominion is going to be challenged by those who argue that a state cannot do by private means what it is forbidden to do by public means. But that issue will not be faced for some time.

Norfolk Parents to Seek Order Opening Schools

By CHARLES E. MAHON
United Press International

RICHMOND—The first court action seeking to open six of Virginia's integration-closed schools was expected today.

A three-judge Federal court meets in Richmond to make final its decision striking down a law permitting the governor to close integrated schools.

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ATTORNEYS Edmund D. Campbell of Arlington and Archie L. Boswell of Norfolk were expected to seek a Federal court order calling for the immediate re-opening of the six schools in Norfolk. The court Monday ruled the closing of the schools was an "evasive scheme" designed to thwart U. S. Supreme Court desegregation rulings.

Judges Simon E. Sobeloff, Clement F. Haynsworth and Walter E. Hoffman will meet today to receive proposed drafts of the decree making their decision final.

Campbell and Boswell represented 15 white parents in the Federal court suit against Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, State Atty. General Albertis S. Harrison and the Norfolk School Board over the closing of the Norfolk schools.

The Navy, meanwhile, disclosed its plans for providing schooling for children living on the Norfolk naval base. Plans for the schooling, affecting only those children living on the base, have government approval and will be "put into effect if the local schools are not re-opened within a reasonable time."

The Norfolk School Board approved a resolution yesterday to give credit for privately tutored students displaced from the closed schools. The resolution would permit the students to start the second semester of work if the closed schools are re-opened.

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ALMOND, meanwhile, said in Richmond it would be early next week before he could announce the composition of a special leg lative committee which will p pose a replacement for stricken "massive resistan laws. It would be "impossible overnight the urgency" of need for new anti-integra laws, he said.

Washington School Sup tendent Dr. Carl F. Hansen another verbal swipe at Almond yesterday because o Governor's firey blast at W ing schools Tuesday night.

School Board Lawyers Quit In Norfolk

RICHMOND (AP) — Norfolk's school board must hunt for new legal counsel at this critical juncture in the school segregation crisis, apparently because of a conflict of interest with city council.

Among decisions to be made is whether the board will try to reopen six white secondary schools closed last September to avoid integration, now that the law under which they and three other white schools in Virginia were shut has been ruled unconstitutional by both the State Supreme Court and a special three-judge Federal court.

W. R. C. Cocke and Leigh D. Williams, members of the same law firm who represented the school board since the desegregation suit opened in 1956, have quit the capacity. Cocke said yesterday the reason was "our prior obligation to the city."

* * *

COCKE and Williams were retained by City Atty. Leonard H. Davis, who under the city charter is charged with representing both council and the school board. The two bodies are at odds over council's announced intention to cut off all funds for grades above the sixth, effective Feb. 1—an apparent anti-integration measure.

ADL on Arlington

If it were possible to do so, the most effective course to follow would be for the parents of white children in the Arlington County public schools to intervene in the Thompson case, since this would seem to offer an opportunity to secure an injunction at the earliest possible date against a closing of the schools by the Governor. However, it has been the experience of plaintiffs' attorneys that Judge Bryan is willing to issue any necessary and reasonable order against an action taken by defendants in order to secure compliance with his decrees, but that he is not receptive to petitions for injunctions against anticipated actions. Since the latter is all that the white citizens could recommend in a brief amicus curiae, such a brief would probably be unproductive.

It is likely, therefore, that the earliest time at which white parents could enjoin the closing of the public schools would be when the schools have been closed, either by the assignment and enrollment of children of both races in a building by local school authorities -- under a court order or voluntarily -- or by an executive order issued by the Governor. [Ch. 68 of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, 1 Race Rels. L. Rep. 1104.]

It is probable that the earliest and most effective relief that is likely to be available to the parents of white children in Arlington County's public schools is a temporary restraining order -- followed by a temporary injunction and, if necessary, a permanent injunction -- against state authorities, prohibiting them from continuing to keep the schools closed. It might be possible to file the suit during the last week of August if conditions at that time appear to give reasonable assurance that a closing would be attempted on September 4. Charlottesville, Newport News and Norfolk are all scheduled to open on September 2. If they adhere to current plans, suit can probably be filed by Arlington citizens at least by that date without danger of being considered premature. In fact, even if a court should hold that the complaint was filed too soon, action on the same complaint could be renewed when the schools actually had been closed.

The primary basis of a suit for injunctive relief would seem to be that the closing of any school -- or all schools -- in Arlington County, while all segregated schools in the State remained open, would deprive Arlington pupils of the equal protection of the laws, and that the only valid recourse open to the State against a court order to desegregate Arlington County public schools would be the discontinuance of public education throughout the State.

Another ground upon which the closing of the public schools in Arlington County could be attacked is that a court may properly take judicial notice of the fact that such an action is one step in the continuing process of "massive resistance" to the principle that Negro children may not lawfully be denied admission to a public school by State authorities solely on the basis of race or color, and that that is the sole motive of State action in this instance. There are sufficiently numerous statements by various officials of the State of Virginia and the legislators who passed the laws giving effect to "massive resistance," as well as the provisions of the laws themselves, to support such a contention.

There is, for instance, Chapter 59 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, which provides that "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled." [1 Race Rels. L. Rep. 1096.] It is obvious on the face of this statute that its sole basis is one of

race and color, an unreasonable classification on which a regulation may not properly be founded, and one that is denied to State legislatures in Brown v. School Board.

Chapter 58, § 3 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, provides that " . . . such payments shall be made to parents, guardians or other persons having custody of children who have been assigned to or are in attendance at public schools wherein both white and colored children are enrolled." [1 Race Rels. L Rep. 1094, 1095.] Here, again, the only condition governing the granting of tuition costs for enrollment in a private nonsectarian school is one regarding race or color, i.e., whether white and colored children are enrolled in the public schools.

The provision in § 10 of the same law that: "For so long as children are assigned to or attend schools where both white and colored children are enrolled, the State Board of Education shall authorize and direct the Superintendent of Public Instruction to provide for payment of grants" [1 Race Rels. L. Rep. 1094, 1095] is subject to the same infirmity.

The policy statements of par. 1, §§ 1 and 2 of Chapter 68 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly likewise make clear the unlawful purpose of this legislation in that they state:

"1. § 1. The General Assembly declares that, as a consequence of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States affecting the public school system, school authorities of the various political subdivisions of the Commonwealth of Virginia will be faced with unprecedented obstacles if and when ordered to enroll white and colored children in the same public schools, and such enforced integration of the races by a county or city school board could destroy the efficiency of the school in which white and colored children were so enrolled, and would tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the community in which such school is located.

"§ 2. The General Assembly declares that the welfare of all the citizens of the Commonwealth, the preservation of her public school system and a continuance of universal public education, make it necessary that there be uniformity of action throughout the State in all instances where school authorities acting voluntarily, or under compulsion, enroll a child in a public school, which enrollment (sic) would require a child of the white race to attend a public school with a child of the colored race, or which enrollment would require a child of the colored race to attend a public school with a child of the white race." [1 Race Rels. L. Rep. 1104.]

Just as clear evidence of the intent and the objective of the Virginia legislature is found in Chapter 69 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, §§ 1 and 2, which state:

"§ 1. Whenever in any school division an efficient system of elementary or secondary public schools as herein defined is not operated under local authority, an emergency is declared to exist. In such case the police powers of the Commonwealth and the Constitutional powers of the General Assembly hereby are invoked. . .

"§ 2. As used in this act an efficient system of elementary public schools, hereinafter referred to as elementary schools, means and shall be only that system within each county, city or town in which no elementary school consists of a student body in which white and colored children are taught." [1 Race Rels. L. Rep. 1107.]

Finally, there is Chapter 71 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly which states: "The General Assembly declares, finds and establishes as a fact that the mixing of white and colored children in any elementary or secondary public school within any county, city or town of the Commonwealth constitutes a clear and present danger affecting and endangering the health and welfare of the children and citizens residing in such county, city or town, and that no efficient system of elementary and secondary public schools can be maintained in any county, city or town in which white and colored children are taught in any such school located therein. . . . .

"The General Assembly, for the purpose of protecting the health and welfare of the people and in order to preserve and maintain an efficient system of public elementary and secondary schools, hereby declares and establishes it to be the policy of the Commonwealth that no public elementary or secondary schools in which white and colored children are mixed and taught shall be entitled to or shall receive any funds from the State Treasury for their operation. . . . . ." [1 Race Rels. L. Rep. 1112.]

In addition to these statutory provisions indicating the policy and the program of the Government of Virginia, there is evidence furnished by officials. Typical of these is a letter written by Sen. Charles R. Fenwick to O. Glenn Stahl, Chairman of the Organizing Committee to Preserve Our Schools, dated May 14, 1958. The Senator concedes that under the Supreme Court rule in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954) a child may not be denied admission to a public school because of race or color. However, he conveniently ignores the statement that "All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination [racial segregation] must yield to this principle." Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U. S. 294 (1955). He advises Mr. Stahl that the greatest service the Committee to Preserve Our Schools could render the community would be to persuade plaintiffs in Thompson v. County School Board, 144 F. Supp. 239 (1956) not to present their children to a white public school on September 4, 1958 because schools will not be closed until they have been admitted. It may be that he assumes that no violation of the plaintiffs' rights occurs until the latter are actually excluded by reason of race or color, regardless of legislative policy refusing to give effect to the rights accorded them.

However, when one looks closely at the situation, certain elements become abundantly clear. What Senator Fenwick says, in effect, is, that Negro children are entitled to admission to public schools without regard to race or color, under the rule of Brown v. Board of Education. However, if a Negro child seeks admission to a school occupied by white children, then the State will give effect to laws contrary to the principle of Brown v. Board of Education, which the Supreme Court said must yield to the principle it had announced, close the school in which he is enrolled and withhold funds from the entire public school system to which the latter is entitled, thus violating the rights of both Negro and white children without due process of law, since laws invalid on their face are being enforced against them. As Judge Hoffman said in Adkins v. School Board of the City of Newport News and Beckett v. School Board of the City of Norfolk, 148 F. Supp. 430 (1957): " . . . . it is my firm conviction that Chapter 70, known as the Pupil Placement Plan is unconstitutional on its face. The legislature is directly in the teeth of the language in Brown v. Board of Education (1954 and 1955,) supra, where it is declared 'the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional,' and 'all provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle.'" On appeal, the

Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals held, per curiam, that: "As pointed out by the judge below, however, this statute furnishes no adequate remedy to plaintiffs because of the fixed and definite policy of the school authorities with respect to segregation and because of the provisions of chapter 68 of the Acts of the Extra Session, which o provide for the closing of schools and withdrawal therefrom of state funds upon any departure from this policy in any school." 246 F. (2d) 325 (1957), cert. den., 355 U. S. 855 (1957).

A third ground on which application may be made for injunctive relief against the closing of public schools is that irreparable damage will be sustained by both white and Negro children, indirectly as well as directly, as a result of the threat to close any public school, much less the actual closing of the building. At the present time, the schools of Arlington County are generally regarded as among the best in the United States. See Northern Virginia Sun, May 19, 1958. Closing these schools for any appreciable time will result, from the very nature of the educative process, in an educational loss to children for which they can never be compensated. If the schools close, there will not only be a cessation of learning, there is a probability that idle children could be exploited, as they were at Little Rock, as instruments to achieve the objectives of demagogues and dissidents in preventing compliance with the law of the land. The longer the schools are closed, the greater the danger of acts of juvenile delinquency in areas not in any way related to school desegregation.

Furthermore, the uncertainties of the situation, even though provision is made to pay unemployed teachers under contract, will probably lead a number of teachers and administrators to leave the Arlington schools for systems where there is no threat of the closing of schools. It must be borne in mind that Arlington schools are continually short of fully qualified teachers. Under normal circumstances, turnover in teaching personnel is high because about 25% of these teachers leave every year because of a need to change residence or for purposes of raising a family. To add to these two factors the loss of teachers who do not want their work complicated by resistance to desegration, threatens to leave Arlington schools so short of personnel that the current high standing of the system cannot be maintained. It is fruitless to expect that replacements for these losses can be secured as things now stand. The same factors that influence teachers to leave Arlington County schools will operate to keep competent teachers from venturing from other posts to face uncertainties here. And even if the replacement problem did not exist, the pattern of progress in the development of Arlington's public schools would sufficiently injure the pupils to warrant injunctive relief. It is generally recognized that public school systems do not stand still. They either improve or they deteriorate. In at least one field -- mathematics -- in which the Arlington schools have recently done outstanding work, further development has been threatened because a teacher needed in this area would not risk the unsettled conditions that can be expected next year to accept an appointment she would otherwise have been glad to take.

The factors mentioned above affect the situation in Arlington schools directly. Even more serious for the pupils are the indirect effects of the struggle over desegregation. The Arlington County school system has, this year, been threatened with some severe losses because personnel have feared that schools might be closed for an appreciable length of time during the 1958-59 school year. But much more serious has been the loss of administrators, supervisors and teachers because of the harassment they have suffered during the past two years or so.

At first it might appear to be stretching a point too far to attribute the harassment to the threatened closing of the schools. The connection does exist, however. School administrators and teachers are being subjected to all sorts of attacks on a number of fronts by extremists -- chiefly the Defenders. Before the Thompson case was filed, this was a group of reactionary extremists who had no influence in the community and no great respect from the community. Now, however, because of the uncompromising stand and the amount of sound and fury they have generated, they have acquired influence, if not esteem. They have been able to go to Richmond and secure a statute depriving the county of its right to elect its school board, because the Board of Education dare to plan what it would do if a court ordered it to desegregate -- and plan in a very gingerly manner to try for minimum compliance to escape a contempt citation. The Defenders managed to persuade authorities in Richmond to tell the Board to withdraw its plan to offer a sex education film. They succeeded in securing passage of a bill that would have allowed a majority of freeholders to offset the expressed wishes of a majority of the total electorate in a referendum, had it been able to survive judicial review. They successfully worked to deprive Arlington of a convenient location for the Northern Virginia branch of the University.

With the prestige of these accomplishments, they have operated more and more in matters directly concerning the public schools and have caused several people -- including Superintendent Rutter -- to leave, and have given others cause to think of looking elsewhere. It is doubtful whether any of these things could have been accomplished had it not been for the development of the desegregation issue, with its threat to close the schools. If that issue is removed from the arena of controversy, it is most unlikely that this hard core of reaction will have the strength necessary to interfere materially with educational progress on a high level.

On the other hand, should the State be successful in keeping the schools closed, this pressure group can be expected to expand its activities beyond the areas mentioned above to fields in which it has so far failed in its efforts, such as the abandonment of the core curriculum, censorship of library books, return to letter grades at the elementary level, attacks upon cumulative record files and demonstrations against speakers to whom they object -- such as the Overstreet's. Some estimate of the damage that could be done to the Arlington school system under such circumstances can be obtained by looking at current conditions in Pasadena, where a similar group ofpeople, with the same objectives, dealt the public schools a blow from which they have not yet recovered entirely.

Another factor that must not escape attention is that the Arlington County School Board will be called upon to face a situation for which it cannot prepare itself, and in which it cannot keep possible damage to itself and its pupils to a minimum. Despite the fact that Judge Hoffman has held the Pupil Placement Act to be unconstitutional on its face, and other statutes could be attacked for the same reason, -- and probably with similar success -- the School Board will still be forced to act in accordance with their provisions until the acts are actually stricken down and attempts to comply with them are made punishable for contempt. Therefore, instead of being able to draw up plans for reorganization of its machinery for assignment; to attempt to condition its pupils and teachers for desegregation; to prepare the community and minimize the danger of use of coercion or violence against Negro children; and to combat any hostility that might arise, the Board must sit idly by, because any action on its part may be punished by the authorities at Richmond. It is unlikely that they will risk the consequences of failure to comply with existing statutes -- however invalid they may be -- until enforcement is enjoined.

It has been suggested that the Arlington County School Board might be able to appear before Judge Bryan when the order of the court is being considered -- now that certiorari has been denied by the Supreme Court -- and request that the statute providing for the closing of a school on the assignment and enrollment of a child who would mix the races of the pupils be declared invalid, and that the State authorities be enjoined from giving it effect. As desirable as this might be, it is quite probable that the considerations mentioned in the last previous paragraph might be just as applicable in this connection.

In addition to a suit for an injunction against the closing of the schools, another legal remedy exists which might be used by the citizens of Arlington. They could institute a taxpayers' suit to enjoin the application of Chapter 71 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia General Assembly, which provides that:

"The General Assembly . . . hereby declares and establishes it to be the policy of the Commonwealth that no public elementary or secondary schools in which white and colored children are mixed and taught shall be entitled to or receive any funds from the State Treasury for their operation . . ."

The grounds upon which this action could be based are: 1. That the Act is invalid because it withdraws funds from the Arlington County School Board for compliance with the rule of the Supreme Court in the Brown case; and 2. That the Act violates the 14th Amendment both with respect to the equal protection clause and the due process clause. It might well be argued that school boards choosing to violate the law of the land are entitled to funds allocated by the State, while those that comply with the principles announced by the Supreme Court are denied such funds. Judge Hoffman's remarks concerning the Pupil Placement Law, Chapter 70, in the Adkins and Beckett cases (quoted on p. 3 above) are equally applicable to Chapter 71.

There is one other legal remedy available to the citizens of Arlington County that can be used after the schools have been closed. The "Tenth District Fundamental Education Organization of the Commonwealth of Virginia" has been formed for the purpose of operating a standby system of private schools if Arlington schools are closed. See Washington Post and Times-Herald, April 22, 1958. Governor Almond is of the opinion that: "The local authorities have a right to dispose of public buildings and facilities when they are no longer needed for the purposes for which they were erected." See Washington Post and Times-Herald. It is possible that the Governor is under a misapprehension if he thinks that disposition may be made without a restriction against its use in a discriminatory manner.

In Tate v. Department of Conservation and Development, U. S. Dist. Ct., E. D., Va. .., 133 F. Supp. 53 (1955), Judge Hoffman he held: "In short, the power to sell or lease [recreational facilities in a State park] must not include the power to discriminate against any members of any race."

On appeal in this case, Department of Conservation and Development v. Tate, U. S. Court of Appeals, 4th Circuit, 1 Race Rels. Rep. 530 (1956), cert. den., 352 U. S. 838 (1956), the Court declared, per curiam: "We think that the decree appealed from is correct for reasons adequately stated in the opinion of the District Judge, and that little need be added thereto. . . . It is perfectly clear under recent decisions that citizens have the right to the use of the public parks of the state without discrimination on account of race . . . .And we think it equally clear that this right may not be abridged by the leasing of the parks with ownership retained in the state."

There appears to be no reason why these statements are not just as applicable to school buildings as to recreational facilities. There would seem to be adequate grounds in the quoted statements to support a taxpayers' suit to enjoin any attempted sale or leasing of school buildings to the Tenth District Organization. It might well be argued, in addition, that this is a dissipation of the resources of the State, since it is most unlikely that any private school organization can afford to purchase or lease the buildings of a school system at their fair market value. There is, further, a possibility that the State may be confiscating Arlington County property without due process of law by refusing to permit its officers to operate schools the county owns.

There seems to be some question about exactly what the State will do when it is faced with an order requiring it to admit, in September 1958, Negro children to schools now restricted to the use of white pupils in Arlington. But the general indications are plain enough. Governor Almond stated that Washington-Lee High School, Swanson and Stratford Junior High Schools and Fillmore Elementary School might be closed and funds cut off "if the Negroes insist on attending them." See Washington Post and Times-Herald, May 20, 1958. He had previously declared that, in his opinion, this could not be done until a Negro student had entered a white classroom. See Washington Post and Times-Herald, May 9, 1958. In this event, no closing is likely to take place before September 4, 1958, since Attorney Oliver W. Hill, for the plaintiffs, has indicated that he would seek a court order fixing that date for compliance with the Thompson decision. See Washington Post and Times-Herald, May 20, 1958. Governor Almond stated, in addition, that "he saw no reason to rush into a special session of the General Assembly." Ibid.

Nevertheless, one of the few means of avoiding a head-on collision of the State and Federal authorities appears to be the repeal of much of the legislation passed in the 1956 Extra Session and in February 1958. The ideal procedure would embrace an early call of a special session of the General Assembly, at which a statute would be passed authorizing local option regarding desegregation of the schools, and any legislation inconsistent therewith repealed. There is a fairly general apprehension, however, that if a special session should be called, the only result will be another series of acts intended to implement "massive resistance" and to provide the occasion for additional delays while court tests are undertaken to determine the validity of the statutes. These fears are not groundless. Unless it is intended to pass a bona fide local option law, an extra session of the legislature might be disastrous.

One other approach offers a possibility of successfully avoiding a clash between State and Federal powers. It is perfectly clear that the United States cannot afford the damage done to its international prestige that will result either from a repetition of the Little Rock incident or from a knuckling under by the Federal Government to the intransigence of the Virginia Government. Therefore, every effort must be made to stress the fact that the fundamental issue here is one of law and order. The general Constitutional principle has been established by the Supreme Court, in the Brown case, that a pupil may not be excluded by a State from a public school because of considerations of race or color. It has now been determined that this principle applies, in the Thompson case, to the State of Virginia. In order to make this fact abundantly clear to all concerned, the President should announce unequivocally that he intends to use every means at his disposal to secure compliance with the order of the Federal District Court. At the same time, he should instruct

the Attorney General to take such action as he deems necessary to enforce the order of the Court, including intervention as amicus curiae in legal proceedings brought by other parties, the filing of such law suits against State authorities as would effectuate the purpose of maintaining law and order. A statement by the Attorney General outlining his probable course of action in carrying out the instruction of the President should then follow immediately -- or appear simultaneously.

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210 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
New York, 27, N. Y.

file: Consultant Service Prog — Arlington — Va.

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I passed a relatively fruitful day in Arlington. Had a brief visit with Mrs. Edmund D. Campbell, 2912 Glebe Road (Kenmore 6-8651). She is former member of school board, husband is attorney and member of Committee to Preserve Public Schools (CPPS). He lost out by few hundred votes in last congressional election. They were leaving for Europe next day so she tried to get me an appointment with the chairman of CPPS, Glenn Stahl, who works for the Civil Service Commission (St. 3-5200, Ext. 5403). He was tied up for the day, but she gave me an introduction over the phone. Phil Stern later reached him by phone and said he hoped we could meet next time I come down.

I spent quite a while with Phil Stern editor of the Northern Virginia Sun. He apparently owns it with Clayton Fritchie, who is listed as publisher and whom I also met briefly. (3409 Wilson Boulevard) Phil expressed much uncertainty over what to do next or rather what if anything positive could be done to help the situation in any way. He had been thinking along the lines of preparing school people and law enforcement authorities but he did not know in what way or how to approach it. I tried to show the positive things that have been done elsewhere. We agreed that another approach that the CPPS should be working on should be towards preparing the community for desegregation, even though they are not officially "for" it, because it is a logical concomitant and next step to "keeping open the public schools". The approach to this would be to explain to the CPPS off the record just what kind of preparation is needed, where necessary help can be obtained and how they might best approach the County Board and School Board who have the proper responsibility for such preparation.. He generally warmed to the idea that there are positive suggestions to be made, action to be taken and help to be found. He feels the paper has a responsibility in this issue and he personally wants to help beyond what the paper can do publicly.

He called up the vice-chairman and publicity chairman of CPPS, Mrs. Elizabeth Weihe (pronounced "y") and she came down to the newspaper office to talk with me. She was going to Richmond to see the Governor the next day and I feel it was a strategic interview. She was not very familiar with integration experience elsewhere and did not fullty realize there is useful experience to go by. I seemed to make headway in explaining that although their organization was not "for" integration, they must take the responsibility for it and its consequences if it is a concomitant of their main objective of keeping open the schools, but that of course in the final analysis this is the responsibility of the officials to carry out. They can, however, pressure the authorities and acquaint them with what is needed. I got a different picture of the CPPS than I did from the two ladies in Richmond. Their leadership is strong and effective, well equiped politically and legally, but I believe poorly prepared for the final consequences of their action. They are smart enough to grasp the need, but they have been so cautious to set as wide a range of concensus as possible (to reach over 1,500 publicly proclaimed members) that they have had to steer clear of any talk of integration. Many of their followers would consider preparatory and precautionary steps for integration as favoring integration. They have been very careful not to include "people like David Scull and other public supporters of the State Council on Human Relations" in their early membership. I was careful in my talk with Mrs. Weihe to separate my concern from the political and legal maneuvers they are involved with and to focus on the technical community matters. This she understood.

She and Phil will pursue all this further with key people in CPPS and Phil will do so with the chairman of the County Board and a key member of the School Board,

an attorney named Bean who is a middle ground conservative but a decent and realistic man according to Stern. There are people to the left and right of him on the board, two each way to be exact, but he is respected and intelligent. A more conservative man is chairman, but Bean is the swing vote. Phil will approach him xxxxxxx cautiously but directly on the necessity for accepting the full consequeces and undertaking preparations, will point out experience elsewhere and tell him help can be obtained of a technical nature. He and Mrs. Weihe will try to open the way for some key people to ask to see me for technical consultations. I said I could probably get down if called for the week-end of July 18. I suggested I could be there Saturday and Monday of that week-end and perhaps by Friday evening. She spoke of the possibility of my meeting with some people from CPPS inluding the chairman. Phil will let me know of developments. Ok One thing more, a new superintendent of schools has just been appoined, Ray Reed, formenly with the State Dept of Education. Phil will see him to get acquainted as soon as possible and explore the issue with him. The police chief and commonwealth attorney are bad eggs, described even as bigots.

I hope I have not transgressed your principle of technical consultation. I tried to operate with an SRC and not an AFSC hat on. Any return will now be only at invitation of local people. Because of the distance involved xxx I do not see that I could very well get to Charlottesville next week-end (as well.) Also I think Arlington may prove fruitful and need an early follow-up. If I am called do you concur with a visit to Arlington as suggested above?

I also had a usful talk with Mrs. Helen Miller, wife of Francis P., who unfortunately is going to Europe shortly with xxx her husband and will not return until October. From her I get the impression that more is going on among the "forces of moderation" than our friends in Charlottesville know about or will be let in on. And she would scarcely let me in on it, either, apparently because her husband is involved in it and not she. She confirmed the impression we already have that the more enlightened "moderates" will continue to keep our friends at arms length. The new mayor she thinks is to be relied on and has probably already consulted with key people on the issue. He is Tom Michie, who won in each ward although he said in the campaign that some integration is inevitable. She states that Dean Ribble of the Law School, who is a possible successor to Darden who has resigned, is likely to be openly on the right side when the chips are down--who is to say they are not down now--and probably has been doing some quiet conferring already. She says Hardy Dillard of the Law School is in the same category. Chester Babcock, the editor of the paper (this she says is confidential) is OK although the owner is a segregationist and controls editorials. She told me more in confidence, although not much we can work with, which I can tell but not put in writing. She gave me a good contact in Arlington who is higly placed but who has not been publicly associated with CPPS. Frankly I see little we can do in Charlottesville working through the local Council unless it would be to work very closely with coaching and advising their executive committee to some different approaches. I do not have any new ideas there at all.

Best regards,

John W. Alexander

cc: John Hope

Reprinted from

THE *Nation*

OCTOBER 20, 1956

20c

SPIT IN THE DEVIL'S EYE

A Southern Heretic Speaks . . by SARAH PATTON BOYLE

About the author of this article:
One of the most ardent workers for desegregation in Charlottesville is a University of Virginia faculty wife named Sarah Patton Boyle. . . . The Yankee visitor was sitting in his hotel room when the telephone rang and a pleasant voice said: "This is Mrs. Boyle. I just thought you'd want to know, there was a big cross burning out in the yard here tonight. Son took some pictures of it . . ."
—*Dan Wakefield in* The Nation, *September 15.*

Charlottesville, Va.

I AM A WHITE Southerner who crusades for acceptance of colored citizens. Living in one of the five states sworn to resist integration at any cost, I'm roundly hated by some people, solidly disapproved of by many and supported by very few. I would have been a fool not to expect this when I resolved to brandish my banner — and I did. Beyond that, I was prepared for almost nothing that happened to me.

In the light of the experience of others, I expected to receive many threats. My psychological factory probably could convert these into stimulation, I thought. Timidity being unpopular in my family, I was raised to feel that even looming danger isn't the least imminent, and I characteristically trip with gay stupidity to the dentist's chair — to meet each onslaught of his buzzer with incredulity. Therefore, I concluded, a deluge of threats probably would challenge rather than terrify me. I felt disgustingly secure.

But with superhuman cunning, evil refrained from attacking me in a form which I was qualified to use constructively. Unless one interprets as a threat (which I didn't) the six-foot cross which was burned a slipper's toss from my bedroom window, in half-a-dozen years of crusading I've only once been threatened with bodily harm — when a locally postmarked letter warned that if I didn't shut up, my house might be bombed. (I didn't shut up, and here sits the house.)

The deluge which actually descended was one for which I was not psychologically prepared. It consisted of contemptuous jeers and obscene insults. Raised in a country home, the daughter and granddaughter of Episcopal ministers, my gutter vocabulary has been so neglected that much that's said to me by letter and on the telephone I can grasp only through its context. To say I was aghast is to use insipid language.

Moreover, it hadn't occurred to me that my motivation might be misinterpreted. I expected to be called a sentimentalist, an impractical idealist and even a crackpot. But I wasn't prepared for accusations that I am a paid agent of Communists, that I am bribed by the NAACP to tell lies, that I oppose the status quo because of a perverted passion for publicity, and — hardly least — that I long for integration because of a psychopathic yearning for the special pornographic skills of black men. As I've firmly turned the corner of my first half century, the latter bit of biological warfare on me is the more amazing.

Once I fondly imagined that the long residence of my forebears in Virginia would move fellow Southerners to the admission that I had some right to speak in favor of changing customs. "Nobody on earth can call me a Yankee," I told myself smugly.

I was soon wishing that they could. Not only is it more comfortable to be resented as a meddling outsider than to be despised as a traitor, but also if segregationists can disqualify you merely by calling you a Yankee, they need go no further, and — their own estimation to the contrary — this is not universally regarded as a disgrace. But a dyed-in-the-wool Southerner can be disqualified only through defamation of character.

Another early illusion, soon to be dispelled, was that quarter would be given for maintaining a gentle, reasonable approach. I assumed (Jesus' own experience to the contrary) that when you turn the other cheek, nobody actually hauls off and slugs it. I have approximately two splintered jaw bones to show for this conviction.

I ENTERED the struggle with not one ray of malice toward, or contempt for, any one. I still have none. I understand well that the segregation pattern is taken firmly for granted by many white and some colored Southerners who sincerely believe that no good can come to any one through integration. I therefore seek to help them to understand the need for integration, rather than to attack them for opposing it. Yet they could not feel toward me much more bitterly if my public utterances were vindictive condemnations. Discovery of the explanation of this was one of the greatest of my many shocks.

It's simply that so fixed is their conviction that integration can bring only degradation that they find it impossible to believe that any one who defends it is not either utterly ignorant of conditions or completely evil. The native Southerner is not adjudged to be ignorant. Looking into the eyes of staunch segregationists, I usually see not respectful hostility, but incredulous contempt. The names they call me are not merely empty insults, but are rather accurate descriptions of what they really think of me. Dressed for this contest in the highest principles I know, I wasn't prepared for eyes which could see me garbed only in filthy rags.

Nor did my surprises end with those outlined above.

A year and a half ago the *Saturday Evening Post* featured one of my articles on integration. It was an attempt to show through statistics and little publicized facts that Southerners are readier for integration than they think — a contention which I still maintain. Because the background of the article was Charlottesville, I expected a wide local reading. But I didn't expect that twenty-four hours after it appeared, nearly every retail dealer, delivery boy, store and postal clerk, taxi driver and shoe repair man I knew would regard me with hardened and disillusioned eyes. Overnight my little daily contacts became chill.

Did I have a similar experience in my own social group? Not at first. For two days I received a stream of telephone calls telling me how true my statements were, and how much they needed stating. Acquaintances stopped me on the street with similar comments. Surrounded by this warmth, I could be philosophical about the few who looked straight through me — taking care that I should know their action was deliberate.

But the wave of approbation, I soon learned with a sickening thud, was individual reaction. It reflected merely how each person felt as he read the article in his own home. Group reaction, however, like mob psychology, is not merely the sum of individual reaction. As attacks

on the article started in the newspapers, as enthusiastic supporters were wet-blanketed by those who claimed the facts I reported were half tommy-rot and half lies, the warm social pond in which I bathed suddenly froze. Some of the same people who had clapped loudly at first now let me know from behind stiffened faces that, after all, they did disagree with me sharply on some points.

Woodcut by David Shapiro

SILENCE began to obtrude itself into all my social contacts except my closest friendships. The topic of integration was taboo if I was near. Though I was violently attacked almost daily in the press, no one referred to it. This was probably thought tactful, but I felt cut off. I never knew whether the person I was talking to agreed with me or with my attackers. The reticence was like a soundproof wall. Real communication ended. I began to welcome unpleasant telephone calls — pleasant ones had ceased — as at least a genuine form of human contact.

Yet, curiously, it isn't heartache which brings you closest to internal defeat as Southern tensions heighten. It's fatigue. You feel as if you've run too hard and long to catch a bus, or that it's four o'clock on a day when you forgot to eat lunch. It's almost as though, without knowing it, you had been invisibly connected with other people, drawing from them nourishment, comfort and strength. Now the unseen connections are severed. And a puny thing you are when separated from the rest.

YOUR isolation is not so much the direct result of enemy action as of the fact that when you travel this road your experiences are shared by fewer and fewer people, until at last there's no one to whom you can make yourself understood. For words communicate only so far as they serve to remind friends of experiences and sensations of their own that resemble those which you recount. No more than you can share through description a sunset with a man blind from birth, can you share with another an experience which doesn't resemble any he has known.

And those who would like to give you moral support are quite helpless with no rules to guide them. If you lost a member of your family, anybody with a desire to help would know what he should do. Where his own experience failed, established custom would guide him. But books of etiquette lack rules for comforting those attacked for their principles.

Where can one learn that if a cross is burned for you, and it is "tactfully" ignored, you feel as if you have some unmentionable disease? Where can one learn that if you're publicly attacked and friends are silent, there builds up in your subconscious mind the conviction that you are utterly alone — even though you positively know better?

Because the Southern press blazes away in headlines and editorials which proclaim the successes and opinions of segregationists, with only parenthetical or derisive mention of those who disagree; because your side is cautious and silent while the opposition is stridently vocal; because your attackers hammer away; for all these reasons, if your friends are silent, you hear only evil.

Something similar to Russian brain-washing of prisoners takes place inevitably in your consciousness. Day after day, week after week, month after month, you are told that you're a fool, a blackguard, a worker of evil. In the press, on the telephone, in your mail box, the same refrain beats on, like water dripping on the granite of your convictions: You're wrong, *you're wrong*, you're wrong, YOU'RE WRONG!

Friends tell you that they wanted to call you but knew you were busy and didn't like to interrupt; others that they meant to write but didn't get to it. But Mrs. Opposition didn't mind interrupting, and Mr. Opposition got to it. And the drip-drip-drip goes on and on. Slowly, like creeping paralysis, you find yourself losing confidence.

You find yourself developing a brand of schizophrenia. There is an ever-increasing cleavage between what you think and what you feel. You *know* that much progress has been made, yet you *feel* that there's just no use carrying the banner any more. You know that justice moves irresistibly to eventual triumph, yet you feel that only evil and ugliness have stout roots. You know you are right, yet building up in you is an enormous sense of guilt. This is your final, sickening surprise.

FROM BIRTH, good Americans are assured that if they are well-behaved, are kind, honest and industrious, they will inevitably be rewarded by social approval. Naturally, when you are publicly attacked, they — including you — are filled with the unformulated suspicion that you got what you somehow deserved.

Is a Southern crusader for the rights of man doomed to eventual breakdown? Many seem to think so, for the rate of retirement in this field of activity must approach the record. Watching, Southern Negroes have grown cynical about the short-lived efforts of the white liberal — thus adding the minority's mistrust to his other pressures.

But I think I've rediscovered a way for you to keep your sanity and still crusade. It's simply meekly to accept "out-moded theology." With its able aid your psychological factory can convert pressure, pain and disillusionment into power to persist. Our modern view of the world, I now think, is the outgrowth of soft lives. In hand-to-hand combat with raw evil this sensible view seems less realistic.

When the smell, taste, sound and touch of evil are a nightmare against which you constantly struggle, the personification of evil is an intelligent device. In facing evil squarely and calling it the Devil, some of your horrid helplessness before its magnitude departs. Then, too, you find yourself more able to be dazzled into spontaneous worship by the glory of evil's opposite, the shining purity of love.

Years ago, on seeing the title of an article, "Humanitarianism Is Not Enough," I recall thinking, "How could that be?" I wouldn't ask myself that question now. When evils swarm you like a mob of maniacs you know that you must have both Something and Someone to worship, or perish.

Against a background of accusing enemies and silent friends, I hungrily reclaim the "morbid" doctrine that unearned suffering is redemptive, and that only the patient pain of the innocent can dissolve some human sins. It's the futility of pain which drains the heart, I find. Believe that pain has purpose, and new power stiffens your weary spine. The early Christians went singing to ugly deaths. The Southern crusader, too, has need of forgotten virile Christian truths.

So I shan't break down, and I shan't retire. For I shall refresh myself by looking at a sparkling, ethereal King, and I shall know an easier yoke and a lighter burden, and I shall learn to say, "Forgive them, Father," and — after taking practiced, careful aim — I shall spit in the Devil's eye.

February 8, 1957

Via Air Mail - Special Delivery

Mr. Cornelius C. Tarplee
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
Church Mission House
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Tarplee:

We resort to the mails after trying to reach you by phone in Lynchburg, New York, and Chicago!

A situation has arisen in Charlottesville, from the recent federal court decision on integration, which would seem to call for the first of our joint agency meetings, as discussed at Atlanta University, January 23-24. We have been in touch with Mrs. Boyle and others of Charlottesville who inform us that a meeting of agency representatives - and their actions - might be of considerable help.

Thus, we are anxious to speak with you as soon as possible. In this regard, could you call us here on receipt of this letter?

Best regards,

Paul Anthony

PA:mm

7BR

Ctsul

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

February 16, 1957

Dear Paul:

I was very much distressed to receive your letter of February 8 when I returned from Texas yesterday, and to realize that I have probably pretty largely missed out on the Charlottesville situation. I shall be returning home to Lynchburg sometime between the 21st and 25th of February and can be reached there. If I can be of any help please let me know.

My absence FROM Charlottesvile does not really hurt things much. Mrs. Boyle is a very active Episcopalian who knows the Church situation there very intimately and is in touch with the Episcopal Church, the University of Virginia faculty, and the Council of Human Relations.

If you should be in Charlottesville, I would suggest that you call Mr. Samuel Schroetter, or call on him at 138 Madison Lane, Apr. 8 . You probably would meet him anyway. through Sarah Boyle who is a very good friend of the Schroetters.

Hoping to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Neil Tarplee

Cornelius C. Tarplee

CCT:s.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3. Georgia

Attached letter sent to following, February 18, 1957:

Hy Lewis
Sam Lubin
Ben Sissel

February 18, 1957

Mr. Hylan Lewis
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston, Mass.

Dear Hy:

This is to bring you up to date on the progress of our first attempt to implement the cooperative agency team idea developed at the Atlanta University meeting in January. We have decided on Charlottesville, Virginia, as an "opportunity" community in which we can wet our feet and give some real assistance to our local constituencies. The meeting will be March 4th and 5th.

We plan this as a two day meet. Our proposed procedure is: (1) staff people come together with local "coordinator" Mrs. Sara Patton Boyle to get briefed in the situation; (2) staff people go out into the community to get own picture of the situation and to contact members of their local constituency; (3) staff people meet together (second morning, for progress report and to plan afternoon meeting); (4) each staff person brings in one key person from own constituency to meet with others in closed session to determine: (a) what more can be done, (b) what part of task each local group can best perform, and (c) how they can best cooperate and coordinate their efforts.

First meeting takes place at 10:30, Monday, March 4th, at Mrs. Boyle's home, 171 Mimosa Drive (on Route 29, South, near University).

Hope this sounds as promising to you as it does to those whom we've contacted to come (because they have a local constituency). Among the agencies which have accepted are ADL, AFSC, Baptists, Episcopalians, NAACP, NCCJ, National Council of Churches, Presbyterians, SRC, and the two "Y's."

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 18, 1957

Mr. Lester Banks
State Association of Branches, N.A.A.C.P.
1041 North 2nd Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Banks:

A group of agencies having professional staff working in the South recently met at Atlanta University. I am enclosing for your information minutes of the meeting. Among the agencies represented was the N.A.A.C.P. by Mr. Roy Wilkins.

The agencies agreed, as you will see in the minutes, to a cooperative effort in the South. It was felt that a sort of "pilot" attempt at cooperative effort would be helpful. We also felt that our first effort should be in an "opportunity" community rather than a "crisis" community. Charlottesville was chosen as the best possibility. The meeting will take place on March 4th and 5th.

Mr. Wilkins felt that it would be better to have you represent the N.A.A.C.P., rather than have him come down from New York. I hope it will be possible for you to make the meeting.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosures

cc: Mr. Roy Wilkins

Attached letter sent to following, February 18, 1957:

Lewis Dear
Grace Hamilton
Gordon Lovejoy
C. C. Tarplee
Herman Long
Mary Jane Willett (cc: Mrs. Savilla Simons)

February 18, 1957

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avnue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Grace:

I have tried to reach you by phone but have found you out; I know how busy you are. The first attempt to implement the cooperative agency team idea we concocted at Atlanta University in January will be held March 4th and 5th, in Charlottesville, Virginia. A number of agencies have already agreed to participate.

We plan this as a two day meet. Our proposed procedure is: (1) staff people come together with local "coordinator" Mrs. Sara Patton Boyle to get briefed in the situation; (2) staff people go out into the community to get own picture of the situation and to contact members of their local constituency (3) staff people meet together (second morning, for progress report and to plan afternoon meeting; (4) each staff person brings in one key person from own constituency to meet with others in closed session to determine: (a) what more can be done, (b) what part of task each local group can best perform, and (c) how they can best cooperate and coordinate their efforts.

First meeting takes place at 10:30, Monday, March 4th, at Mrs. Boyle's home, 171 Mimosa Drive (on Route 29, South, near University).

This exploratory effort has exciting possibilities, for Charlottesville is an "opportunity" community. I look forward to seeing you there.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Attached letter sent to following, February 18, 1957:

Tartt Bell
Malcolm Calhoun
Will Campbell
Murray Friedman
Dr. A. C. Miller
Al Payne

February 15, 1957

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 3244
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Confirming our phone conversation of a few days back, the first team effort of agency personnel, planned at Atlanta University in January, will take place in Charlottesville, Virginia, on March 4th and 5th.

We plan this as a two day meet. Our proposed procedure is: (1) staff people come together with local "coordinator" Mrs. Sara Patton Boyle to get briefed in the situation; (2) staff people go out into the community to get own picture of the situation and to contact members of their local constituency (3) staff people meet together (second morning for progress report and to plan afternoon meeting; (4) each staff person brings in one key person from own constituency to meet with others in closed session to determine: (a) what more can be done, (b) what part of task each local group can best perform, and (c) how they can best cooperate and coordinate their efforts.

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This exploratory effort has exciting possibilities, for Charlottesville is an "opportunity" community. I look forward to seeing you there.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 18, 1957

Mr. Roy Wilkins
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Roy:

Confirming our phone conversation of today, the first team effort of agency personnel, planned at Atlanta University in January, will take place in Charlottesville, Virginia, on March 4th and 5th.

We plan this as a two day meet. Our proposed procedure is: (1) staff people come together with local "coordinator" Mrs. Sara Patton Boyle to get briefed in the situation; (2) staff people go out into the community to get their own picture of the situation and to contact members of their local constituency; (3) staff people meet together (second morning, for progress report and to plan afternoon meeting); (4) each staff person brings in one key person from own constituency to meet with others in closed session to determine: (a) what more can be done, (b) what part of task each local group can best perform, and (c) how they can best cooperate and coordinate their efforts.

First meeting takes place at 10:30, Monday, March 4th, at Mrs. Boyle's home, 171 Mimosa Drive (on Route 29, South, near University).

This exploratory effort has exciting possibilities, for Charlottesville is an "opportunity" community. I look forward to seeing your Virginia man there.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
cc: Mr. Lester Banks

February 21, 1957

Mr. Lewis H. Deer
The United Christian Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Lewis:

I am certainly sorry that it will not be possible for you to be with us at Charlottesville. I would like to have had you there because of your skill and judgement in community relations work. This is true even if the Disciples church in Charlottesville is "of the non-cooperative variety."

Anyhow, better luck next time.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

The United Christian Missionary Society

Disciples of Christ

A. DALE FIERS, *president*
JESSIE M. TROUT, *vice-president*
MAYBLE M. EPP, *secretary*
FRANCIS W. PAYNE, *treasurer*

A Board of Missions and Education • 222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVENUE • FLEETWOOD 7-1166 • INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

February 19, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I'm sorry I won't be in the first experiment in implementing the agency team idea that came out of the meeting at Atlanta University in January.

March 4,5 are days when I am scheduled to be with our executives of city organizations. My commitment is too long standing to change.

I have checked with others of our staff and find no one who can be there.

Charlottesville, Va. has one major Disciple church. It is of the non-cooperative variety so that persons from our staff would have little "constituency" to work with.

But even so I regret that my schedule will not permit my being with you for what I could learn of the situation and the process we have in mind.

Sincerely,

Lewis

Lewis H. Deer

LHD:dyk

Division of Home Missions and Christian Education

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
Barton Hunter, *Executive Secretary* • Mrs. James D. Wyker, Minister-at-large • **National Directors:** Mrs. Ruth E. Milner, Social Welfare Services; Lewis H. Deer, Social Education and Intercultural Relations; Robert A. Fangmeier, Christian Citizenship • **Departmental Associate,** Loisanne Buchanan

February 21, 1957

Mr. Lewis H. Dear
The United Christian Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Lewis:

I am certainly sorry that it will not be possible for you to be with us at Charlottesville. I would like to have had you there because of your skill and judgement in community relations work. This is true even if the Disciples church in Charlottesville is "of the non-cooperative variety."

Anyhow, better luck next time.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 25, 1957

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Jean:

How good it was to see you here in Atlanta. I have just received a note from Ben Sissel, enclosed with which was a letter to you about Charlottesville.

Certainly you are welcome, in fact, needed, so come on!

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

cc: Mr. H. B. Sissel

February 25, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Received your letter of February 21st and concur that Mrs. Russell would be a valuable addition to our staff group in Virginia. Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have just sent her.

Best wishes.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosure

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Department of Social Education and Action

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

February 21, 1957

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Jean:

Enclosed you will find a copy of Fred Routh's letter to me with regard the meeting in Charlottesville, Va., March 4 and 5.

Although we have no church and therefore no constituency in Charlottesville, Clifford and I both think it is important for the sake of our future participation in similar situations that you go to Charlottesville as an observer to see how the thing works and to contribute whatever objective judgment you may have. I am sure that Fred Routh would concurr in the value of this. We will, of course, want a report.

I agree with you that it is imperative that a similar thing be done in Knoxville after Judge Taylor renders his decision, and it would seem to me that your experience in Charlottesville would be invaluable as a preparation for our Church's participation in (hopefully) Knoxville situation.

Somewhere in our travel budget we will find money for your expenses. An expense voucher is enclosed.

Cordially yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb
Encs.

CC: Mr. Frederick B. Routh

P. S. to SRC: Please send a copy of any future communications relative to the cooperative agency team idea to Mrs. Russell since she will be carrying much of the responsibility of our Church's work in this area in the South. As I recall, she was designated in your records as "unofficial field representative." I think it might be well and more realistic to change this designation to "non-staff field representative."

Ben S.

HBS

Charlottesville

Memorandum

National Board
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

To: Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council

From: Grace T. Hamilton
N. S. - Y. W. C. A.

25 February 1957

I have checked all staff lists of student associations in the Charlottesville area and we have no staff in colleges who are equipped to participate in the meeting of March 4. I am sure that you have sent your letter to Mary Jane Willett and will be hearing from her or from Florence Harris about representatives from community YWCAs.

All good wishes.

T7 7-55

Chtsrl

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

February 26, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
64 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - #432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I deeply regret my absence from Nashville which caused you to miss me by phone. I was not present at the Atlanta meeting of agencies working in the South, and therefore did not know the exact dates and plans for the Charlottesville project. It seems to me an excellent one, and it would provide a test example for what might be attempted in other places.

Unfortunately, at least for me, I have an engagement here on Monday, the 4th of March, which will prevent my being in Charlottesville. At the same time, my absence will not affect the operation to any substantial degree, inasmuch as we do not have any constituency in Charlottesville. Our only possible constituency would be members, ministers and board members of Congregational Churches; and there is no Congregational Church in Charlottesbille. Miss Dorothy Hampton and another young lady are working in Virginia under Galen Weaver of out staff and the Council for Social Action. I believe that Miss Hampton will be present. She was at the Atlanta meeting.

The big loss is my own; for I know I would have learned a great deal. Please accept my sincere apologies for not being able to lend a hand.

Best of wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

Ctsvl -

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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February 26, 1957

Mr. Fredrick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

After considerable thought and discussion we have decided not to participate in the combined team effort of agency personnel in Charlottesville on March 4th and 5th. We have no local YMCA Association in Charlottesville, and only slight contact with the association at the University of Virginia. We feel that we would not have enough contacts in Charlottesville to be of any assistance.

We are in strong accord with the work being done in this direction, and are most anxious to be included in future team efforts in communities where we have more talent and contacts.

Let me know if we can be of service along this line.

Sincerely,

Paul P.

Paul M. Rilling
Project Director

PMR/P

Charlottesville

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

February 26, 1957

Dear Fred:

Needless to say, I shall be very interested in your evaluation of The Charlottesville Project.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Asst. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RW/eeg

Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

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PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

February 27, 1957

Dr. Fred B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

This is to inform you that the Division of Christian Relations will not have a representative at the Charlottesville meeting. It may be that we can have a part in later such meetings, but for the time being we are having some internal problems which will have to be cleared up first, I am afraid.

I assure you of our personal concern for the meeting and wish to express the hope that it will be most successful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept

FORWARD WITH CHRIST

Charlottesville

March 7, 1957

Reverend Cornelius C. Tarplee
1641 Link Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neal:

Just a brief note to say how much I appreciated your participation in Charlottesville. I will send you a summary of my notes on the meeting later on, but enclosed here are two items:

(1) Additional information on Koinonia

(2) A list of key people in Miami.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosures

P.S. We are sending the same information on Koinonia to Bishop Hobson as you requested.

FBR - Will you share with CHP + JH? HCF

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

~~617 West Market St~~
1818 S. Main St.

~~Greensboro, N.C.~~
High Point, N. C.

Charlottesville

NATIONAL OFFICES
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TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

March 12, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Following our visit to Charlottesville I have thought it advisable to convey to you as secretary for the consultant team what conclusions I have, substantively on the Charlottesville situation and for the refinement of this method of operating. Some of what I say we already discussed but this is for the record. Any transmittal of these thoughts to Charlottesville will be via you.

Possible Ways in Which AFSC Might be Related to Charlottesville

1. I will report the Negro employment situation to Tartt Bell and Mayes Behrman. In order to help them consider whether it would be a valid AFSC contribution to the joint effort in this crisis-opportunity area for our Merit Employment Program to spend some time there, it would be appreciated if some of the people there could send Mayes a report on plants in town. It would help to know names of major employers, number of employees, whether government contract holder and brief indication of Negro employment experience.

2. We will notify Ed Randall of the AFSC special radio program that WINA, Charlottesville would be a strategic and possibly favorable outlet for some of his taped programs. His tapes, consisting of lively interviews on group relations and peace themes, might also be useful as lead-off material for conducting discussion groups. Some person there would have to be interested enough to follow through and organize this effort.

Specific Suggestions for Charlottesville Efforts

1. It would be of great value for a consultant to spend a week or more in Charlottesville to work with the Council on Human Relations, particularly with its board and working committees. Such a person cannot only work with them on their specific methods and undertakings but also help them extend their communicating relations to like minded agencies and individuals not directly associated with them. A consultative experience of an extended nature by an experienced professional would be much more suited to their present needs than would a one day workshop visit in the more conventional SRC manner.

2. They would find it advantageous to develop continuing, communicating and off-the-record contacts with key officials and community leaders on the school problem. Repeated follow-up visits by Council members, especially selected for the various contacts, can build up confidence and a meaningful exchange of information and view points - leading ultimately to constructively influencing policy.

3. I would strongly reaffirm our recommendation in Charlottesville that they need some kind of an informal committee to bring together diverse individuals, on their own behalf and as channels of contact with various organizations, who are committed to peace, communication and compliance in the face of the impending court order to desegregate. This would be a means of seeking out and relating to each other, while clarifying roles, varied liberal elements as well as conservative church people who would, in the end, prefer compliance to defiance. This means more than, but does not exclude as a useful approach, the reach of other organizations through other affiliations of present council members.

4. From several sources I obtained the names of the following people who were reported as conscientious Christian lay people who might be enlisted quietly in the cause of peace and communication if properly approached: Mrs. Keith B. Wiley (Friend), Ford Haviland (Friend), Laurance A. Brunton (First Presbyterian Church), President of Lions International, Buddy Glover (Buddy's Restaurant), E. F. Cooley (University Cafeteria), Mrs. James B. Dillard (Sister-in-law of Hardy Dillard, Unitarian), Ray Fisher (G.E.Dealer), Dr. Dan Via (Dentist, Baptist) and Guy Via (Insurance business, Baptist).

5. Hardy Dillard, Francis Miller and Neil Spicer, or the likes of them, might be somehow put in touch with each other on the basis of keeping track of developments at the very top level in the town, University and state. Perhaps these may not be the ones but I use them principally as examples of people who are in touch with and aware of the powers that be at the local and state level. They could perform a real service and not necessarily even relate themselves to the off-the-record "peace and communications" committee. Hardy Dillard, by the way, is a son of James Hardy Dillard, former president of the Jeans Fund and the Slater Fund, a pioneer worker for democracy in southern race relations, for whom Dillard University is named.

6.Mrs. Tucker should be communicated with and apologized to for our failure to hear the results of her worthy efforts. She should be encouraged to pass on what she learned to the local Council on Human Relations for their information and action.

Remarks Relative to Methods of the Team Approach

1. In addition to ideas we discussed about all parties concerned doing their homework better, we need a more explicit and effective method of conveying our impressions and conclusions to local people. If the final meeting could be truly more representative we could send thoughts into more channels while making the very coming together a major result of our efforts. In Charlottesville we simply did not get much beyond the local Council.

Mr. Frederick B. Routh March 12, 1957

There is a need, however, for a way of conveying considered conclusions and recorded matter to some people in town. Certain of the consultants may wish to correspond later with their constituents, or with others they have met during the visit. We may collectively wish to send specific written suggestions or conclusions to one or the other of agencies spoken with or to the host-coordinator. There is, of course, even the question of whether it is politic to designate arbitrarily and/or openly one agency as coordinator.

It seems clear to me, however, that the objective of this work should not be an extensive written report on "Community X in Crisis or Promise". We should just be concerned with the minimum necessary communication and recording for optimum local effect of the visit.

2. A complete list of agencies cooperating with the CCD and the January Atlanta meeting would be useful in local areas and to the various agencies. It should contain national and regional addresses, top personnel and brief descriptions of services and functions. This seems to me an SRC function.

It was a real pleasure to be with you in Charlottesville.

Sincerely yours,

John

John W. Alexander
Director School Program

JWA/h

cc: Tartt Bell
Mayes Behrman

FBR
CHP

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
403 East Franklin Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Alex Miller

Murray Friedman

March 22, 1957

On March 4th and 5th, I took part in a meeting of agency personnel in Charlottesville, an outgrowth of the conference of agencies working in the South held in Atlanta in January.

The purpose of this meeting was to plan together how the respective agencies could cooperate in concentrating their energies and talents on either opportunity or crisis situations. Charlottesville represents both since it is under order to desegregate, there have been four cross burnings since summer, and a unit of the Seaboard White Citizens Council exists. The procedure we employed was as follows: Agency personnel assembled the morning of March 4th at the home of Mrs. Sara Patton Boyle to be briefed on the local situation and ask questions. Thereafter, we scattered to our respective constituencies to obtain their impressions of the situation. The following day the agency personnel met in the morning to plan the afternoon program which was to climax the two-day meetings. That afternoon, we brought representatives of our constituencies to meet with the agency personnel and plan a program for the community.

Agency personnel who took part in the two-day meetings included Fred Routh of the Southern Regional Council (Routh and the SRC were responsible for bringing the group together), Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches, Reverend John Marion of the Virginia Council of Churches, Reverend Neil Tarpley representing Episcopal leadership, John Alexander of the American Friends Service Committee, Professor Carriere, an instructor representing the NCCJ, Lester Banks (briefly), state director of the NAACP, and Rabbi BernardHonan of the Hillel Foundation at the University of Virginia.

With all this talent on hand, it would be nice to report that we accomplished something. Actually, the results were disappointing. On the positive side, we all learned a great deal about the Charlottesville situation. There is a strong and active chapter of the NAACP and a dedicated, able and active chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations here. The University of Virginia is a leavening effect and its hospital facilities are integrated.

Recommendations emanating from the broad meeting with lay people on March 5th included 1) continuation of meetings with across the board groups on a regular basis locally, 2) an inventory on the part of these groups of resources available both in terms of friendly individuals in the community and groups willing to lend a hand, 3) need to interest key people like President Colgate Darden of the University of Virginia, a former governor of the state in the importance ~~of~~ preserving law and order and communication between the races, 4) recognizing that the local Council on Human Relations is limited in the job it can do it was felt other groups locally must be encouraged to function in this situation.

In and by themselves, these recommendations were fine.

The real weakness of the two-day meeting was the failure to involve significant lay constituency in sitting down with the agency personnel. This was due primarily to an unwillingness on the part of people in Charlottesville to work with the Virginia

(cont'd. - page 2)

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Council on Human Relations and, despite all efforts to broaden the base of the meeting, it seems to have been tabbed as such by outsiders and even the group itself. Also, the results of the meeting were too nebulous insofar as the recommendations were concerned. I had hoped and pushed for a kind of allocation of responsibilities so that each group could function in its respective sphere of interest and ability. For example, the NCCJ and we could put on a joint Youth Seminar as we do in Richmond, the local Council on Human Relations might examine how much desegregation would actually take place if Charlottesville moved ahead, etc. No dice. We just "discussed." I wouldn't mind this as a preliminary but I doubt that there will be any follow through.

I was heartened to learn at this meeting of the impact our study on Clinton has made on public officials in Charlottesville as a result of the work of Professor Lambert Molyneaux. City Councilman Sol Weinberg had read it the night before I visited him and said it was excellent. Weinberg is a convert to Episcopalianism. He said the situation in Charlottesville is serious and felt that the community needs preparation. I discussed several approaches to this including sending educators to our Conference on Human Relations Education in Maryland, and a Youth Seminar but while he promised all kinds of help on this, he hasn't responded since then. Our B'nai B'rith is very worried about the situation but refused to have any representation at the two-day conference outside of the Rabbi. I am afraid this was the feeling of most of the lay constituencies.

MF:bh

cc: OSCAR COHEN
ALL SOUTHERN ADL R GIONAL DIRECTORS

COPY

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Race Relations Improve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the April 20, 1957, issue of "America" was written by a friend and classmate of mine who has been working for the Fund for the Republic and writes with authority on this important subject:

RACE RELATIONS IMPROVE

(By Joseph P. Lyford)

In an outspoken attack on race prejudice, Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, of Washington, D. C., warned some months ago that America cannot "win the bitter war for men's minds in the world struggle if the Communists can tell the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa that they, rather than Christians, practice the doctrine that all men are equal."

The reaction abroad to the conflict over desegregation in the South justifies an even more ominous observation. Without prompting from the Communists, a large segment of the foreign press normally friendly to the United States has been printing a daily ration of such stories as the Emmett Till murder in Mississippi, the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama, the bombings of Negro churches, the activities of White Citizens Councils—the same type of stories, in a word, that United States newspapers are headlining.

Almost as serious, the little events in the segregation story leave a deep impression abroad. An example: Indian Opinion, the Natal (South Africa) newspaper edited by Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, recently front-paged half a dozen articles from different nations. The item from the United States told about the white Florida public-health physician who was fired because she lunched with a Negro nurse. A steady flow of such information can understandably create an unhealthy suspicion of America and of Christianity.

Recently, however, the foreign press has been getting a different picture of the situation in America, one which may help balance the stories of crime and strife. Asian, African, and European editors have received copies of a study, published toward the end of 1956, which tells in detail how, quietly and without publicity, racial barriers have been falling in States all over the Union. The report, by Harold Fleming and David Loth, is entitled "Integration, North and South" (Meridian Books, 17 Union Square West, New York 3, 110 pages, 40 cents). It lists more than 1,100 examples of how the Negro is gaining equality of opportunity in the school, in public and private employment, in religious worship, in health facilities, in public accommodations, and in social organizations.

Page after page of the report carries a story within a story: the account of how Catholic institutions have responded to the crisis over race relations in the South. Without depreciating the courageous and effective contributions of other denominational groups which have worked on behalf of desegregation and whose work is outlined in its pages, the report makes it clear that the Catholic Church has set an example that has heartened all supporters of the Christian principle of racial equality. The church's activities have been especially noticeable in such Black Belt States as South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana, where the Negro population is densest, where segregationist sentiment is highest and where the flammatory activity of the white supremacy groups are most intense.

THE CHURCH AND INTEGRATION

One of the forces for enlightenment in a strongly prosegregation State is the Rock Hill School in South Carolina, which integrated under Father Maurice V. Shean, C. O. Another, of course, is Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, of New Orleans, who is educating his people to accept desegregation and who has supported the merging of Negro and white classes in catechism at Erath, La. But besides these comparatively well-known examples of progress in integration, there are previously unreported cases in dozens of communities and cities in States everywhere in the South.

What is most important, not only have many Catholic schools, churches, and lay groups achieved integration quietly, but in many cases the community has been deeply influenced by their action. Deep-seated prejudices have been quieted and have begun to evaporate as citizens watch, often in real amazement, the way in which Negro and white Americans have shared spiritual guidance and educational benefits on an equal plane. It might almost be said that the initial success in breaking down segregation practices was really overshadowed by the subsequent effect that the sight of equality being practiced daily has had upon southern communities.

Integration, North and South contains dozens of citations of Catholic schools and organizations, mainly in the South, which have taken steps toward integration. The report says, in summary (p. 57):

"In six southern and border States, Negroes were enrolled with whites in Catholic and elementary schools before May, 1954 [the date of the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation by race and the 'separate but equal' doctrine].

"During the 1954–55 school year and in the following term, Negro children began attending formerly all-white Catholic grammar and high schools in 21 southern cities, as well as in many smaller communities. States in which Catholic school integration occurred in whole or in part are Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia."

In the field of higher education, the survey recounts the progress of Catholic colleges and universities. All-white Catholic institutions desegregating since the Supreme Court decisions include Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.; Barry College, Miami, Fla.; Belmont Abbey College and Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, N. C.; and St. Gregory's College, Shawnee, Okla. An all-Negro college, Xavier University, New Orleans, admitted white students for the first time. As noted before, many of these colleges were located in the areas where desegregation moves could be expected to encounter the bitterest opposition.

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In many Southern States, hospitals have been centers of progress for the Negro in his quest for equal treatment. Here, too, Catholic institutions have figured prominently. In the border State of Missouri, the 90-bed Queen of the World Hospital opened 2 years ago as the first nonsegregated hospital in Kansas City, with an integrated hospital staff as well. In Charlotte, N. C., Mercy Hospital began admitting Negro patients in September 1954, after Bishop Vincent S. Waters of the diocese of Raleigh requested superintendents of hospitals to make their facilities available to Catholic Negroes and to allow qualified Negro surgeons and doctors to take care of their patients. St. Francis Hospital in Charleston, W. Va., admitted Negro nurses for training and service on an integrated basis which included housing. St. Mary's Hospital of Knoxville, Tenn., enrolled nine Negroes for training as practical nurses.

The Catholic Church also moved "vigorously" in several southern areas to implement its prointegration position in various church-affiliated lay organizations, reports Integration, North and South. Paradoxically, one of the most forthright demonstrations occurred in Alabama, a most difficult State. In Mobile, Bishop Thomas J. Toolen conferred one of the Church's highest honors, that of Knight of St. Gregory, upon a Negro layman. The recipient was the first Negro in the South to be inducted into the papal honorary society and one of only a few of either race in the entire country.

The Knights of Columbus in Tulsa, Okla., accepted its first Negro member in 1955; and in the State of Delaware the same year, the Bishop Monaghan Council accepted the first Negro applicants for membership since the Knights of Columbus was organized in Delaware 50 years ago.

South Carolina, where integration progress has been almost entirely lacking, was the scene of important Catholic activity. The Catholic Youth Organization was integrated on the diocesan (in this case statewide) level, and as a result, both meetings and conventions have been biracial. The Diocesan Council of Catholic Women of Charleston and the newly formed South Carolina Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (a Catholic lay catechetical group) have also been integrated.

In the context of the whole integration report, the part played by the Catholic institutions was impressive, but even this did not tell the whole story. The report did not claim to include every example of integration. Much progress remains hidden in communities where the work of reducing racial tensions and creating equal opportunities has taken the form of education and discussion rather than of overt action.

It is important to emphasize that the report lists only examples of integration occurring since the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

This point is unfortunately not made clear in Integration, North and South. The section of the report which deals with integration in the non-Southern States makes almost no mention of the work of Catholic groups. This omission arises from the setting of an arbitrary time zone to be covered by the report. By the date of the Supreme Court ruling, the Catholic Church and its affiliated organizations in the North had integrated almost completely. Thus, paradoxically, the church was a victim of its own forehandedness insofar as the report was concerned.

The author of the nonsouthern section of the report, David Loth, has acknowledged the validity of criticism directed at his report on this point. To clarify the record he explained, after publication, that in taking his "inventory" of integration since 1954, he had found that "Catholic churches and religious orders provided some of the outstanding examples of institutions which had desegregated almost entirely in the North before the period covered in our survey." Further, he declared, "The examples of successful integration by religious groups, therefore, would have been vastly increased by the remarkable record of the Catholic Church and a few others if the report had been extended to the last 10 years instead of the last 2."

CHURCH LEADERS SPEAK OUT

An historical review of the Catholic Church's position on race-relations matters demonstrates its unequivocal doctrine on the subject. As far back as 1891, Catholic prelates like Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minn., were taking a clear stand. "What do I claim for the black man?" asked the archbishop. "That which I claim for the white man, neither more nor less. I would blot out the color line. White men have their estrangements. They separate on lines of wealth, of intelligence, of culture and ancestry. But let there be no barrier against mere color."

Since Archbishop Ireland's day, Catholic Church leaders have repeated the substance of his views, and in recent years such men as Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago, Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston, Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, Bishop Russell J. McVinney of Providence, Bishop Waters of Raleigh, and Bishop Toolen of Mobile have spoken out repeatedly on the subject. Their call for interracial justice is strengthened by papal encyclicals issued in recent years—that is, Quadragesimo Anno (Pius XI, 1931), Mit Brennender Sorge (Pius XI, 1937), Sertum Laetitae (Pius XII, 1939) and Mystici Corporis (Pius XII, 1950)—as well as by editorials in Osservator Romano.

LAYMEN TAKE ACTION

Helping to put principle into practice have been lay groups like the Catholic Interracial Councils, which now exercise great influence in 28 cities and cooperate with such organizations as the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council, and the Urban League. The National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Federaiton of Catholic College Students, the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, the National Catholic Educational Association, and the Catholic Press Association have done their part, too, to advance integration.

The effectiveness of the church and its lay affiliated groups prior to 1954 can be measured by the fact that in Washington, D. C., and Maryland, parochial schools have been integrated since 1949, and that in St. Louis school integration was completed in 1947. Other States where parochial school desegregation was begun or completed in advance of the Supreme Court decision include Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia. In higher education, 25 Catholic colleges, universities and seminaries in the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Mississippi had desegregated before 1954.

This record has been an outstanding part of the total movement of all United States educational institutions toward equal treatment of all races. Despite outbreaks of violence in the South, successes like those described above are slowly strengthening the public belief that the days of segregation are numbered—and the people of other nations are beginning to comprehend this, too. Commenting on the events described in Integration, North and South, the Jerusalem Post said recently that the United States appears "determined to follow the difficult road toward full civic equality for her colored citizens."

Read by itself, of course, Integration, North and South presents a completely optimistic picture, and the authors are careful to caution their readers that the report is frankly one sided because it concerns itself only with the forward progress of integration of the Negro into American life. The publicizing of backward steps, reasoned the authors, has more than adequately been taken care of by the newspapers. Chronicles of quiet progress have rated few headlines, but, as a foreword by Morris L. Ernest declares, the report is "news of a high order," and an "inventory of hope." It makes unmistakably clear the fact that Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Negros and whites, doctors, priests, ministers, lawyers, businessmen, unionists and housewives can share credit for deepening the meaning of freedom to all citizens of this Republic, and for bringing a message about Christianity and democracy at work to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

426414—62429

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1957

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

RECEIVED MAY 24 1957.

Harold Fleming

lengthy & redundant, but to the point!

Shall we discuss on May 28-29?

Art Levin

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

Murray Friedman

Arthur J. Levin

May 23, 1957

This is in regard to your memo of March 22nd, and Alex' memo of March 28th, concerning the meeting of southern agencies personnel in Charlottesville, which grew out of the conference of agencies working in the South held in Atlanta in January.

I had intended to reply to you concerning your experience before this, but I first wanted to talk with Harold Fleming and Fred Routh, and also as you know a broken leg intervened.

In conceiving the plan of how the respective agencies could cooperate in concentrating their energies in a particular community, there was no intention of doing certain things which did occur in Charlottesville, although of course the exigencies of any particular situation will in the final analysis determine what can and cannot be done. Charlottesville was in fact a pilot project to determine how the plan can work in practice, and the pitfalls to avoid. I believe your experience indicates a number of such pitfalls.

First, I think we can now see that it is a mistake for the professionals to be gathered together in any community under the aegis of any one particular organization. It is even a worse mistake if laymen are drawn in under these circumstances. The professionals (and laymen) then become representatives and arms of that particular agency , taking on all of its coloration, status, etc. This amounts to merely providing additional professional personnel for that particular organization, involves additional laymen who were not previously affiliated, and in general would tend to limit the accomplishments in the given community to what that particular organization can do, or can be extended to do with additional help. This was not the original plan, and your experience with the Virginia Council of Churches, particularly with regard to lay participation, indicates that this generally is not a good plan, and specifically in Charlottesville. Our original plan had envisioned a gather-

ing of professional workers informally and under no auspices to merely sit together, counsel, plan, and then go out and operate separately with whatever contacts each agency has.

Secondly, we had not planned to draw in lay people to sit and counsel with the professionals in one group meeting together. Some lay people do not wish to have contact ~~with~~ and affiliations with representatives of certain agencies and are scared off by having to meet with them. Also, drawing in lay people imposes certain inhibitions on what any group can accomplish, which is entirely unnecessary. Also, a large group meeting consisting of professionals and lay people tends to give a certain formality to the gathering which militates against the flexible type of cooperation and coordination possible among professionals only. Our original plan had envisioned only the professionals meeting together, and then each going out to meet with and counsel with his own contacts in the community to accomplish whatever was possible through this separate action.

Thirdly, the idea of division of responsibilities among the agencies represented was exactly the kind of thing which we wanted to avoid in our plan. The whole idea was that the professionals could meet together in the selected community, be briefed on the situation under consideration, and then each one go out and do whatever he was capable of accomplishing in the community through whatever lay contacts he had. In fact, the strength of our plan was based on a concentrated effort by the representatives of each agency to attempt to achieve the objectives decided by the professionals meeting together through whatever channels were available to these representatives in the community. This means that everybody would be trying to achieve the same thing, which is exactly the opposite of a division of responsibility. The plan was not meant to inhibit or limit the potentialities of any agency represented to accomplish whatever it could, but rather to put on the scene the representatives of those agencies which had contacts in the community so that all of the representatives could work on their contacts at the same time. Whenever there were developments which required the professionals meeting again to pâân further steps, then the professionals could gather together again for such ~~pmx~~ planning. Involvement of lay people was considered the function of each professional, working separately with his own lay contacts, without trying to draw these lay contacts together in one meeting.

Actually, what we had in mind was that each professional would go into the community and do what he could and would ordinarily do if he visited there alone. However, since previous experience has shown

that there is a great advantage in having professionals of other agencies available for counsel and planning. We conceived this plan to gather together in the given community a number of professionals who, while they could counsel together, would still operate independently.

The Southern Regional Council is planning to convene another meeting of agencies working in the South in June, at which we probably will discuss the Charlottesville experience in terms of its strengths and weaknesses. Perhaps the original plan needs to be modified, or perhaps the representatives of the agencies involved in Charlottesville did not quite understand the intent of the plan or were forced by circumstances to "play it by ear" as the situation demanded. In any event, I think we all learned something from this experience and we know what to avoid when we go into another community to do this job. So your efforts were far from being wasted, even though you felt pessimistic at the time. To coin a phrase, "live and learn".

Best regards.

ajl/bw

CC: Alex Miller
Oscar Cohen
Nate Perlmutter
Mort Feigenbaum
Ted Freedman

PROPOSED AGENDA

Interagency Conference
May 28 - 29, 1957

TUESDAY - May 28th

1:00 General Session

1. Introductory Remarks
2. Report on Charlottesville - with critique
3. Progress Reports

   a. Miami — Samet — Bess - Oliver
   b. Nashville
   c. North Carolina

4. Consultant Services
5. Consultative Conference on Desegregation

6:00 Dinner

"Face of the South" - The George Mitchell Film (New Version)
Attendance optional

8:00 INFORMAL

WEDNESDAY - May 29th

9:30 General Session

1. Communities Desegregating in September

   a. Identification and description
   b. What concerted activities can we plan
   c. Plans for meeting unforeseen crisis

2. Next Steps

Little Rock

Ed Dunning

John Alexander - AFSC

Lester Banks - NAACP

Will Campbell NC Ch.
Roy Carriker - NCCJ -
Murray Friedman ADL
Jack Maxwell Va Council
Jean Russel Presby

Mr

Neil Sampler Episc.

Mrs. Tucker NAACP

file: Consultant Service Prog.

A BRIEF FIELD REPORT, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
July 14-19, 1958

This survey covers an intensive five-day study of the Charlottesville, Virginia community. Interviewed were: key public officials, chief law enforcement official, the superintendent of schools, ministers, teachers, "leaders", the "ordinary citizen," and youth in both the Negro and white community, members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and the executive editor of Charlottesville's only daily newspaper, The Daily Progress. Each person discussed the community as he or she saw it with reference to the impending desegregation of the public schools.

THE COMMUNITY:

Charlottesville, Virginia, aptly described as "18th Century England," is a community characterized by isolationism, extreme conservatism, paternalism, and an almost pathological pride in its heritage. Said one of its residents, "We never forget Thomas Jefferson here; his ideas, and the things for which he stood. It is our responsibility to see that the ideas and works of that noble Virginian will never die; it is like a religion with us." While expressed differently by various levels of the population, one senses throughout the community this reluctance to change, and a strong resistance to ideas that are new or different. The community is divided between "uptown" and "downtown" -- "town" and "gown", as it were. The university group "uptown" is set aside as something separate and apart. Each group relates and talks to itself; neither has any influence on the other.

The Supreme Court decision is viewed as a serious infringement on State's rights, and something which "Virginians will never accept." If change comes, it will come only and when Virginians want it; outside pressures for change "would be resisted to the last man."

The white community sees the school desegregation issue purely in legal terms, as something being imposed from the outside, and something which neither the white nor Negro groups wants. Few whites believe that there would have been any pressure from local Negroes to enter schools nearest their homes without the outside agitation of the NAACP, and the support and encouragement from the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The majority of whites interviewed believe Negroes to have been satisfied with "their place"; they view the "relations between the races" as good up until the Supreme Court decision. The Negro is thought of as a child-like, happy-go-lucky group who "have been cared for well, perhaps too well, by the white people of the community." There is rather widespread belief, even among public officials, that Negro applicants to enter white schools are being paid by the NAACP. This, they believe, is the only way Negroes could have been induced to apply to enter white schools. To some, it is unthinkable that Negro children would be allowed to go to school with white children; they say Negro children would not feel comfortable. Said the city manager, "I cannot understand a Negro parent; I will never again believe they love their children when I see how they can sacrifice them to certain hostility just to have them sit in a classroom with white children. I love my child, and I would never permit my child to go through such." And so it goes, there is no understanding at any level just what desegregation of the public schools and what the interest of Negro parents and children really is all about.

Negroes comprise almost 20 per cent of Charlottesville's population. For the most part, Negroes are employed in domestic and unskilled capacities around the university center. The remainder of the Negro population includes 4 doctors — 2 medical and 2 dentists; school teachers, 3 undertakers, and 4 ministers. There is no Negro lawyer.

The Negro community is unorganized and apathetic. The four Negro ministers, all Baptists, have little or no influence in the community. Two of the ministers are elderly and should be retired from their duties. The remaining two younger ministers, Reverend Bunn and Reverend Green, though considered capable men are not considered leaders. The Reverend Bunn is described as an individualist and does not work well with people. Within the past few months both he and Mrs. Bunn have withdrawn somewhat from community activities. This they decided to do after (they confided confidentially) a remark, "Don't the Bunns think anyone can do anything but the Bunns; there are other people capable of doing things." The Reverend Green, a capable man, and pastor of the largest church, is described as an introvert. He is not a leader; considers Charlottesville a "dead" and "hopeless" place, and admits (privately and confidentially) that he hopes to leave when the first opportunity presents itself. The Reverend Green has, however, assumed responsibility for working with the NAACP committee on its law enforcement project, with the Reverend Monroe on the non-violent student program, and with the Reverend Owen (following the Bridgewater conference proposal) to hold informal discussions with small groups of church people to establish lines of communication. The Reverend Green is described as a person who will accept responsibility for doing a job, but does not always follow through.

There seems to be a tendency for people in the Negro community to work at cross purposes and as soon as a person looks as if he is getting "too powerful" everything is done to "cut him down." There seems to be much jealousy exhibited, and there is no one in the community whom the Negroes recognize as a "leader."

The person who is working hardest in the community at the present time, described as a good organizer but not a leader, is the president of the NAACP, George Ferguson. He seems to be carrying the major responsibility of organizing the Negro community and working with the students and parents who have asked for transfer to white schools.

Although apathetic, the Negro community seemed completely unified around the school issue. I could not find a single person who did not support the Negro applicants in their desire to enter the school nearest their homes. Though it was rumored that parents were being pressured to withdraw their children, only one family, Dr. Garrett, has removed his name from the list. Dr. Garrett says he removed his name in the interest of his child's health — that his child is extremely nervous and too much conflict would be upsetting. The remainder of the families seem to be determined.

STATUS OF THE SCHOOL ISSUE:

On July 16, the School Board made public its elementary school districts. There are 6 obviously gerrymandered districts. Fifteen of the Negro applicants for transfer to white schools live in the New Jefferson School district (Negro). The remaining 5 Negro applicants will presumably be distributed among the 5 white schools. No districts have been drawn for the city's two high schools, but a residence test presumably will be applied to the 11 Negro applicants to white (Lane) high school.

Tests and interviews for the 31 Negroes seeking admission to white schools have been scheduled during the last two weeks of July. The applicants have been notified by letter from the Charlottesville School Board. Superintendent Ellis says achievement tests will be given to applicants for elementary schools on July 21-22 at Jefferson School. The eleven high school applicants will take the test at (Negro) Burley school on the same day. A five-member committee, composed of Supt Ellis, John E. Reitz, science teacher at Lane; Miss Lillian Butt, history teacher at Lane; D. Mott Robertson, principal at Venable; and Miss Edity Smith, visiting teacher for city schools, will interview all Negro applicants by appointment on July 28-29. Applicants must pass a residence test as well as the achievement examinations and the interviews. The latter are designed to determine "the educational effect" of ~~xx~~ transfer and the wishes of the parents in regard to the possible transfer." Action on the assignments will be taken by the School Board at a meeting early in August, and applicants will learn of their assignments after the meeting.

Local NAACP officials have raised the question of its attorney as to whether the Negro children should present themselves for the examination. He was studying the question and had not rendered an opinion when I left the field.

THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ISSUE:

A charter has been granted, and the private school plan is well underway. The private school plan is being taken very seriously by many citizens as an answer to the continuation of segregated schools. The most serious blow to the private school plan has come from ministers who are in opposition to the use of churches as classrooms.

On July 16, the Ministerial Association made the following statement: "At the regular meeting of the Charlottesville and Albermarle Ministerial Association, among the ministers present there was no knowledge of any survey having been made regarding either the adequacy or the availability of Charlottesville church property for use by private schools. No one indicated any likelihood that his church property would be so used." The Reverend Jan W Owen of the Westminister Presbyterian church ~~xxxxx~~ said that "he was strenuously opposed" to such use of his church and that he "wouldn't consider it under any circumstances."

While there is some difference of opinion among the ministers regarding the use of church property for private schools, there is a solid block of opposition among the clergy of most of the large churches. A survey of churches revealed that 11 churches in Charlottesville indicated strong opposition to the use of their facilities for private educational purposes. Ministers lining up in favor of using their facilities for private segregared schooling included the Church of God, the Christian Science Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Christian Church (First and Market) and the Monticello Pilgrim Church.

The clergy in opposing the use of churches for private schools ~~xxxxx~~ uses most often the argument of separation of church and state.

State Senator Edward McCue, Jr., continues to call upon the churches for their facilities. Said the Senator, "As I see it, the personal opinion of the minister is not the determining factor." To him, "it is the congregations that must decide."

WHAT IS BEING DONE IN THE COMMUNITY TO EASE THE TRANSITION?

1. The NAACP has conducted a workshop which it considers successful. It is now in the process of conducting another workshop for parents and children who will enter desegregated schools. June Shagaloff is on hand to assist in setting up plans and help prepare the Negro community.

2. The Ministerial Association has voted to remain in session throughout the summer rather than take the usual vacation.

3. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, through James Lawson and Reverend Monroe (local) is attempting to work with student groups. James Lawson met with white students and Negro students (separately) and explained the principle of non-violence. The groups expressed an interest in continuing to meet, and extending the group throughout the summer. James Lawson also taped two non-violence messages which will appear on the local radio station.

4. Col Francis Pickins Miller, as head of the Virginia Council of Churches has asked each minister to preach a sermon on love and non-violence the last Sunday in August. He is asking that this be done each year just before the opening of school.

5. The NAACP is in the process of organizing the Negro community into zones for the purpose of keeping up the general morale of those who will enter white schools.

Law Enforcement:

At the present time, Charlottesville has its largest police department -- 48 men. Six of these policemen are within their first year of employment. Turnover is rapid in the police department because of the low pay. Since 1950, police officers have been going to the officers training school in Richmond. Four officers are sent each year. Beginning in 1950, this means that a total of 32 men have received training. One officer has been to FBI school. None of the policemen have had training in riot control. The chief of police, however, showed me material he had just received from Richmond which deals with such training. He plans to study it, and start a school for his officers. This he plans to get underway within the next week. He also hopes to give some sort of instruction to his 32 auxiliary police group.

The Chief of Police admits that this is an area in which he has had no experience, and he is interested in getting all the information he can which deals with riot control. He believes he can handle the local people, but he confided, "I sure hope Kasper doesn't come around." The Charlottesville-Albemarle Council's president took to the Chief of Police issues of New South which deals with law enforcement. He appeared genuinely grateful for the material, and expressed interest in securing anything that would be useful.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AGREE:

1. The public schools will close if Negroes present themselves, and everyone believes they will. There is no alternative; it is a state law that the schools will close, if desegregated.

2. The Negro children will suffer; most white children will be taken care of by private schools.

3. There will be no violence. Those schools in which Negroes will be enrolled simply will not open on the first day of school.

4. As to how long the schools will remain closed range from the most pessimistic "forever", that's anybody's guess, to an optimistic "day", a "week" or a "month" at the most.

FRANCIS PICKENS MILLER TELLS ME CONFIDENTALLY AND SAYS UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES MUST HE BE QUOTED.

Last week a dinner was held in which all the high ranking officials, including the next mayor, Michtie, and it was agreed that integration was inevitable. Closing of the public schools and the private school plans are not being taken seriously. In Michtie we have a strong man. He did not come out on a segregation platform and won over his opponent 2 to 1.

They have assigned men to work with Oglesby, the rabid segregationist at the University, to keep him from stirring up violence at the opening of school.

That the school board is actually studying a plan of desegregation. He confided that Don Shoemaker had sent to him, at his request, the Nashville plan, and it is likely that Charlottesville will adopt this plan. It is interesting to point out that Superintendent Ellis asked me the relative merits and demerits of various school plans. He also asked about the Nashville plan. I got the impression that he has some reservations ~~at~~ about the Nashville plan, but did not commit himself.

Pickens Miller doesn't believe there will be any violence unless it is created by the ~~xxx~~ stupidity of the police force itself. He believes there is a ~~likelyhx~~ likelihood that they, in their attempt to do the right thing would do everything wrong.

Pickens Miller sees real hope for Charlottesville with the new mayor Michtie. He is considered a very fine man and will deal "straight" on this issue. (Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to meet him; he was on vacation until July 28)

THE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL

In Charlottesville, the Virginia Human Relations Council is equated with the WCC as an extreme organization. Here, one hears for the first time, not the WCC on the one hand and the NAACP, but the WCC and the Virginia Council. Said one official, "I don't like the NAACP worth a damn, but you know it has to do what it is doing, but for these loonies to set themselves up as an extreme organization -- local white people asking for integration -- it's just the worse possible thing." The Council is hated on the one hand, and is also ridiculed on the other. Most people feel that it is composed of a group of maladjusted "crackpots." Some call them "do-gooders" with a sneer. They are not taken seriously, and are without any influence. Said Col Pickens Miller regarding the Council. "I never did joing, and I know this disappointed John Marion very much, but I simply could not. The leadership of the Council has been most unfortunate. It is composed of people who carry absolutely NO influence in the community. The worst possible thing for the Council was to have people like Mrs. Patton Boyle and Mildred Brown associated with it. Mrs. Boyle has the community down on her 100 per cent; she has gloried in the publicity from The Evening Saturday Post. When she gets the newspaper men out to take pictures of cross burnings on her lawn, people just laugh. They know Patty Boyle wants to be a martyr. As for Mildred Brown, she has had a most unfortunate background, and, of course, nobody listens to her. Dr. Wilson is in my church, and it is generally agreed that he is "off." And So it goes.

Col ~~Pickins~~ Miller did mention that he thought the Council had performed a community service when it brought in Supt Carmichael to speak, but the Council's interest in publicity, "going on record" and its "unfortunate leadership" makes him believe that the Council can have little, if any, positive influence in the community.

In checking with the leadership of the United Council of Church Women, I found a very strong attitude against the Council. A friend of the President of the League of Women Voters quoted Mrs. Evans as saying she could not under any circumstances join such a group. The League has been forthright on the issue, and Mrs. Evans is a particularly strong person herself.

Slow to change Charlottesville looks upon the Human Relations Council as an "outside" organization and influence. It is an organization that has been identified with the "race" issue. In the opinion of Col. Miller, and an opinion which I share, whatever is doing in a positive way in Charlottesville will be done best by working through already existing groups. Because people cannot conceive of a society different from the one in which they now live, their "conversion" so to speak will not come through an organization which it appears is dedicated to destroy that society. And so, Col. Miller subscribes to the principle of working through the church people, and the individual approach. He feels he has done much to bring Darden around. He has worked "on" key persons in the community. He has done it quietly. He feels it has done some good, and he also feels there will be limited desegregation, and there will be no violence. While he thinks statements are good, he thinks they do little, if any good. He believes in the "individual" approach. He has issued statements, and will continue to do so, but he thinks they are of limited value.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Public officials will tell you that there is nothing that any group can do; that this is a legal situation and the community has to obey the law ~~and~~ yet not have a desegregated school. In their opinion, the less said by community groups the better. They feel that publicity has been bad, and that the Council has done as much harm as the White citizens' group in stirring people up. They wish to be left alone to work out the problem. Not a person said they saw anything community groups could do to help. Said one, at this point, "silence would help more than anything."

White organized groups, with the exception of The League of Women Voters have not discussed the issue in their groups. They feel that the issue is too explosive, there is too much opposition, and such a discussion would destroy the organization. The United Council of Church Women attributes the fact that they have not discussed this or any other controversial issue to their interest in keeping up lines of communication. In their opinion, this is the one issue that makes communication impossible. The Council's outgoing president has said, however, that she believes the group will be willing to issue a statement on law and order. However, the Virginia Council has issued a statement and asked the City Council for a hearing. This may cause groups of United Church Women's to go underground. A good and safe issue has now become "unsafe" by the Council's endorsement.

Virginia Council on Human Relations

1409 CHOWAN ROAD
RICHMOND 26, VIRGINIA
Phone: ATlantic 8-1210

HCF ✓
PA ✓
EV ✓
CHP
return to FBR

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Mr. Thomas W. Young
Mrs. Arnold Zetlin

September 2, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Since I have received many cautions from you and others concerning the need for frequent reporting and staying in touch, I am sending along some of my initial impressions and activities since coming to the state Council here in Virginia.

The State office is now set up and functioning. In case you did not have it, our address is Room 216-C, Broad-Grace Arcade, 3rd & Grace Sts., Richmond. Our office telephone is MIlton 9-0872. We have been fortunate in obtaining the services of Mrs. Martha Sharp as half-time office secretary. Mrs. Sharp is Jack Marion's daughter and is well-oriented to the general work of the Council.

My contact with the Virginia Council so far has been somewhat disappointing, although not surprising considering the time of the year. Our state president has been out of the state and our vice-president, Dean Henderson, has been involved in college activities at Virginia Union. There has thus been no guidance or assistance to my activities from any officer or committee of the organization. So far as the current school crisis is concerned, we have a fairly strong chapter in Charlottesville, no chapters in Arlington or Norfolk. We do have considerable individual memberships in Norfolk. I have done very little so far except to rent an apartment, find an office, and settle in. I have made two trips to Charlottesville and one to Norfolk and have visited with some of our people in Richmond. My purpose so far has been pretty much to make contact with my constitutency and to inform myself of the details of the situation. I will be making another trip to Norfolk today or tomorrow to contact additional persons and try to be of service in the present situation.

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The Virginia Council is not in sound financial shape, and despite many well-intentioned words, Wilson Brown as state finance chairman, has actually made no plans or arrangements whatsoever concerning support for the coming year.

In Charlottesville both the chairman and the vice-chairman of our chapter have been on vacation during the past week, but I have met with virtually all of the prominent Council members in Charlottesville, including Dr. Daniel, the vice-chairman prior to his vacation. I attended a workshop session organized to prepare Negro adults for the coming situation and found the spirit in the Negro community to be sober, realistic, and solid. The general attitude in the white community seems to be that nothing can be done until the final decisions are in. The Ministerial Association has drafted and prepared a statement concerning law and order but does not intend to release it until and unless some sort of riot or disorder occurs. The Charlottesville Council is fairly demoralized, more by the reports of the SRC consultants than by the present situation. Council members seem to feel that they have been told by outside experts that their activities to date have been more harmful than helpful and that they should pretty much shut up. They are therefore confused and uncertain about their role and about the future direction of the Council. They seem to be split concerning their emphasis in future weeks. One group favors a continued strong role while the majority faction seems to believe in pretty much going under ground at the moment until after the present crisis.

JH²

On my one trip to Norfolk I spent considerable time with the CBS representative so was unable to make adequate contact with liberal leadership there. I did talk with our two state board members, Mrs. Green and Tom Young, and with several members of the Women's Interracial Council. The Women's Interracial Council evidently feels that any stronger role at the present time or in the near future would threaten its present prestige as an interracial agency providing communication and constructive consultation. Robert Stern, with the Norfolk division of William & Mary, who is coordinating the "Save our Schools" effort in Norfolk, has the confidence of liberal elements but seems to be extremely slow in getting his movement off the ground. He or they seem to be quite hesitant as to timing and as to the exact nature of their effort. I hope to talk with Stern this afternoon

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JOHN H. MARION
Executive Director

or tomorrow when I visit Norfolk.

We have a state board meeting scheduled for September 12 in Richmond, and I hope to meet with Beckwith as soon as he returns from Vermont which will be by now or any day now.

I attended the inter-agency meeting under the auspices of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House as scheduled. I did not find it particularly inspiring. The only conclusion reached was that representatives of the three main faiths should visit the President in an effort to move him to more effective support.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling
Executive Director

PR:ms

September 4, 1958

Mr. Paul Rilling, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your report-letter on your first month in the Old Dominion. In spite of the many vacationing key persons, it sounds as if you are digging-in in a significant way.

Your trips to Charlottesville and Norfolk were wise. I trust you got to see Phil Stern on your trip through Arlington enroute to the meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. He is an able guy in a key slot who is on our side.

As you will see from the enclosed copy of my letter to John Hope II, I am disturbed by what you report about the morale of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Chapter. I trust John will take steps to let them know we still love them. — see ltr. to John Hope 9/4/58

If you want me to come to Virginia for school opening let me know. I am not sure I could be of any real use but would be willing to come. If there is particular need for me to attend the State Board meeting, I could make it - however, it might be better for you to handle this one solo. The decision is yours.

We'll keep in touch. Feel free to call us collect if anything breaks.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

September 4, 1958

Mr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive
Apt. #53
New York, New York

Dear John:

Enclosed is a copy of a report-letter from Paul Rilling on his first month in Virginia. It is a good report about a none too happy situation.] See ltr. from Rilling: 9/2/58 to FBR

Of immediate concern to us is the situation in Charlottesville. I know the difficulties of communicating in a meaningful way with the group; I am aware that agreements become elusive things; I am conscious that confirmation is sought for pre-determined activities. In spite of all this, I am concerned that the Charlottesville-Albemarle Chapter feels demoralized, divided, and frustrated and sees but two alternatives open to it: to continue past approaches at the same degree of intensity or to go "underground".

It had been my hope, after the visit you and Harry Walker made to Charlottesville, that they could see useful things to do in the current situation. I believe it would be helpful if you would summarize your suggestions to the group and send them to Paul Rilling.

Also, if you think it appropriate, a letter to Mrs. Makielski encouraging effective next steps--based on your suggestions--would be helpful in building morale. Since you and Harry interpreted to them what might be done, a follow-up letter would come naturally. Obviously no reference should be made to Paul's report.

Recent reports from the Old Dominion tend to confirm our statement that the constitutional issue of Federal Rights vs State Authority will be joined in this month.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
c.c. Paul Hilling

CONFIDENTIAL

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 16, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: Virginia Situation - Report of telephone conversation with Paul Rilling

ARLINGTON

There is no basic change in the situation in Arlington from that reported in the papers last week. The Federal District Judge has not yet (as he said he would) ordered the admission of specific Negro children to specific white schools. This action is still expected since the judge was awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court in the Little Rock case.

CHARLOTTESVILLE

In Charlottesville the public schools have opened except for those affected by court order. The school board has asked the Circut Court of Appeals to delay the District Court's desegregation order. Judge Sobeloff who heads the Court of Appeals recently refused delay as requested by the Front Royal, Warren County school board. A strong Save Our Schools Committee has come out into the open since Monday, September 15th. Over two hundred people are already involved - they include conservative to moderate leadership, led by Dr. J. A. Rolston of the University of Virginia School of Engineering. This committee is patterned after the Arlington committee to preserve the public schools. It includes among others, Dr. Cherry, Dean of the school of education; Mr. Mott, principal of the Venable school; amd Mr. Welch who represents McGraw-Hill. There are several additional groups in Charlottesville. One of them, favoring private school plan, is also well organized.

FRONT ROYAL

The ministers of Front Royal have issued a good statement urging compliance with the law of the land; Paul Rilling assisted in its preparation; it has appeared in the Washington Post among other newspapers. School officials are actively seeking ways of re-opening the schools, even on a desegregated basis. They are waiting for citizenry reaction to build up and demand re-opening of the schools on a desegregated basis. Among those actively working for re-opening of the schools are: the president of the PTA's; the editor of the local paper (weekly); and the Baptist minister, Paul Stagg, who is, Rilling reports, probably the most effective guy on our side. Richmond reporters on the scene feel that community sentiment is shifting in favor of compliance.

NORFOLK

The Unitarian Church has spoken out strongly in Norfolk asking for compliance. A large group of protestant ministers is about to do the same. The Norfolk school board has been in touch with the Governor and the Attorney General. Schools open September 22 with seventeen Negro students assigned to specific white schools. City officials and the school board are watching the situation in Charlottesville and Front Royal closely. The private school group has had almost no success. The

committee to preserve the public schools is rapidly gaining strength.

GENERAL

The Virginia Council has released to the press a statement aimed at maintaining and increasing community pride in the public school system and saying that the welfare of the children - both Negro and white - must come before all other considerations. It goes on to say that the governor has fulfilled his pledge to resist with all legal and honorable means; that there are none left; and the time has come to comply with the court decision. They also raised the question of the academic ability and the constitutionality of any "private" school system hastily set up.

The letters to the editor column in the Richmond, Norfolk, and Charlottesville papers are beginning to mushroom with demands that the public school system be saved.

Paul Rilling reports that there is increasing evidence of public dissatisfaction with the state program of massive resistance.

-:-

Virginia Council on Human Relations

1409 CHOWAN ROAD
RICHMOND 26, VIRGINIA
Phone: ATlantic 8-1210

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JOHN H. MARION
Executive Director

September 19, 1958

Rev. Hubert S. Beckwith
Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

Dear Beck:

I had a useful and pleasant trip to Charlottesville yesterday. I met with the Board for a supper meeting and then addressed a public meeting at the courthouse. Some fifty to sixty-five persons were on hand and there was a spirited question and discussion period. Although the meeting was announced in the paper there seemed to be no outsiders present and the local club apparently controls their own publicity. Their publicity chairman is a person trained in news writing and the paper evidently does not send its own man but prints whatever he sends. I think they plan no followup publicity on the meeting. The only sign of any tension in connection with the meeting was a string of cars which circled the courthouse square honking loudly in the middle of the meeting. This may or may not have been in connection with the meeting itself.

The situation in Charlottesville seems to be a much more constructive one both from the standpoint of the total situation and from the point of view of the Charlottesville Council since the election of the new mayor, Mr. Michie. Some of the leaders of the Charlottesville Council confer frequently with Mr. Michie, trust him, and feel that they have established a good rapport. The mayor has told them that he is working in the same direction and urged that there be no open or public effort by the Council. Our local people are inclined to go along with this since they feel they can work more effectively quietly now that they have a friend in this important position. A number of our people are also involved as individuals in the new Charlottesville committee to preserve public education for which they have great hopes. See you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director

The Daily Progress January 20, 1959

The Road We Must Take

The effect of yesterday's decision by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals is to wipe the slate clean, thus clearing the way for a new approach to the problem created by the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

We regard this as a gain, at least potentially, not a loss. The so-called "massive resistance" laws were no cure for our troubles. They were in even more evident conflict with the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the court of last resort, than with the Constitution of Virginia. The fate that befell them yesterday was foredoomed.

Their elimination gives us the opportunity to apply ourselves to the urgent business of providing a legal and workable solution to our problem, consistent with our unquestioned need for universal educational opportunity, with our place in the American union, and with the principle of individual liberty.

The obligation of the Virginia General Assembly under Section 129 of the State Constitution to "maintain an efficient system of public free schools throughout the state" has just been reaffirmed by our highest state court. Even in the absence of such a constitutional obligation, the practical need to maintain such a system would remain. We cannot maintain our place in today's world without it.

It appears equally true, however, that in most Virginia localities enforced racial integration of the public schools would greatly impair their efficiency and in a great many it would destroy it. The constitutional and practical necessity of maintaining a system of free schools is therefore matched by the necessity of avoiding enforced racial integration.

The way is open to do this. The Supreme Court's desegregation decision does not *require* integration. All it does is *forbid* racial discrimination in respect to admissions to public schools. It is up to us to prevent the non-discrimination which is required of us from producing the enforced integration which would gravely hurt and in many cases destroy our schools.

The way by which educational opportunity for all of Virginia's boys and girls can be provided, in conformity with the Supreme Court's decision and without enforced racial integration, has been repeatedly set forth in the columns of this newspaper, in editorials and in letters and articles by Leon Dure, who has devoted most of his time in the past year to its study and its advocacy.

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There is nothing complicated about it. It calls simply for the making available of grants of public funds for education so that each child, or his parents, may have freedom of choice between public and private schools. It balances the right, established by decree of the Supreme Court, of every child to access on equal terms to the public schools with a right of every child to stay out of the public schools without prejudice to his right to an education.

Yesterday's decision by the Virginia Supreme Court raised no obstacle to the adoption of such a plan. To the contrary, while the court found the present tuition payments law invalid in the context of the "massive resistance" program, it went out of its way to note that "we find no constitutional objection to the prescribed procedure for making tuition grants out of funds properly available for the purpose."

Simple as it is, it is not to be expected that this road of escape from our schools problems can be taken without encountering serious difficulties. Obviously the readjustment would not be easy where situations arose in which large numbers of parents elected private in preference to public schooling for their children. However, Charlottesville's experience with emergency private schools this year testifies that these difficulties are by no means insurmountable.

In any case, no good alternative is available. In the light of the decisions already rendered by state and federal courts, it is nonsense to talk of new attempts to maintain segregation by law. It cannot be done. Attempts to do it will inevitably fall in the courts. In the end we must turn to a way by which segregation can be maintained by the voluntary choice of all who want it. The sooner we provide such freedom of choice, the better it will be for education in Virginia, for good race relations and, surely not least, for the resolving of the potentially dangerous conflict between federal and state authority.

Text of Governor's Reply to Court Blows at School Laws

The text of Governor Almond's address last night on the Virginia school crisis:

My fellow Virginians:

I am grateful for the privilege of this brief appearance to discuss with you some aspects of the constitutional crisis shackled upon us by a judicial oligarchy and its shocking and terrible impact on our public school system.

Throughout this struggle Virginia has fought to preserve and defend her rights vouchsafed to her under and within the framework of the Constitution of the United States. On the highest plane of honor, inherent conviction and loftiness of ideals and principle she has sought only to maintain those rights reserved by her and her sister states, and which have never been delegated, forfeited or surrendered to the federal government. Her loyalty to our federated system of government as ordained by the Constitution is woven with indestructible thread into the heart and fiber of her people. A combination of forces motivated by political expediency, armed with arrogated power and inimical to our constitutional system, has advanced with ruthless thread to strike down and destroy the right of the people of this state to have a voice in the education of their children. This is lamentably true, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that the fundamental law of the land embraced and protected the use and enjoyment of this right for nearly a century. The right is now denied through the process of judical legislation amendatory of the Constitution in contravention thereof, and in violation of the oath to uphold and defend it.

STATE WILL NOT WEAKEN

Without reference to the people as the Constitution requires, it is demanded of Virginia by the executive and judicial departments of the federal government that she forsake honor, abandon principle and eschew her loyalty to the Constitution by slavish acceptance of this travesty upon the Constitution, and grace the violated oath with a modicum of decency.

Virginia will not weaken in her allegiance to the compact which forms the basic structure of this "indissoluble Union of indestructible states"; she will not dilute and desecrate her concept of honor; she will not abandon or compromise with principle to have it lost never to be regained.

To those of faint heart; to those whose purpose and design is to blend and amalgamate the white and Negro race and destroy the integrity of both races; to those who disclaim that they are integrationists but are working day and night to integrate our schools; to those who don't care what happens to the children of Virginia; to those false prophets of a "little or token integration"; to those in high places and elsewhere who advocate integration for your children and send their own to private or public segregated schools; to those who defend or close their eyes to the livid stench of sadism, sex, immorality and juvenile pregnancy infesting the mixed schools of the District of Columbia and elsewhere; to those who would overthrow the customs, morals and traditions of a way of life which has endured in honor and decency for centuries and embrace a new moral code prepared by nine men in Washington whose moral concepts they know nothing about; to those who would substitute strife, bitterness, turmoil and choas for the tranquility and happiness of an orderly society; to those who would destroy our way of life because of their pretended concern over what Soviet Russia may think of us—to all of these and their confederates, comrades and allies let me make it abundantly clear for the record now and hereafter, as Governor of this state, I will not yield to that which I know to be wrong and will destroy every rational semblance of education for thousands of the children of Virginia.

CALLS ON VIRGINIANS

I call upon the people of Virginia to stand firmly with me in this struggle. Be not dismayed by recent judicial deliverances. I propose to restore the tax revenues of this Commonwealth to the control of the people. They and they alone will decide these issues. United in the common purpose of defending constitutional government and advancing the welfare of our children—with determination more relentless than ever before—we have just begun to fight.

'NO PRICE TOO HIGH TO PAY'

No price is too high to pay; no burden too heavy to bear; no consequence too grave to endure in defense of the right and duty of this Commonwealth to protect the people of Virginia in the proper enjoyment of their right and obligation to mold the character and promote the welfare of their children through the exercise of their voice and judgment in their education and development.

The grave constitutional crisis which has been thrust upon us makes it imperative that our energy, resources and efforts be launched and applied on a statewide basis. Abandonment of the principles involved anywhere is to forsake them everywhere. The inevitable result will be total engulfment with the progress of dissolution and chaos measured by the combination of forces confederated and arrayed to divide, conquer, rule and ruin.

The people of Virginia through their elected representatives and by registering their convictions in the exercise of their franchise have repeatedly made it crystal clear that they cannot and will not support a system of public education on a racially integrated basis. I make it equally clear that I cannot and that I will not break faith with them.

No parent or guardian is under any legal compulsion from any source to send a child to a racially mixed school. In certain areas affected by adverse federal decrees the people have responded magnificently to the emergency created through the closing of schools. Thousands of our children have adjusted to the situation. The processes of education are being admirably and effectively administered. The hardships and sacrifices have constituted a challenge to overcome obstacles with the result that fundamentally sound educational progress is being made without chaos or undue confusion.

Amid the agony of these trying days I have been heartened and inspired by the profound spirit of dedication and determination of these citizens and their children, as well as the teachers, who have comported themselves so as to reflect immeasurable credit on the highest qualities of patriotic citizenship.

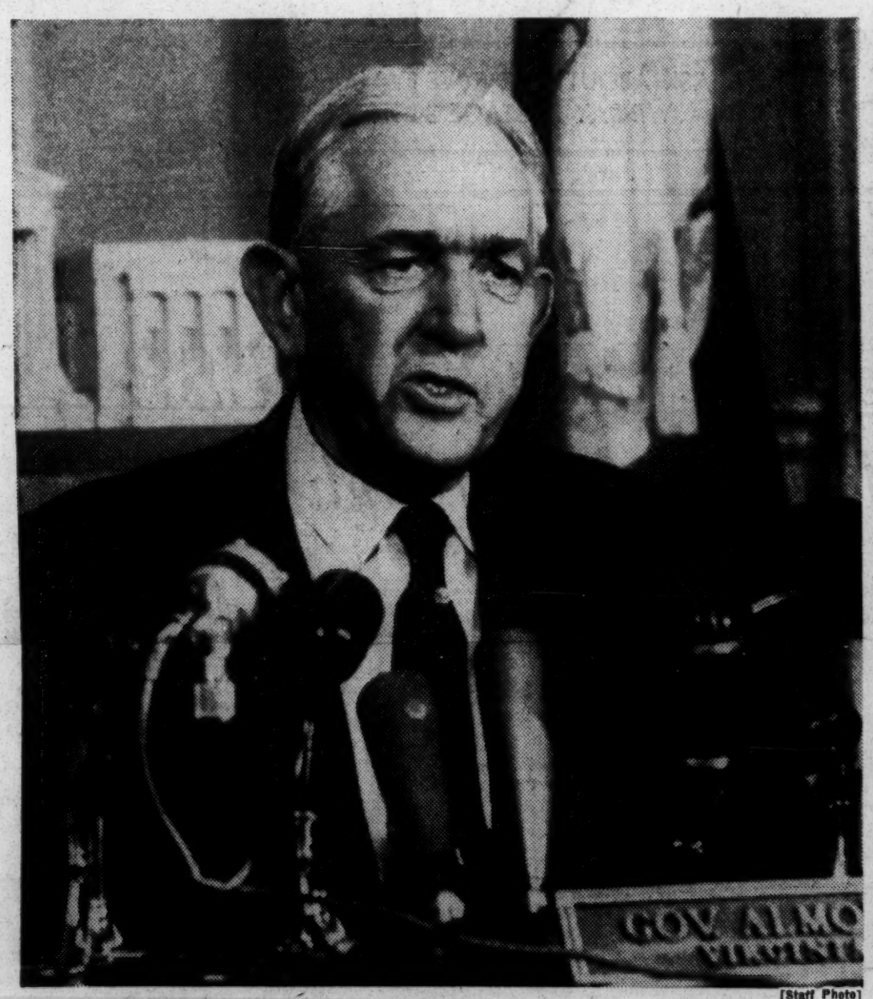
It is my purpose to appoint and convene with all practical expedition a commission composed of members of the General Assembly for the purpose of assessing and evaluating the entire situation in the light of existing conditions. It is my earnest hope and desire that we may be able to formulate a sound and constructive program for submission to a special session of the General Assembly. The problem is not one lending itself to an easy solution. It is most grave and difficult. It will require hard work, patience and a deep sense of dedication.

KEEP PRIVATE SCHOOLING

To prevent the pyramiding of chaos, confusion and disruption, I urgently request that private instruction now obtaining, and wherever it may become necessary, continue and go forward without interruption. I urge the wholehearted co-operation of all concerned to this end. It is my firm belief that to break the chain of continuity in the administering of private instruction and the consequent confusion of a transition which may invoke conditions justifying its termination would be productive of incalculable harm.

I shall not hesitate to use every available and proper means at my command to keep the peace and good order of this Commonwealth. I call upon our people to comport themselves with dignity and restraint to the end that the honor and name of Virginia be not defamed.

I have implicit faith and confidence in the genius of the people to cope with any emergency, and their loyalty and dedication to the preservation of their inherent and inalienable rights. Our cause is sound, right and just. With your unwavering loyalty under the guidance of Almighty God we shall go forward to higher and greater accomplishments.



[Staff Photo]

GOVERNOR ALMOND AS HE APPEARED ON TELEVISION (See Page 1)

ANN LANDERS SAYS

Shut Out Student Now Values School

Dear Ann Landers: I had to write to you after reading that letter from the girl who wanted to quit high school.

I realize more than ever what a high school education means, because I'm one of thousands of students who suddenly found my high school doors bolted and padlocked. I live in Virginia.

Oh yes—I attend private tutoring classes, but my parents must pay $5 a week for this privilege (as well as taxes which should be providing me with a public school education).

I take four subjects and no one is certain the credits will be accepted by a college or university. Even at that I'm one of the lucky ones. Many students can not afford $5 a week for four subjects. And in some cases, those who COULD pay can't get into tutored classes because there are no vacancies.

The top students in my class who were hoping for appointments to Annapolis and West Point are stranded. Students who were depending on scholarships, now find their chances slim. These are only a few problems we are faced with.

I could name many more—the most serious one being boredom and idleness that is plaguing us all. The lack of planned activity is getting on our nerves. Some kids have already gotten into trouble with the law.

When I read about high school students who want to quit I'd like to shake some sense into their heads. Too bad these foolish ones can't let us take their places in a classroom. I'd consider it a privilege, and here are thousands like me.—CHILD OF DIXIE

* * *

Confidential

REPORT OF A VISIT TO CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
January 21-22, 1959

by Bonita H. Valien

Four months of closed public schools have had considerable impact on the Charlottesville community. A community which bragged a few months earlier that Virginia will not have violence is now saying rather hopelessly, "We could have another Little Rock." The Governor's speech following the court's (January 19) ruling was considered by most officials and community leaders as "an invitation to violence." Said one of the community's respected leaders, "Let's face it, the people of Virginia haven't owned their souls for a long time. With the Byrd machine, totalitarianism is as complete in Virginia as it could operate under any totalitarian government, and if John Battle, Jr. comes out in support of the recent court ruling, you can say that is the most courageous act that has taken place in Virginia in the last fifty years." This was Col. Francis Pickens Miller speaking, but not for publication. His optimism of last summer had been replaced with a cautiousness bordering on pessimism, except that he was beginning to "see a breakthrough" -- a significant one -- being led by the leading business men of the city.

There is no question that Charlottesville's economic structure is being seriously impaired as a result of the public school situation. Business men say that business is at the "lowest possible ebb." The loss of human resources is also being lamented. It is generally agreed that the more promising students from the better educated families have been sent out of the community in order that they may continue their schooling. It is believed that these youth will never return to the community. One woman, a prominent Virginian said, tearfully, "It hurts you when you love a place; all my family was born here, our roots are in Virginia, and yet our children whom we have had to send

away so that they could complete their education tell us that they are ashamed to let any of their classmates know they are from Virginia. This is awful; I hate to think what the future of Virginia will be like if this continues."

In September, 1958, because Negro students were assigned to them, 2 white schools -- Venable Elementary and Lane High did not open and have remained closed. Students go to class in private homes with the exception of those attending the Charlottesville Education Foundation's Robert E. Lee School. The emergency school program in Charlottesville for white children is under the sponsorship of the Parent's Committee for Emergency Schooling (conducting schools for Venable pupils), the Joint High School Committee (which is conducting the high school program), Charlottesville Education Foundation (for "displaced Venable pupils who can't get education acceptable to them from the public schools"). The 12 Negro children are being tutored. (A detailed summary of the program as it is presenting operating is given at the end of this report).

REACTIONS TO THE COURT'S RULING OF JANUARY 19

The School Board and City Council:

Mayor Thomas J. Michie confided and said under no circumstances must he be quoted, that the City Council and School Board had anticipated the decision, and further that both had secretly decided that the schools would open without fanfare. As a matter of fact, it was the opinion of some of the members that the schools would simply open the very next day after the ruling. This, however, seemed impracticable in view of some of the administrative details that would have to be worked out. But this much was clear, the Board was expecting to follow the court's decision and open the schools. However, after the Governor's speech, the Board and council members became a bit more cautious. The City

Council and School Board refused to move or even comment on the decision until after they have received an interpretation of the decision by City Attorney John S. Battle, Jr. The School Board authorized him to prepare a formal opinion for its information that would "encompass in general the effect of the decision on the Charlottesville School Board." Battle has said the court's decision in the case did not surprise him, but he was surprised at the language of the opinion. He said he needs time to study it thoroughly, and that he will confer with Gov. Almond before giving the School Board his opinion. He said the Board should have his written opinion by the end of the week. Battle explained that his job is to provide the board with his interpretation of the law and the court's decision. He makes it clear that school policy decisions are up to the School Board. He has said the court's decision raises many questions which need further study. He has pointed out significantly that the Board has no time limit for the discussion of the problem and determining its future action. He says he does not yet know what course of action he will recommend to the board and that he is attempting to "envision all the practical problems" facing the Board.

In favor of compliance:-

The Charlottesville Committee for Public Education met and voted to notify the school Board formally that the two closed schools (Lane and Venable) should be reopened immediately. The uhit's executive committee visited each member of the school board to convey this sentiment. Said its president, J.A. Rolston, "We emphasize the necessity for a rapid return to normal in our school situation. The Committee for Public Education will not be satisfied with anything less than the reopening of Venable and Lane. In commenting on the Governor's speech, Rolston said, "the Governor appears to have lost all sense of objectivity about the future of Virginia. In his emotional speech packed with inuendo, he

seems to have set a course toward educational and economic suicide. Will 1965 in Virginia be a return to the 1865 economic chaos?"

The Joint High School Committee and the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling announced that parents, pupils and teachers were ready to return to Venable School "if the court decision means that the School Board will reopen the schools."

League of Women Voters: Asks School Board to open schools "as soon as practicable." Mrs. T. H. Evans, president, reports the following resolutions of the League: (1) called for the reopening of Lane High School and Venable Elementary School as soon as practicable; (2) declared the League supports public education and (3) declared the League opposed Virginia's massive resistance policy.

A group of Business men (composed of the leading business executives of the city. These business men have drafted a statement in the expectation that the City School Board will decide to reopen the two schools in the light of the January 19 ruling. The statement is designed to appear as a newspaper advertisement. Col. Miller who has been meeting with the group in their secret sessions since December 22, says that the business men in groups of twos have secretly visited each member of the school board asking them to reopen the schools and pledging their support in such a decision. The business men have asked members of the Committee for Public Education, the League of Women Voters, Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling, Joint High School Committee, to sign and circulate the statement among their membership and friends. The petition is being circulated only among white citizens.

IN OPPOSITION TO THE OPENING OF THE SCHOOLS

Immediately following the ruling, petitions signed by 831 Lane High and Venable school parents were presented to City Council asking that the two schools not be reopened during the current school year. Mrs. Cropp, the spokesman for the group said the parents don't want the emergency school programs to be abandoned. If the public schools were reopened and later closed as the result of state legislative action, the students would be left with no school again as they were this fall before the emergency schools were organized.

The Charlottesville Educational Foundation (CEF) is opposed. Its president, D. B. Mitchell says he believes there is a clear need for preservation of the city's emergency school program, at least until we know what legislation will be adopted." He issued the following statement to the press:

> "I gathered from the governor's address last night that the state authorities do not propose at this time to accede willingly to the decision of the federal courts regarding school integration. I believe that one thing is clear, and that is the necessity of attempting to preserve for the sake of our children the emergency school programs now operating in Charlottesville, at least until we know what legislation will be adopted.
>
> "It is certainly apparent that the need for increased private schooling here in Virginia has not been eliminated and will probably continue for some time. The Charlottesville Educational Foundation was established to fill that need and it will continue to do so as long as the need exists."

THE PRESS:

The Richmond Dispatch which is read in Charlottesville as its morning newspaper is defiant and inflammatory and supports the Governor and Senator Byrd in their strong attitude of resistance. The local paper, The Daily Progress, Charlottesville's own afternoon paper calls for a new approach to the problem created by the ruling. Conceding that the so-called "massive resistance" laws were no cure for Virginia's problems, calls for tuition grants out of funds

properly available for the purpose. Says segregation can be maintained by the voluntary choice of all who want it. In general, it concedes there will be some integration.

COMMUNITY MORALE

By and large, it seems that most people in the community expected the court's ruling to strike down the "massive resistance laws", but there seems to be a large part of the population that still believes that something can be done to maintain segregation. Tuition grants seems to them the answer. Since the emergency schooling has operated satisfactorily there is the feeling that these can continue. The mayor, in commenting on this says that these people have not stopped to think that these emergency schools are being run by the teachers and being paid by the city, and that once they are withdrawn (as most assuredly they will be when the public schools are opened) the emergency schools won't be so easy. But there is still hope.

Among the white high school students, most agree that the emergency schooling is better than no schooling at all, but they are finding it most inadequate. The students find four hours of concentration on one subject very difficult. Both the students and teacher of chemistry confided that they found four-hours of chemistry without interruption both dull and difficult. Even the teacher admitted he found it difficult to stay awake, and he wask doing the teaching!

White teachers are indicating dissatisfaction and frustration. The mayor confided that he had just had a visit from the head of the teachers group who said that unless something was done soon there was grave fear that there would be no teachers available for the teaching of schools under any conditions or at any level next year. She said teachers are "finding the situation unbearable."

Morale in the Negro community continues to be high. However, the two high school students are showing signs of dissatisfaction and boredom. The one student who is in the eleventh grade and was to be graduated this year is the daughter of the NAACP president (Ferguson). Considerable pressure from the white community has been put on her and her parents to send her to the Negro school in the belief that the other Negro students would follow. This the parents have refused to do, and this decision is shared by the daughter. There have been many rumors in circulation, the most persistent being that this girl, as a result of the tension under which she has been living, has had a mental breakdown and has been committed to an institution. The girl reports a few unpleasant experience with members of her own high school classmates at the Negro school when she has attempted to attend some of the social functions at the school. Some of the students have called her names, and said, "so you want to be white; the Negro school wasn't good enough, etc." Her parents are supplementing her education with a planned reading program.

STRATEGY:

Mayor Michie confided that there was considerable concern on the part of some officials in Charlottesville about "sticking out their necks first in opening the schools". Thus, they are secretly exploring the possibility of all three areas presently affected -- Arlington, Norfolk and Charlottesville -- to see if the schools could not open at the same time. Since Arlington is under court order to open on February 2, it is believed it would be good strategy for Charlottesville and Norfolk to open at that time also. This would keep any one area from getting the full impact of the "Defenders." Since Charlottesville doesn't have semesters, they could open their schools at any time during the year.

MINISTERS - Since the ministers could not agree on what, if any kind of statement they should make in support of the recent ruling, they have decided to circulate the petition drawn up by the business men. The inability of the ministers to go on record as a group at this time has come under severe criticism and attack by Rev. Evans who stands almost alone as a minister in the community in his open attack on the segregation issue.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS AS SEEN BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY:

Because the climate has been so negative and explosive, concerned community leaders see the need for workshops for students and teachers. Mrs. Evans says that she has concern about what will happen in the high school since all the students whom she knew that had a positive attitude and could have exerted some leadership have withdrawn from the school and gone elsewhere. It is felt that by and large the attitude of teachers is very unhealthy and that they are very much in need of some help.

The mayor is not at all sure what he can expect from his law enforcement group. They have secretly undergone some training, and he feels that he had the support of the state police, but he says now that he is not certain that the Governor may not call them in, as did Faubus, to support his point of view. He thinks this is an area in which some work needs to be done.

It is felt that someone needs to give the ministers of the community a "shot in the arm." They are providing practically no leadership and have almost "surrendered to the mob."

MY OWN IMPRESSION:

There is no question in my mind that the schools in Charlottesville will open, and I believe soon. This opinion is based in large part on the great amount of activity being engendered by the business group. The "economic pinch"

is on, and when Senator Byrd's banker, a member of the businessmen's group supporting the opening of the schools says, "Let's face it, Byrd once was an asset, but he is now a liability," something is beginning to happen. And it is this statement said at one of the secret meetings which Pickens Miller attended that gives him the hope that a breakthrough even more significant than the opening of the schools is beginning. But there are clearly other positives. The mayor is solidly behind the court's decision, and he carries considerable weight with both the school board and the city council. There are status groups supporting the mayor and are calling for the reopening of the schools. There is the general recognition (even with Almond) that some integration is inevitable. I believe the opening of the schools is eminent. It seems to me if all three communities are able to open their schools at the same time, the psychological affect on the whole Virginia community will be good and the possibility of violence will be minimized.

The Virginia Council has offered its help in preparing for the transition. The mayor doesn't seem to be freightened of the group and speaks of them with respect. The Council has continued to try to do an educational job in the community. Their meeting with Mr. Dabbs, following the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ruling, was well attended and received good newspaper coverage.

Copies of editorials and other interesting newspaper items are attached.

A SUMMARY OF THE EMERGENCY SCHOOLING PROGRAM IN CHARLOTTESVILLE

WHITE STUDENTS

VENABLE

Approximately 600-610 students were expected at Venable last fall. About 540 of these pupils are enrolled in three programs: 335 attend the classes under the sponsorship of the Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling; 180 attend the school set up by the Charlottesville Education Foundation; 25 are members of an independent 1st grade class, for which there is no tuition charge. Sixty-seventy former Venable students have made other arrangements to continue their schooling. As far as is known, no child has dropped out of school. The 60-70 students are attending private schools, paying tuition to go to county schools (not McIntire), or are going to school in other communities where they live with relatives.

Students go to class in private homes with the exception of those attending the CEF's, Robert E. Lee School. Classes meet from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m. Class size is 15-32.

All of the former Venable Teachers are involved in the three programs, and are still under contract to the School Board. One teaches the independent first grade. Seven teach at the CEF school, which also employs one more teacher from another source. The Parents' Committee uses 15 of these teachers, including the former Venable Librarian who is now teaching the third grade.

The Band instructor meets his pupils at Venable twice a week in the afternoon. This is the regular amount of time devoted to band in the public schools. All city elementary band pupils go to the weekly night practice. The rotating art instructor for the city schools gives no time to any of the three substitute programs. The physical education instructor spends about 1-1½ hours at the Robert E. Lee School where he acts in the capacity somewhat similar to that of a school secretary. Following that, he tests eyes and ears of pupils in the elementary schools that are open until 2:30 p.m. when he starts the two-hour after-school recreation program for sixth and seventh graders. This program is the same recreation program that was carried on in other years but starts earlier since the children are not in school as long.

The Principal and school secretary cooperate with the teachers in the field. Materials such as books, maps, films and record players, must be checked in and out. Duplicating is done for the teachers. Venable is still the record center for all of these displaced pupils.

The maid is employed as usual. The two janitors are doing work, e.g, painting, that ordinarily would have been done by other workers. Since the Cafeteria is an independent, self-sufficient operation and is not supported by tax funds, cafeteria workers were not retained.

LANE

About 1,083 students were expected at Lane last September. 862 were enrolled in December in the Emergency Schooling run by the Joint High School Committee, composed of representatives from the Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling and from the Charlottesville Education Foundation. 179 students have indicated attendance at other

schools. Former county residents who attended Lane as tuition students are now attending Albemarle High Schools. Other students are attending nearby public high schools on a tuition basis. Some students are attending private schools while others are attending public schools in other communities where they are living with relatives. Schooling arrangements for 42 students are not known. In a normal school year there is a number of drop-outs among students who go to work, are married or move away.

The Emergency Schooling is held six days a week from 8 P.M. to 1 PM with no lunch hour. However, breaks are given at various times. All the former Lane faculty is being used and paid as usual and no other teachers are employed. Students with an ordinary schedule spend one complete day at home as the equivalent of the regular study periods. Pupils study one subject each day; therefore, the equivalent of a week's work is studied during one day. Pupils who are absent are expected to attend another section of the course, if such a section meets on the student's study day.

The Emergency Schooling is carried on in these churshes: First Baptist (Youth Building), First Methodist, First Presbyterian, Greek Orthodox and University Baptist. Also being used are the Elks Lodge, Fry's Spring Beach Club, Medical Arts Building and the Laboratory facilities of the Institute of Textile Technology.

The Students' Assessment for November and December 2as $2 for each month. This fee may be adjusted to cover expenses. Fees help to cover extra janitorial services, the school's share for utilities in the buildings housing classes, liability and property damage insurance, supplies, equipment and maintenance.

All courses but machine shop and physical education for boys in certain years are offered. Boys in the Tenth Grade receive driver training and safety, while those in the Eleventh grade study first aid. Football and basketball practice have been held. Most of the extra-curricular activities are proceeding about as usual. No dances have been held in the school, but there have been concerts in the auditorium and basketball gamein the gymnasium.

At Lane the maintenance staff of three maids and two janitors is employed in a manner similar to that at Venable. Likewise the cafeteria staff was not retained. The school secretaries are working. The Principal is chairman of the faculty of the Emergency High School Program.

Regular steps for accreditation with the state are to be taken.

THE NEGRO STUDENTS

The twelve Negro students -- 10 elementary and 2 high school are being tutored free of charge by an unemployed teacher, a high school teacher currently employed and an Episcopal minister. Tutoring at the elementary school is considered satisfactory; at the high school level less satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the two high school students (one 9th grade; the other 11th grade) are receiving instruction in English and mathematics only. The principal of Venable school has shown a sympathetic attitude toward the group of elementary school children. He has checked with the Negro group to find out what is being taught. He has been concerned and is cooperative. The principal of Lane High school has not acquired regarding the work of the two Negro students. He is described as a person totally out of sympathy with an integrated school system. His attitude has been of concern to both Negro parents and the more positive, concerned white parents.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

1. IS field Corps worthwhile

2. If So - How -
   Joint - staff -
   Individual - lay -

3. Specific work - Course of what agency staffs can do.

Nat'l Council of Churches - What is NAMCP

Nashville = (1) Note Sept - Subj to Will Campbell's approval

Knoxville at time of Ct. order.

CONFIDENTIAL

Informal Report on EFV's Field Trip to Columbia, S. C.; Rock Hill, S. C.; Charlotte, High Point, Greensboro, Richmond, Washington, D.C.; Charlottesville, Virginia.

Columbia - Talked with Alice Spearman. She has possible candidate for Fisk Institute. A member of the ACWA. The woman's name is Lucretia Neal, and she is located in Silverstreet, S. C. She is a staff person with responsibility for four locals in the state; Alice feels that she is a good person. Alice has also talked by phone with Mary Cameron, of the ILGWU staff, but found little personal interest in Fisk Institute; however, Mary indicated that she would talk with Semway Young, IBEW, about the Institute. Young is an officer in the South Carolina merged labor body.

A TWUA local in Columbia is headed by Max Wood; he is the business agent and the reports on him are that he is bad as far as racial issues are concerned. Another B.E. in TWUA is a man by the name of McConnel, in Newbury, S.C.; however, this man has a brother known to be milder and more rational in facing the race issue. Alice felt that McConnel exercises strong and dictatorial powers over his membership.

EV also talked with Irving Via, of the Inspections Division, Labor Department of South Carolina. Irving seems to have the respect of the labor people in this area; his past experience has been with the Federal Wage and Hour Division but he has been with the State Labor Department for some years. The Director of this department (Ponder) had previous service with the Federal Mediation Service.

The following local unions of interest are listed in the July, '56, phone book: TWUA No. 253, M. L. Wood, BA. 437 Center W. Coler. Phone: 2-9205.

TWUA No. 254. E. T. Kirkland, B.A. 119 S. Parker. Phone: 2-7013.

CWA State Office. 1420 Lady Street. Phone: 3-5014.

CWA No. 3706. Old Carolina Life Building. Phone: 4-7337.

Rock Hill, S. C.: Stopped by the office of Ray Berthiume. TWUA. Later contact with Ray through Payton, uncovered real interest by Ray in Fisk Institute. He now plans to attend.

Charlotte, N. C.: Lunch with Harry Jones. Discussed his contacts with labor; TWUA has contributed $100.00 to the NCHR. We discussed further contributions from TWUA and whether a larger sum should be requested, but include either more state organizations or the SRC. Balance this against the fact that TWUA has contributed $500.00 through Ben Segal to the labor program. At the time of EV's first visit to Charlotte (6/13) ten Negro parents had agreed to appeal the assignment of their children to previously all-Negro schools and to request assignment to previously all-white schools. Harry thought that the number making such appeals would run to about 30. Since that time, some 41 appeals have been filed. There is a "Parents Committee" in Charlotte which has been responsible for securing the Negro applicants. Harry is in contact with this group but was a bit vague as to its exact name and ties. Harry reports that there is a local Chapel Hill group called The Fellowship for School Integration which has ties with NCHR. Some 200 persons are on its mailing list and about 60 attend meetings.

High Point: Long talk with Tartt Bell. He felt Greensboro school integration was in fairly good shape. He was pleased with the six applicants challenging assignment as representative of good test cases. Each case is different. He feels that the school board is generally receptive, although there was one recent set-back. Chapel Hill has a problem in that there are no applications. Tartt says that about half of the state school boards don't realize that it takes "enabling legislation" by the school board to get school assignments made. A number of school boards, of course, have not as yet made any assignments. The Durham situation was described by Tartt as being muddled. In most of the situations there is the attempt, which is successful, to put the onus of any desegregation move onto the Negro parents.

Talked with Henry Catchings and later, in Charlotte, with Mayes Behrman. They and Tartt Bell agree that it might be a good idea to get them, Via, and Herb Hill together to discuss mutual help in handling job opportunities problems. This is especially as related to the Government Contracts Provisions.

Talked with Floyd Butler, Vice-President of the Furniture Workers International Union, 509½ South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina. Kenneth Friedman may also be reached at this address. He is an international rep. Butler gave the name of Walter Case, Representative for Furniture Workers, 923½ Garrison Avenue, Fort Smith, Arkansas. Butler recommends. Is this the man that Nat Griswold was in touch with?

Check Sumter strike report by Jim McCain of SCHR. Butler reports that Jack Elliott, in charge of that strike, was "looney." Evidently this was an unapproved strike action.

Butler services a local in Bryson City, which unlike most Furniture locals is all white. This is a fairly bad group on the race issue. However, Butler feels that he and other staff men would have sufficient influence in this organization to keep the group neutralized in the event of community moves for school integration.

Washington, D.C.: Saw Ben Segal; talked at length, primarily about Fisk Institute problems and about some future programming and financing of the labor operation. Jim Wolfe of the Brewery Workers indicated to Ben by phone that he was responding to Via's letter by recommending that the Southern staff of the Brewery Workers affiliate with the appropriate state organization affiliated with SRC and that he was preparing to recommend a contribution to SRC and that he and possibly two others would attend the Fisk Institute.

Via attended some sessions of the IUD conference, where he got to see the following persons to discuss some aspects of SRC's labor program: Ray Warrick, USA; John Addleman, Wes Cook, Ben Wilde (legal), all of TWUA; Butch Hathaway, UPWA; Jules Pagano, Bill Smallwood of the CWA.

Suggestions were made to the TWUA guys to write up an incident in the Fieldcrest Mills involving the use of preachers to pray for the union to lose an election and to see that this write-up was available to the participants in the Methodist labor-religion-management conference at Lake Junaluska.

EV also talked with Vic Reuther, Jack Barbash, Henry Wilson, Ken Peterson.

Charlottesville, Virginia: General economic conditions in Charlottesville seem to be quite good. Employment is high. New industry is coming into the area. This is "new type" industry and generally offers a higher pay scale. Also, some of the surrounding area has had an influx of new industry. In Charlottesville itself there is a United States instrument plant and a Sperry-Rand plant; both of these are relatively new. In Waynesboro, there is a G.E. plant employing some 1,000 persons and in Stanton a Westinghouse plant employing about 1,000 persons. The Charlottesville wollen mill continues to ~~op~~ operate; there is a union in this plant. The ~~A~~ Ix Mills is evidently operating on more than 1 shift. This is a textile plant and has no union. There is a small ILGWU shop in Charlottesville also. In all probability the Sperry-Piedmont (Sperry-Rand), U.S. Instruments, and even the Textile mills would be subject to government contracts provisions on hiring. There is no indication that any of these places are now hiring Negroes in other than service capacities. However, a store listed by Patty B. as a "Jewish store of second-class standing" has had a Negro clerk for some years. Either Levy or the Style Shop has had a Negro clerk for a while but she is called a maid and is not given a title of respect. The University Cafeteria has Negro and white employees and also accepts Negro diners. The University Hospital is integrated for nurses; there is one Negro doctor and though patients are kept in separate wards, Negroes may get private rooms anywhere in the hospital. Mayes Behrman made a trip into Charlottesville following the inter-agency meeting there. His chief contact was Eugene Williams (phone: 2-2271). He is a Negro business man and knows the situation re business and employment. He was most ~~[illegible]~~ enthusiastic to have had Mayes' visit and information on how to proceed in terms of government contracts. Mayes and Patty B. feel that a follow-up can be made and that it would be helpful to take steps in getting employment on merit in some of the plants and shops in Charlottesville. There is a feeling that such moves perhaps should not be made by the NAACP, since they are so strongly identified with the current moves in school desegregation and the Charlottesville court case.

Churches: The more liberal churches and ministers are in the University end of the town. The Charlottesville Minister's Association did "endorse" the Richmond Ministers statement; a small note to this effect appeared in the local paper, the Herald Progress. Jack Taylor was pastor of the Hinton Avenue Methodist Church. He has the reputation of being the most liberal Methodist minister in town and his church has been the scene for some inter-racial meetings and meals. This church is much more of a "worker's church" than any of the other Methodist churches. Taylor worked quietly but soundly and has built church membership from 700 to 1100 in the time that he has been there; he is evidentally well respected by his own membership and in the community. It may be that he will be transferred to another church in town in June of 1957 following the Virginia Methodist Annual Conference.

John Hendricks is pastor of the First Church, Methodist, one of Charlottesville's largest churches. He is rated as the most conservative of the Methodist ministers and his own church has severe splits in it over racial issues. Warner Crumm, minister of the Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, is a past school-mate of EV's. Patty thinks that he is the most conservative ~~in~~ minister in the University end of town. But he is rated as the "middle man" of the three Methodist ministers in town. Crumm is well liked but may not carry a great deal of weight in the community. His is the smallest and youngest church and he is the youngest of the ministers.

One Baptist minister in Bellmont who has taken a good stand on racial issues has since backed off, according to Patty. Patty referred to Louise Eggleston as being used as a special speaker by Hinton Avenue Methodist Church. EV should check this name with Mrs. Tilly and others.

Since the inter-agency meeting in Charlottesville, the local rabbi has not only become friendly to the Charlottesville Council, but has also joined it.

Patty feels that the church women are a little more conservative; they are an inter-racial group, however. This is one group to which "moderates" who do not

feel comfortable in the Charlottesville Council belong and from which they get some feeling of participating in the cause of decency. Patty felt that it would be an excellent idea for Mrs. Tilly to visit the Charlottesville churchwomen's group; interviews and conferences with them would be most helpful. A vice-president of this group is a strong advocate of integration.

Pro-segregation Groups: The KKK is not active and is practically unknown in Charlottesville to the persons to whom Via talked. KKK-type activities such as cross burnings are attributed to the local WCC group. The WCC is thought not to be too strong nor to have much influence. In the past it has been visited some three times by Kasper and also visited by Seymore Gravvits. Their meetings have usually not attracted too many persons; a large portion of each meeting has been made up of observers.

The following names were given to EV as members of either of the WCC or of the decenders: Robert Harmon, President of the Southern Welding Company which employs some two to three hundred people and who is the Republican Chairman; J. Taylus Mickie (this is not the person on the school board); E. J. Oglesby (defender); T. K. Mahon from Southern Welding Company; Fred Liadie (?), engineer at Southern Welding. A number of these persons and others interested in pro-segregation groups live in Meadowbrooks Heights. Some of them represent the near "lunatic fringe" and have in the past supported McCarthy and fought flouridation. They were politicly strong enough to get the proposals for water flouridation defeated.

Oglesby is Chairman of the Math department at the Engineering School at the University of Virginia. He has become politicly active in the last five years or so. He is influential and gets a good press. He's a member of the county school board and seems to be the controlling factor there. He was a delegate to the special constitutional convention following the Gray referendum. He works behind the scenes with state legislators and has a close working relation with Senator E. O. McCue. He is given a great deal of credit for securing for the University an atomic reactor;

this was no small achievement and important to the University and general community. Two other names mentioned in connection with pro-segregation groups: Dave Turner of the Central Electric Company; he is one of the owners. Horace Daniel who may also be employed at Southern Welding.

Wilson ~~Gee~~ Gee, an older man now sick, a rural sociologist and director of the Sociological Research Committee (?) at the University of Virginia is a rabid segregationist. He is a member of Warner Crumm's church and was important in the formation of that church.

There is a rumor, presumably direct word from a teacher who had been talking with an un-named official in the school system, that there were plans afoot to resist any move toward integration. Seemingly this meant that there would still be resistance even if school assignment fails. This last year all of the school children were given an IQ ~~test~~ test; this was an unusual move since only certain grades are usually tested. It is thought that this data may be used in the segregation fight.

The Southern Welding Company, besides sponsoring Fulton Lewis, Jr., has had its foreman passing out pro-segregation petitions to workers and sponsors several spot advertisements each day on the wrong side of racial issues.

Pro-integration groups and other sources of help. The outstanding group favoring integration, of course, is the Charlottesville Council on Human Relations. But from several sources, and this seems to include Patty herself, the Council is rated as being a little too much in a box - they are known as the far out group, and seemingly have little appeal to a great number of persons in the middle who would still like to behave decently. Patty feels that the membership of the Council could be increased to about 600 but does not think that this would serve any useful purpose; however, a new person in town with organizing skills is about ready to begin work as membership chairman.

In the main, the staff at the University would accept integration and a number of them would work for it - this is in terms of public school integration.

The Herald-Progress, the community newspaper, is actively seeking a solution to the problem; it is not pro-integration per se, but does give objective reporting and the editorial writer, Babcock, though a moderate, is looking for a long-run solution (this judgment is from Ginniny).

The ministers, if they acted as a group, are judged to be fairly effective in the Charlottesville community on this issue.

Gianniny also indicated that some of the people coming in to town to take jobs with the Sperry Corporation have an active community interest, judged from their participation in the PTA and churches. He feels that these people also will go along with and maybe work for integration in the community. EV takes it that these are primarily professionals.

Stanley Goodman, Chairman of the School Board, is rated as a pretty good guy even though his stand on integration is not known. John G. Wall, also on the school board, is the lay leader of the Wesley Memorial Methodist Church. Gianniny thinks he is a good guy and has talked with him on several occasions about problems of school integration. At least one other member of the school board is known as a liberal and who favors integration of the schools.

The League of Women Voters is inter-racial and at the time that they adopted an inter-racial policy they went out and actively sought Negro members; its leadership is active and urges the support of the Supreme Court decision and have had programs along these lines.

Jean Brunch (?), wife of the newspaper's City Editor, is a strong pro-integrationist and her husband shares at least some of her views.

Gianniny was impressed with William Faulkner's stay at the University as a visiting lecturer. He feels that many people really were reached by him. It is Gianniny's understanding that Faulkner has been invited back for another stint.

The University of Virginia: the University now has undergraduate Negro students. There have been no incidents. One Negro did try unsuccessfully for the football team, but presumably was legitimately disqualified on the basis of his academic record. Gianniny reports that the first group of Negro students did have a tough time academically, but as far as he had been able to determine, got fair academic treatment. The University turned down an invitation from Life to be the center of a big feature article on how a Southern university handled integration.

There are Negro students in the Engineering School. Two men connected with this school are judged by Gianniny as solid and persons who could act as consultants to other schools or departments which were interested in integrating. These men are Lawrence R. Quarrels, the Dean of the Engineering School; he is also a strong Baptist churchman. He's open and willing to talk about the kinds of plans and problems that they have had. Joe Vaughan, of the Engineering School, is also Provost for the University itself. He is a strong Presbyterian lay-man. Gianniny feels that Vaughan often is a spokesman for Darden himself.

An added note on the pro-segregation groups. The PTA at McIntyre Public School has been "captured" by the WCC (possibly Defenders) group. This PTA has now withdrawn from the national organization; the withdrawal was secured by a one-vote margin. There was a conscious move on this group which included utilizing loose membership rules to sign up a number of new members for the one crucial meeting. Since that time the by-laws have been changed, but by the pro-segregation group which got into power. Gianniny has a son in this school and has been an active participant in PTA affairs. There is a vice-president of this PTA group who is accepted by the leadership because her views are not known. She is reportedly a decent sort who is not a rabid segregationist at all and has been reporting some of the things that have transpired to persons interested in finding a solution to the school problems.

The general reaction that EV got from Warner Crumm, Gianniny, Patty Boyle, was that things were at a stalemate, that the schools and the community were caught

in the cross-fire between a Federal Court ruling to integrate and the State Government's legislation which forbids integration. There is little hope on any side that any movement will take place this fall. Patty feels that her group is somewhat neutralized. All feel that the middle of the road group in the community has not yet been reached. On the whole, the situation seems to be quiet with the bulk of the community being quite apathetic.

Continuation of Report of Via's Trip to South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Washington.

In Richmond, Virginia, EV saw Jack Marion and talked with him about labor contacts in the state of Virginia, about some possibilities of fund raising with union groups there, and about the situation in Charlottesville. Marion and Via went over to the headquarters of the merged state labor body. They met and talked with Harold Boyd, President of the state AFL-CIO, Julian Carper, Vice-President of the merged body, and with T. D. du Cuennois, who is on the regional staff of the AFL-CIO. We also met and talked with Brewster Snow, who is the newly elected Secretary-Treasurer of the merged body. He is from Lynchburg and formerly was a business agent of the IBEW.

Carper commented on the fact that the AFL Meatcutters had merged a white and Negro local, and that on the whole better relations have ensued. The Virginia state labor body as recently as November, 1956, held a mixed banquet as part of their convention at the Roanoke Hotel. The Tobacco locals are still separate, although there is some job integration.

There was some concern over the CWA, both in terms of race relations and in terms of their participation in the state labor body. Although the leadership and staff seems to hold up pretty well, there is little cooperation from the locals; in fact, there is no CWA local affiliated with the state AFL-CIO. Some of the IBEW seems to be pretty good, except there is a kind of BE bloc in the utilities and phone companies.

Marion asked about the situation in UAW in Norfolk; the off-hand report was that there was little racial difficulty there with an explanation that the president of the Norfolk Industrial Union Council was a UAW man and that there were many Negro members participating actively in that body. However, Marion has had different reports from Earl Henderson and from a Negro organizer assigned to that area. Evidently there are no Negroes in the UAW plant but the state AFL-CIO officers seem to accept that this was because of management policy.

The state officers seem to feel, though reluctant to comment on organizing activities, that almost every organizing campaign had some leaflet or other mode for raising racial issues by management. However, du Cuennois did not agree with this statement and felt that they had almost no effect from ~~the~~ racial issues on organizing campaigns.

Du Cuennois, in talking about Charlottesville, indicated that the Sperry Plant had an organizing drive by the UAW which was not making much progress. The bus lines there are evidently organized by the IBEW. There is a small shirt factory employing about 60 people organized by the ILGWU; this local may pull out of the state council and it has come out with a resolution or petition against school integration. This local is under the Baltimore regional office of the ILGWU. The Woodworkers will soon have an election at the American Pencil Plant in Charlottesville. And the UTWA has the Charlottesville Wollen Mills organized; this unit evidently is handled through the Danville Joint Board.

An officer, possibly President, of the Negro Tobacco Workers in Richmond is George Benjamin, who lives at 1520 North 30th Street, and his phone is 8-61395. His office address is 1212 North 26th Street and the phone there is 2-0553. Jack Marion has seen and talked with Benjamin and once in the past has approached the prospects of a contribution to the Virginia Council.

<u>Greensboro, N. C.</u>: Talked with Wayne Gray, International Rep for the CWA. He is primarily in charge of the various Western Electric operations in this area. He reports that the process of job integration is continuing at a good pace. He indicates that the employment of Negroes at this point amounts to about 10%. This is as contrasted to a 5% report given EV in November of 1956. On the whole, whites are accepting Negroes in all jobs where they have been placed. There have now been cases, at least one, where a Negro has bumped a white from his job. The local president did spend a good bit of time helping the white guy understand the seniority provisions in this regard; the man affected did tell Gray about the

incident and seemed to indicate that he was reconciled. In another case, one of the CWA Beauty Queens for one of their annual contests bumped a Negro; now she wants (the Queen) a different job - the local president feels the reason for wanting another job is her feeling that she is now doing a Negro's work.

Gray indicates that he is keeping a lively contact with the seniority provisions enforcement and especially with an eye to possible discrimination because of race. Certainly he was familiar with the different departments and classifications involved and seemed to have a familiarity with many of the specific situations; it seems that he is keeping close tabs on this situation. He feels that perhaps the company has not given Negroes an opportunity to move in all job classifications and he now says that he is keeping a close look at the placement list and job bid list.

One of the chief superintendents whom Gray feels is fair and honest, though strongly anti-union, has made some approach to the union attempting to secure help for hiring white people. He indicates there is no problem in terms of up-grading or transferring of Negroes but that he or the company has some concern that it not become an all Negro operation. However, the company still has not supplied the union with all the data on hiring which it has requested which would aid it in making some evaluation of the situation.

An interesting side-light is that the Winston-Salem plant has now hired some white janitors. There has been some discrimination by supervisors in disqualifying Negroes; top management has indicated that it is aware of this situation and is taking steps to prevent it. Gray feels that the union stewards are now really going to bat on handling discrimination grievances.

Gray did report on the incident picked up by Via earlier about an all-Negro picket line on the strike last fall (early). He says that this did happen but as far as he can tell, it was a matter of choice and resulted from the situation in which a steward was responsible for manning the gate and in this case it was a

Negro steward's responsibility to man the gate and he soon had secured all Negro pickets.

Negroes have recently been added to the clerical force at Western Electric but these people are not included in the bargaining unit. The personnel manager has pointed out these Negroes employees, evidently with some pride, to Gray.

Talked with Jackson Curry, of the Hosiery Workers. Curry reports that the race issue arises only in organizing campaigns, but in his locals he has only about a half dozen Negroes. He feels that the Greensboro situation will be fairly quiet in the event of school desegregation. In Durham, he would feel that there would be some agitation in the event of school integration moves. He has two locals there and his observations of the labor movement in Durham is that the splits and bitterness caused at the time that the racial issue led to a political break and the formation of DUPEC, has continued and still provides a basis for further trouble. Although there are white leaders who are concerned about this situation, it is difficult for them to keep their members in line. He reported that in the Gainesville, Georgia, organizing situation the race issue was not being raised. In Shannadoa, Virginia, there is an increased workload problem and and a Gainesville plant did strike for a while in support of the Shannadoa group. Curry said to look up Adolph "Ace" Benett in Chattanooga. The address is 611 Palmetto Street. He has recently been elected First Vice-President of the Hosiery Workers and will take over not only his current district but the one which Curry now has. Curry will, in a matter of a few weeks, return to the Pennsylvania area.

Talked with Julius Fry and Scott Hoyman in Greensboro. They suggested Dave Terry, from Old Hickory, Tennessee, as a person to be interested in the Fisk Institute. These two men do not expect much upset from potential school desegregation, unless the "mill" schools themselves were to be affected. There was no stir from the move to bus integration. They do feel, however, that Textile Workers

and other rank and file workers would supply the bulk of the reaction to any move for desegregation.

They indicated that in the Leakesville Tri-County Joint Board, TWUA, there was some racial bitterness.

It was interesting that these two suggested a regional staff meeting at which race relations problems were discussed. This represents a shift from a position of each man follow his own light to one where the more positive thinking men are ready to sit down and to discuss, if not convince, with their colleagues about race relations problems.

One of the leaders of the pro-segregation groups is Stark Dillard, of the Dillard Paper Company. There is no union at this plant; Fry thinks that he also served on the state Right-to-Work Committee. A man by the name of Gwynn is an auditor from Leakesville; he dabbled with the TWUA membership there. Dillard himself is notoriously anti-union.

In Durham, N.C., Fry and Hoyman report that in the elections there ~~of~~ the three TWUA locals voted against the labor candidate; however, the labor-backed candidate was not necessarily a too strong one. The locals there are not even affiliated with the state council.

<u>Interview with Mayes Behrman:</u> Mayes is interested in an interagency informal meeting on job opportunities. EV should check Behrman's report to SRC on his trip to Charlottesville. This report has not been acknowledged as received by SRC.

<u>Interview with Boyd Payton/ at Textile Workers Union Office.</u> Met Ed Stone who has done publicity work for TWUA. Met and talked with Bruce Davis, a staff rep.

Boyd called "Red" Lisk, ~~[illegible]~~ Doug Bartchfield (?), Dave Terry, Wayne Durningcourt, Ray Berthiaume, regarding the Fisk Institute. Presumably "Red" and Ray will attend for the full week; Boyd and Wayne Durningcourt may attend the last half of the week, with some possibility that Doug Bartchfield and Dave

Terry will also be able to attend.

On the suggestion of a regional staff conference just for TWUA, Boyd made this counter-proposal - that we pull together the some 15 people working on the Cannon drive and take two days to discuss the problems of race relations in an organizing drive. This program could be set up at any time that Via wants. Boyd would prefer separating this kind of effort from a meeting with the local union administrators. EV agreed that he would begin work on the Cannon project sometime after the Fisk Institute. His proposal was that he come into the area, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ talk with the organizers, and get a general feel of the situation before setting up a conference program.

Some of the men on this organizing drive are the following: Paul Fossett from Gaffney, S. C., who seems to think that desegregation is inevitable but is worried about it; Wade Lynch, from Fort Mill, S.C., who is characterized as saying that he doesn't know much about "niggers" but that perhaps they ought to have equal rights; Jimmy Renthro, from Columbus, Georgia, has had "broadening" experiences in the service, was married to a Maine girl, now divorced - has participated in numerous education institutes and is an admirer of Scott Hoyman; Ed Stone, ex-CIO, sophisticated on race, publishes the "Cannon ~~United~~ Uniter"; Robert McVeigh (?), Ex-regional Director for CIO in Louisiana (?) - do not know stand on race.

Talked with Bob Graham in Carey Haigler's office, also with Carey Haigler. Graham would like to see for preview purposes a copy of the GSM film. Bob has an active interest in border Southern problems, in race relations, and as to how these problems interact with the labor movement.

Graham is ~~o~~ somewhat concerned about Charlotte in the eventuality of school integration - he feels that the situation could explode there. He feels that the Sons of American~~s~~ Patriots have gotten some new support; some from the teachers and from the building trades. However, he does feel that Henderson, with the local IBEW, is a steady person in the building trades set-up. The Charlotte Council on

Human Relations was characterized as a good influence but not really out-front. He felt that the NAACP, through Kelly Alexander, tends to go to extremes and that it hurts the situation there. Carey Haigler recalled the time when he had been forced to go along with the endorsement of Bull Conners in Birmingham. Although in an earlier period ~~[illegible]~~ Conners had been helpful in organizing situations, he later gave them serious trouble. Carey Haigler reported that there was some resentment on bus desegregation because Negroes occupied seats singly. There was no particular stir over integration of ~~[illegible]~~ library facilities, but few Negroes now take advantage of the previously all-white facilities. He does not feel that the school board will fight very hard to preserve segregation. Most of the resentment to desegregation will be from union members or other workers; however, he does not feel that the locals themselves will be agitated very much, just some individuals.

Haigler feels that the Charlotte police chief does a good job of keeping up with the hate groups and keeping them in line; however, this same chief has a bad reputation regarding unions. Haigler does feel that the KKK is growing, although the Patriots and WCC are going slowly. Some of his own kin who have been affiliated with the WCC are not only close-mouthed but losing interest.

The attempt to organize union organizers into a group called the FRF (EV assumes this is Field Representatives Federation) has had a good bit of its impetus in the South. This move has met with strong opposition from the national AFL-CIO. Both Boyd Payton and Carey Haigler feel as if the methods used by the national have been poor and contributed to an even greater desire for organization. Haigler cites the case that all but two of his staffers were participating in this move when a visit was made by Franz Daniels into the area; after Franz departed the other two members joined in with FRF. Haigler and Payton both completely poo-pooed the idea that there was any race angle whatsoever in this organizational attempt.

Bob Graham is interested in getting any information on County and Municipal

licensing for union organizers. Whatever experience that ~~[illegible]~~ Kehrer has on this point would be of interest to him.

Carey Haigler recommends Henry White, on Paul Christopher's staff, as a Negro organizer of some real competence.

Some Economic Aspects of Virginia's Current Educational Crisis

Lorin A. Thompson
Charlottesville, Virginia

There is increasing concern in Virginia about the future of its public school system. This stems from the controversies centering around the federal court orders to Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County to desegregate their schools. As of today the six white junior and senior public high schools in the city of Norfolk, Lane High and Venable Elementary schools in Charlottesville, and Warren County High School have been closed by the Governor under the massive resistance legislation. Tempers are running short and the attention of people is being focused on the question of whether public education in Virginia should be abandoned or continued. This discussion is not concerned with the merits of desegregation or segregation, but rather with some of the economic consequences of abandoning and liquidating the present system of public education in Virginia.

A few facts taken from the annual reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and other state reports show the magnitude of the problem in quantitative terms. First of all, the total value of all school property in Virginia in 1957 was reported to be $576 million. Of this amount, $524 million represented sites and buildings, $42 million represented furniture and equipment, and just under $10 million represented school buses. These values do not represent replacement value but book value. The total net debt

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owed by the city and county school boards of Virginia is in excess of $200 million and total expenditures for public education in Virginia from state, federal, and local sources for the fiscal year 1956-57 amounted to $197,451,000. This in truth is big business representing a very substantial investment in buildings and properties, a sizeable indebtedness, and current annual expenditures of more than $200 million.

The public school system of Virginia has been a joint financial venture between the state and the locality. In the main the responsibility for furnishing sites, buildings, equipment and supplies has been that of the local government. Funds for operation and maintenance--the largest item of which is instructional cost--has been shared by the state and the locality. The state's participation in this sharing has been directed toward establishing a minimum educational program throughout the state which communities could expand or improve with their own resources. The amount of state aid is related to the financial ability of the community to finance education. Most Virginia counties could not finance their educational programs on the current basis without state aid. For the counties as a group in 1956-57 about 47 per cent of the maintenance and operating funds are in the form of state grants. Among individual counties the corresponding extremes were from 16 per cent in Arlington to 73 per cent in Buchanan.

In the year 1956-57 the total average daily attendance in the public schools of Virginia was 692,978. In 1950 the corresponding figure was 536,831

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The average daily attendance in 1957 was approximately 25,000 larger than in 1956 and the prospects are that the total number of children wishing to attend elementary and high schools in Virginia will increase by about 22,000 per year so that by 1964 and 1965 the average daily attendance will be in the neighborhood of 850,000. Total school enrollment will be about 935,000. One of the unfortunate aspects of the present controversy over public education is that the number of children of school age keeps increasing while the facilities to accommodate such an increase are becoming more difficult to provide.

Proposals to abandon the system of public schools in Virginia need to be examined most carefully. As just pointed out, the number of children of elementary and high school age will continue to increase each year for many years to come. Before public schools could be abandoned as a state policy, Section 129 of the State Constitution which says that the state will operate and maintain an efficient system of public free schools, would need to be amended to read somewhat as follows: "the state and each of its political subdivisions acknowledge no responsibility for providing any funds for the education of children in Virginia and are hereby prohibited from appropriating any public funds for such a purpose." If this were done the full responsibility of educating children would fall on the parents and private schools.

Such an amendment would further require the liquidation of all properties and equipment now used for public education. It is sheer speculation as to what proportion of the value each community might recover from the

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sale of its surplus school building sites, furniture, and equipment. One thing is certain, the bond holders would have in excess of $200 million owed them and would require immediate settlement. Whether any proceeds would be left after the bond holders were paid off would be uncertain. In the event the proceeds from the sale were less than the outstanding indebtedness, the local governments would have to increase taxes to make up any deficit. School bonds are full faith and credit obligations of the locality. If school buildings were sold to private school groups the financial underwriting necessary for the acquisition of property now valued at approximately $600 million would be a most substantial undertaking. Long established private schools have not found it easy to borrow money for new facilities. The liquidation of the public school system would result in the public giving away a substantial part of the investment it has made over many years for public school facilities.

If the public school system were abandoned and liquidated, teachers and administrators dedicated to the tasks of teaching and training our children and youth would be confronted with a most serious dilemma. Some would accept positions in private schools and others would seek employment in the public school systems of other states or change their occupation. The comparatively rapid population growth in the United States and the general shortage of trained and qualified teachers would soon syphon off a substantial portion of the public school teachers in Virginia. The results of such a blow to public education would take many years to repair. The

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alternative of substituting private for public education may have a heroic appeal, but upon sober reflection scarcely seems prudent.

The abandonment of public education and the consequent liquidation of public school properties would decrease the need for state and local taxation. The resulting decreases in taxes for families with children in most instances would not be substantial enough to permit the great majority of families to send their children to private schools. The taxes paid by individuals during the period which the children are in school rarely cover the cost of education. However, people pay taxes throughout their working life so that over a lifetime most families will pay the full cost of the education of their children. Single individuals and businesses likewise pay taxes which provide support to public schools both at the state and local level.

When one contemplates the consequences of abandoning public education it is quite clear that a complete revision and revamping of state and local tax policies and revenue structures would be required. At the present time even minor adjustments to tax and revenue policies are painful. Such a revolutionary change might be destructive of local government in Virginia as we now know it because such a course of action would require prompt and extensive changes in the respective functions of state and local government as well as the ways and means of financing the activities of each level of government. Underlying these proposals for the abandonment of public education is a philosophy that education primarily benefits the person receiving it

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and it is therefore appropriate for the parents of the children being educated to bear the full cost of providing this education during the time the children are in school. Such a theory, however, does not recognize the fact that the investment made in children by parents, the community, and other social agencies contributes immediately to the benefit of those who employ them and to the locality as a whole in all of its activities. If children have been poorly trained, the employer is obliged to provide facilities to remedy educational deficiencies along with the indispensable training required in breaking in workers for various jobs and positions. The benefits or the deficiencies of education thus become widely diffused throughout the entire social fabric.

What would the long term effects of such a policy be on the Commonwealth of Virginia? First of all, it would find itself in a very unique position in that it would assume no obligation for the education of its children where other states in the nation have systems of public free education, most of which over the years have been better and more adequately financed than the public school system of Virginia. The higher cost of private schooling would unquestionably have the effect of encouraging families who now work in manufacturing plants, business concerns, and professional services in Virginia to move to other states which offer attractive facilities for the public education of their children. All business and industry, if it wished to retain present employees would find it necessary to increase wages and salaries to a point high enough to cover a substantial part of the costs of families

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sending their children to private schools. While it is quite probable that if public education were abandoned, business taxes would be decreased, it is unlikely that they would be decreased enough to offset the increased wage and salary costs of their employees for the support of private education. Even if such a venture were ultimately successful, there is little doubt that for a decade or more efforts to promote and stimulate economic development would be relatively ineffective.

Another matter is the accreditation of schools. If the present public school system were abandoned each new private school would need to be accredited. For full accreditation the new private schools would need to meet the standards prescribed by such organizations as the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the American Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. At best such a procedure would be long and involved and students graduating from such schools and who plan to go on to college would find themselves at a very distinct disadvantage. This group has been about one-fourth of the youth attaining age 18. A further aspect of this problem is that about three-fourths of all children in Virginia attaining age 18 do <u>not</u> go on to college. Would the private schools over the next decade or so be able to provide the type of secondary education which would prepare these students to assume a proper place in our society? Such developments have been very difficult undertakings for the public schools and they would be no less so for the private schools.

If we consider the relationship of education to the society in which we

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live we find that few people are independent in the sense that they can provide all of the food, fiber, and facilities for their own convenience and comfort. Life in the latter half of the 20th century is highly interdependent The increase in specialized manufacturing and distribution makes it increasingly so. Moreover, people do not grow up and remain in the places in which they were born. One of the freedoms in America is the freedom to seek opportunity wherever it may be found. The growth and expansion of government, business, and industry in Virginia since 1940 has been accompanied by a cessation of net migration from the state; in place of exporting people there has been a net import. This pattern of development has been associated with the expansion of business and commerce and a general improvement in the economic fortunes of the Commonwealth. Progress and development in the future will be arrested if the social, economic and political policies of the state are such as to discourage people from remaining and/or settling in Virginia. If public education were abandoned there is little doubt that many people would be discouraged from remaining in or emigrating into Virginia and the economic progress of the past two decades would be arrested.

Finally, life today calls for a departure from provincialism. All peoples everywhere find that their fortunes are affected by developments in remote parts of the world. Rapid transportation and communication and the increasing exchange of goods and services throughout the nation and the world call for understanding and good will among people. Internal strife and

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dissension impairs the ability of people to take full advantage of their opportunities.

The foregoing discussion points out some of the major developments that would likely occur if public education were completely abandoned. The readjustments would be very extensive and would require a great deal of painstaking investigation to determine their full effect. In a real sense abandoning public education in the 20th century is a revolutionary idea. The alternatives to public education no doubt could be worked out in time but it would be a long and tortuous road fraught with difficulty and uncertainty. This apparently is not fully realized. During the present crisis occasioned by the desegregation orders of the federal courts and by other criticisms of our school system confusion and uncertainty abound. Proposals to abandon public schools because of operating difficulties is clearly confusing means (administrative procedures involved in operating public schools) with ends (public education).

It would appear that the foremost question before the people of Virginia today is whether or not they believe in public education and will support it. Abandonment or weakening of public education over a period of five to ten years would undermine the present economic strength of the state. The effects of this weakening process would be cumulative. The damaging effects of the present dislocation will be more apparent one, two, or five years hence. Reference has already been made to the fact that Virginia's economic growth during the past two decades has reversed the former pattern of net out-

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migration of people from Virginia to one of net in-migration. Such migrants have built plants and facilities, established businesses, and brought in skilled workers who were not available among the native population. This has been the basis of the relative prosperity and growth during the past two decades.

An increasing number of the new industries in Virginia are having difficulties in bringing into their plants the highly trained personnel needed to guide production and distribution programs. Some skilled workers in these new plants and industries have already left because they regarded the education of their children to be of paramount importance. They have returned to places where the situation is more dependable and stable than in Virginia. As more schools become subject to federal court orders to desegregate, more and more communities in Virginia will be affected by this kind of situation. If one is inclined to doubt this fact he might ask himself this question: If I were interested in establishing a new business or a branch plant would I consider locating such a plant in an area in which the provision for educating children of workers is in a state of confusion and turmoil, or which did not provide advantages for young people comparable to those of other areas? Of the many new plants which have established themselves in Virginia within the last ten years, how many would give serious thought to closing their operations in this state if these difficulties increased? Any environment which is unstable and in which public education is threatened is not conducive to business development or expansion.

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REPORT OF A VISIT TO CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
January 21-22, 1959

by Bonita H. Valien

Four months of closed public schools have had considerable impact on the Charlottesville community. A community which bragged a few months earlier that Virginia will not have violence is now saying rather hopelessly, "We could have another Little Rock." The Governor's speech following the court's (January 19) ruling was considered by most officials and community leaders as "an invitation to violence." Said one of the community's respected leaders, "Let's face it, the people of Virginia haven't owned their souls for a long time. With the Byrd machine, totalitarianism is as complete in Virginia as it could operate under any totalitarian government, and if John Battle, Jr. comes out in support of the recent court ruling, you can say that is the most courageous act that has taken place in Virginia in the last fifty years." This was Col. Francis Pickens Miller speaking, but not for publication. His optimism of last summer had been replaced with a cautiousness bordering on pessimism, except that he was beginning to "see a breakthrough" -- a significant one -- being led by the leading business men of the city.

There is no question that Charlottesville's economic structure is being seriously impaired as a result of the public school situation. Business men say that business is at the "lowest possible ebb." The loss of human resources is also being lamented. It is generally agreed that the more promising students from the better educated families have been sent out of the community in order that they may continue their schooling. It is believed that these youth will never return to the community. One woman, a prominent Virginian said, tearfully, "It hurts you when you love a place; all my family was born here, our roots are in Virginia, and yet our children whom we have had to send

away so that they could complete their education tell us that they are ashamed to let any of their classmates know they are from Virginia. This is awful; I hate to think what the future of Virginia will be like if this continues."

In September, 1958, bevause Negro students were assigned to them, 2 white schools -- Venable Elementary and Lane High did not open and have remained closed. Students go to class in private homes with the exception of those attending the Charlottesville Education Foundation's Robert E. Lee School. The emergency school program in Charlottesville for white children is under the sponsorship of the Parent's Committee for Emergency Schooling (conducting schools for Venable pupils), the Joint High School Committee (which is conducting the high school program), Charlottesville Education Foundation (for "displaced Venable pupils who can't get education acceptable to them from the public schools"). The 12 Negro children are being tutored. (A detailed summary of the program as it is presenting operating is given at the end of this report).

REACTIONS TO THE COURT'S RULING OF JANUARY 19

The School Board and City Council:

Mayor Thomas J. Michie confided and said under no circumstances must he be quoted, that the City Council and School Board had anticipated the decision, and further that both had secretly decided that the schools would open without fanfare. As a matter of fact, it was the opinion of some of the members that the schools would simply open the very next day after the ruling. This, however, seemed impracticable in view of some of the administrative details that would have to be worked out. But this much was clear, the Board was expecting to follow the court's decision and open the schools. However, after the Governor's speech, the Board and council members became a bit more cautious. The City

Council and School Board refused to move or even comment on the decision until after they have received an interpretation of the decision by City Attorney John S. Battle, Jr. The School Board authorized him to prepare a formal opinion for its information that would "encompass in general the effect of the decision on the Charlottesville School Board." Battle has said the court's decision in the case did not surprise him, but he was surprised at the language of the opinion. He said he needs time to study it thoroughly, and that he will confer with Gov. Almond before giving the School Board his opinion. He said the Board should have his written opinion by the end of the week. Battle explained that his job is to provide the board with his interpretation of the law and the court's decision. He makes it clear that school policy decisions are up to the School Board. He has said the court's decision raises many questions which need further study. He has pointed out significantly that the Board has no time limit for the discussion of the problem and determining its future action. He says he does not yet know what course of action he will recommend to the board and that he is attempting to "envision all the practical problems" facing the Board.

In favor of compliance:-

The Charlottesville Committee for Public Education met and voted to notify the school Board formally that the two closed schools (Lane and Venable) should be reopened immediately. The uhit's executive committee visited each member of the school board to convey this sentiment. Said its president, J.A. Rolston, "We emphasize the necessity for a rapid return to normal in our school situation. The Committee for Public Education will not be satisfied with anything less than the reopening of Venable and Lane. In commenting on the Governor's speech, Rolston said, "the Governor appears to have lost all sense of objectivity about the future of Virginia. In his emotional speech packed with inuendo, he

seems to have set a course toward educational and economic suicide. Will 1965 in Virginia be a return to the 1865 economic chaos?"

The Joint High School Committee and the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling announced that parents, pupils and teachers were ready to return to Venable School "if the court decision means that the School Board will reopen the schools."

League of Women Voters: Asks School Board to open schools "as soon as practicable." Mrs. T. H. Evans, president, reports the following resolutions of the League: (1) called for the reopening of Lane High School and Venable Elementary School as soon as practicable; (2) declared the League supports public education and (3) declared the League opposed Virginia's massive resistance policy.

A group of Business men (composed of the leading business executives of the city. These business men have drafted a statement in the expectation that the City School Board will decide to reopen the two schools in the light of the January 19 ruling. The statement is designed to appear as a newspaper advertisement. Col. Miller who has been meeting with the group in their secret sessions since December 22, says that the business men in groups of twos have secretly visited each member of the school board asking them to reopen the schools and pledging their support in such a decision. The business men have asked members of the Committee for Public Education, the League of Women Voters, Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling, Joint High School Committee, to sign and circulate the statement among their membership and friends. The petition is being circulated only among white citizens.

IN OPPOSITION TO THE OPENING OF THE SCHOOLS

Immediately following the ruling, petitions signed by 831 Lane High and Venable school parents were presented to City Council asking that the two schools not be reopened during the current school year. Mrs. Cropp, the spokesman for the group said the parents don't want the emergency school programs to be abandoned. If the public schools were reopened and later closed as the result of state legislative action, the students would be left with no school again as they were this fall before the emergency schools were organized.

The Charlottesville Educational Foundation (CEF) is opposed. Its president, D. B. Mitchell says he believes there is a clear need for preservation of the city's emergency school program, at least until we know what legislation will be adopted." He issued the following statement to the press:

> "I gathered from the governor's address last night that the state authorities do not propose at this time to accede willingly to the decision of the federal courts regarding school integration. I believe that one thing is clear, and that is the necessity of attempting to preserve for the sake of our children the emergency school programs now operating in Charlottesville, at least until we know what legislation will be adopted.
>
> "It is certainly apparent that the need for increased private schooling here in Virginia has not been eliminated and will probably continue for some time. The Charlottesville Educational Foundation was established to fill that need and it will continue to do so as long as the need exists."

THE PRESS:

The Richmond Dispatch which is read in Charlottesville as its morning newspaper is defiant and inflammatory and supports the Governor and Senator Byrd in their strong attitude of resistance. The local paper, The Daily Progress, Charlottesville's own afternoon paper calls for a new approach to the problem created by the ruling. Conceding that the so-called "massive resistance" laws were no cure for Virginia's problems, calls for tuition grants out of funds

properly available for the purpose. Says segregation can be maintained by the voluntary choice of all who want it. In general, it concedes there will be some integration.

COMMUNITY MORALE

By and large, it seems that most people in the community expected the court's ruling to strike down the "massive resistance laws", but there seems to be a large part of the population that still believes that something can be done to maintain segregation. Tuition grants seems to them the answer. Since the emergency schooling has operated satisfactorily there is the feeling that these can continue. The mayor, in commenting on this says that these people have not stopped to think that these emergency schools are being run by the teachers and being paid by the city, and that once they are withdrawn (as most assuredly they will be when the public schools are opened) the emergency schools won't be so easy. But there is still hope.

Among the white high school students, most agree that the emergency schooling is better than no schooling at all, but they are finding it most inadequate. The students find four hours of concentration on one subject very difficult. Both the students and teacher of chemistry confided that they found four-hours of chemistry without interruption both dull and difficult. Even the teacher admitted he found it difficult to stay awake, and he wask doing the teaching!

White teachers are indicating dissatisfaction and frustration. The major confided that he had just had a visit from the head of the teachers group who said that unless something was done soon there was grave fear that there would be no teachers available for the teaching of schools under any conditions or at any level next year. She said teachers are "finding the situation unbearable."

Morale in the Negro community continues to be high. However, the two high school students are showing signs of disaatisfaction and boredom. The one student who is in the eleventh grade and was to be graduated this year is the daughter of the NAACP president (Ferguson). Considerable pressure from the white community has been put on her and her parents to send her to the Negro school in the belief that the other Negro students would follow. This the parents have refused to do, and this decision is shared by the daughter. There have been many rumors in circulation, the most persistent being that this girl, as a result of the tension under which she has been living, has had a mental breakdown and has been committed to an institution. The girl reports a few unpleasant experience with members of her own high school classmates at the Negro school when she has attempted to attend some of the social functions at the school. Some of the students have called her names, and said, "so you want to be white; the Negro school wasn't good enough, etc." Her parents are supplementing her education with a planned reading program.

STRATEGY:

Mayor Michie confided that there was considerable concern on the part of some officials in Charlottesville about "sticking out their necks first in opening the schools". Thus, they are secretly exploring the possibility of all three areas presently affected -- Arlington, Norfolk and Charlottesville -- to see if the schools could not open at the same time. Since Arlington is under court order to open on February 2, it is believed it would be good strategy for Charlottesville and Norfolk to open at that time also. This would keep any one area from getting the full impact of the "Defenders." Since Charlottesville doesn't have semesters, they could open their schools at any time during the year.

MINISTERS - Since the ministers could not agree on what, if any kind of statement they should make in support of the recent ruling, they have decided to circulate the petition drawn up by the business men. The inability of the ministers to go on record as a group at this time has come under severe criticism and attack by Rev. Evans who stands almost alone as a minister in the community in his open attack on the segregation issue.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS AS SEEN BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY:

Because the climate has been so negative and explosive, concerned community leaders see the need for workshops for students and teachers. Mrs. Evans says that she has concern about what will happen in the high school since all the students whom she knew that had a positive attitude and could have exerted some leadership have withdrawn from the school and gone elsewhere. It is felt that by and large the attitude of teachers is very unhealthy and that they are very much in need of some help.

The mayor is not at all sure what he can expect from his law enforcement group. They have secretly undergone some training, and he feels that he had the support of the state police, but he says now that he is not certain that the Governor may not call them in, as did Faubus, to support his point of view. He thinks this is an area in which some work needs to be done.

It is felt that someone needs to give the ministers of the community a "shot in the arm." They are providing practically no leadership and have almost "surrendered to the mob."

MY OWN IMPRESSION:

There is no question in my mind that the schools in Charlottesville will open, and I believe soon. This opinion is based in large part on the great amount of activity being engendered by the business group. The "economic pinch"

is on, and when Senator Byrd's banker, a member of the businessmen's group supporting the opening of the schools says, "Let's face it, Byrd once was an asset, but he is now a liability," something is beginning to happen. And it is this statement said at one of the secret meetings which Pickens Miller attended that gives him the hope that a breakthrough even more significant than the opening of the schools is beginning. But there are clearly other positives. The mayor is solidly behind the court's decision, and he carries considerable weight with both the school board and the city council. There are status groups supporting the mayor and are calling for the reopening of the schools. There is the general recognition (even with Almond) that some integration is inevitable. I believe the opening of the schools is imminent. It seems to me if all three communities are able to open their schools at the same time, the psychological affect on the whole Virginia community will be good and the possibility of violence will be minimized.

The Virginia Council has offered its help in preparing for the transition. The mayor doesn't seem to be freightened of the group and speaks of them with respect. The Council has continued to try to do an educational job in the community. Their meeting with Mr. Dabbs, following the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ruling, was well attended and received good newspaper coverage.

Copies of editorials and other interesting newspaper items are attached.

A SUMMARY OF THE EMERGENCY SCHOOLING PROGRAM IN CHARLOTTESVILLE

WHITE STUDENTS

VENABLE

Approximately 600-610 students were expected at Venable last fall. About 540 of these pupils are enrolled in three programs: 335 attend the classes under the sponsorship of the Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling; 180 attend the school set up by the Charlottesville Education Foundation; 25 are members of an independent 1st grade class, for which there is no tuition charge. Sixty-seventy former Venable students have made other arrangements to continue their schooling. As far as is known, no child has dropped out of school. The 60-70 students are attending private schools, paying tuition to go to county schools (not McIntire), or are going to school in other communities where they live with relatives.

Students go to class in private homes with the exception of those attending the CEF's, Robert E. Lee School. Classes meet from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m. Class size is 15-32.

All of the form r Venable Teachers are involved in the three programs, and are still under contract to the School Board. One teaches the independent first grade. Seven teach at the CEF school, which also employs one more teacher from another source. The Parents' Committee uses 15 of these teachers, including the former Venable Librarian who is now teaching the third grade.

The Band instructor meets his pupils at Venable twice a week in the afternoon. This is the regular amount of time devoted to band in the public schools. All city elementary band pupils go to the weekly night practice. The rotating art instructor for the city schools gives no time to any of the three substitute programs. The physical education instructor spends about 1-1½ hours at the Robert E. Lee School where he acts in the capacity somewhat similar to that of a school secretary. Following that, he tests eyes and ears of pupils in the elementary schools that are open until 2:30 p.m. when he starts the two-hour after-school recreation program for sixth and seventh graders. This program is the same recreation program that was carried on in other years but starts earlier since the children are not in school as long.

The Principal and school secretary cooperate with the teachers in the field. Materials such as books, mape, films and record players, must be checked in and out. Duplicating is done for the teachers. Venable is still the record center for all of these displaced pupils.

The maid is employed as usual. The two janitors are doing work, e.g, painting, that ordinarily would have been done by other workers. Since the Cafeteria is an independent, self-sufficient operation and is not supported by tax funds, cafeteria workers were not retained.

LANE

About 1,083 students were expected at Lane last September. 862 were enrolled in December in the Emergency Schooling run by the Joint High School Committee, composed of representatives from the Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling and from the Charlottesville Education Foundation. 179 students have indicated attendance at other

schools. Former county residents who attended Lane as tuition students are now attending Albemarle High Schools. Other students are attending nearby public high schools on a tuition basis. Some students are attending private schools while othere are attending public schools in other communities where they are living with relatives. Schooling arrangements for 42 students are not known. In a normal school year there is a number of drop-outs among students who go to work, are married or move away.

The Emergency Schooling is held six days a week from 8 P.M. to 1 PM with no lunch hour. However, breaks are given at various times. All the former Lane faculty is being used and paid as usual and no other teachers are employed. Students with an ordinary schedule spend one complete day at home as the equivalent of the regular study periods. Pupils study one subject each day; therefore, the equivalent of a week's work is studied during one day. Pupils who are absent are expected to attend another section of the course, if such a section meets on the student's study day.

The Emergency Schooling is carried on in these churshes: First Baptist (Youth Building), First Methodist, First Presbyterian, Greek Orthodox and University Baptist. Also being used are the Elks Lodge, Fry's Spring Beach Club, Medical Arts Building and the Laboratory facilities of the Institute of Textile Technology.

The Students' Assessment for November and December 2as $2 for each month. This fee may be adjusted to cover expenses. Fees help to cover extra janitorial services, the school's share for utilities in the buildings housing classes, liability and property damage insurance, supplies, equipment and maintenance.

All courses but machine shop and physical education for boys in certain years are offered. Boys in the Tenth Grade receive driver training and safety, while those in the Eleventh grade study first aid. Football and basketball practice have been held. Most of the extra-curricular activities are proceeding about as usual. No dances have been held in the school, but there have been concerts in the auditorium and basketball gamein the gymnasium.

At Lane the maintenance staff of three maids and two janitors is employed in a manner similar to that at Venable. Likewise the cafeteria staff was not retained. The school secretaries are working. The Principal is chairman of the faculty of the Emergency High School Program.

Regular steps for accreditation with the state are to be taken.

THE NEGRO STUDENTS

The twelve Negro students -- 10 elementary and 2 high school are being tutored free of charge by an unemployed teacher, a high school teacher currently employed and an Episcopal minister. Tutoring at the elementary school is considered satisfactory; at the high school level less satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the two high school students (one 9th grade; the other 11th grade) are receiving instruction in English and mathematics only. The principal of Venable school has shown a sympathetic attitude toward the group of elementary school children. He has checked with the Negro group to find out what is being taught. He has been concerned and is cooperative. The principal of Lane High school has not acquired regarding the work of the two Negro students. He is described as a person totally out of sympathy with an integrated school system. His attitude has been of concern to both Negro parents and the more positive, concerned white parents.

Dabbs Says Southern Politicos Unrealistic

The president of the Southern Regional Council criticized Southern politicians last night as "unrealistic" in believing that they can fight successfully against civil rights.

James McBride Dabbs told members of the Human Relations Council that "the Southern fight against equal treatment of Negroes in whatever field is the same kind of out-moded, hopeless fight."

To the modern mind, Dabbs said, "civil rights is a good, not an evil, and to be against it is by definition to be against goodness."

Dabbs is the author of "The Southern Heritage," in which he defends the view that acceptance of racial desegregation is consistant with Southern tradition. The Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

"The Negroes of the South today are demanding," Dabbs said, "what unquestionably they have a legal right to, the simple rights of the American citizen.

He said that Southern white people "would do exactly what the Negroes have done" if "your state either ignored you or insisted you were outsiders."

The Southerner's argument of states rights, he said, is also invalid. "Any man who attempts to build today on the original federal union of Madison and Jefferson" he said, is attempting to build upon a long-vanished dream, and will have only trouble for his efforts."

He said that states' rights became outmoded with the adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution.

He said that if the South wanted to fight centralization of government, "we should hove taken up arms again in '67. Of course, it was too late then; it's 90 years too late now."

In his opinion, Dabbs said, "the segregationist part is a poor one" for Virginia to play. "I see little chance of Virginians so acting and speaking in that part as to command the attention of the future."

SEEKS REOPENING OF SCHOOLS — Knox Turnbull, spokesman for a group of businessmen supporting reopening of Lane and Venable schools, addresses a meeting of the Committee for Public Education. He asked members of the organization last night to sign and circulate a statement drafted by the businessmen.
—Lyster photo.

The Governor's Oratory

Daily Progress

It is regrettable that Governor Almond, in his address to the people of Virginia last night, saw fit to indulge his penchant for emotion-charged oratory rather than to present a sober analysis of our problem and of ways for solving it.

Heat enough already has been engendered. Indeed, the trouble we are in is attributable in considerable part to the fact that we have been applying heat rather than reason to the task of overcoming the difficulties created by the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. The lamentable consequence is that we now find that almost everything we have done has been in contravention of our own State Constitution as well as of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

It is time to quit blindly butting our heads against legal walls, state or federal. We cannot afford that kind of self-punishment. Instead we must seek, calmly and with open eyes, the solutions that are available within the framework of the legal system under which we have no practical choice but to live. And let it be added, with emphasis, that we must do so with full regard for the necessity of preserving educational opportunity for our children.

Following 2nd Speech

Your Right to Say It

Calls for Reopening Of Closed Schools

(To the editor:)

The demise of the massive resistance enactments signals a unique opportunity for the City of Charlottesville. I wonder if we are fully aware of our position.

We have in being a private school foundation whose announced determination is the continued operation of segregated classes, even if the schools open on a desegregated basis. So long as it exists, no parent who has violent objections to desegregation need send his child to a desegregated school.

We have a large group of citizens who are demanding that Lane and Venable Schools be reopened and who, presumably, are fully aware that this can only be done if the Negro applicants are admitted.

We have an extremely select group of Negro students prepared to enroll when these schools are opened—a group which successfully met every objective test we could devise and which would be a credit to any school.

We have a mayor who has expressed his determination to keep the peace. Surely he could cope with the few fanatics whose violent objections to desegregation extends to their neighbors' children as well as their own.

In short, we have all the ingredients for a successful beginning of desegregation. If we act now we can "break the chain" and present those state officials who have led us down a blind alley of defiance (and are apparently preparing to do so again) with the thing accomplished.

Let us appeal to our School Board to open these schools immediately, to invite those who are prepared to accept desegregation to attend, and to instruct their attorney to appeal to the federal courts, if that should become necessary, to restrain any further attempts to seize our schools or deny us our rightful share of state school funds.

C. A. ANDERSON

523 Ridge St.

Editor's note: The alternative to desegregated schools which Mr Anderson says has been provided will not in fact be assured to families of modest means until the tuition grants, urged in an editorial on this page, have been made available.

What Now?

Editors Scan the Future After Monday's Decisions

Here are excerpts from editorials published by a number of Virginia (and one North Carolina) newspapers following Monday's state and federal court decisions invalidating this state's "massive resistance" laws. Others will appear on this page tomorrow.

As this newspaper has frequently said, it would be a tragedy of the worst sort if Virginia abandoned education of its children. It is evident now in the light of the State Supreme Court's decision that the state cannot be divorced from schools as long as Section 129 of the Constitution stands. That cannot be changed except by the will of the people expressed through a referendum or a constitutional convention.

We believe it is in Virginia's interest to keep public schools open where they can be operated and to formulate some other plan of aid for private schooling with restrictions that would meet the requirements of the court. The State tribunal's language seems to indicate that the latter can be done within the limitations of the Constitution. As far as possible, parents should have a choice of whether to send their children to mixed public schools or to private segregated schools. — Roanoke Times.

Where do we go from here? Is nothing left but unconditional surrender to the race-mixers?

As a beginning, let us abandon any talk of surrender. This war is not over!

What the courts held yesterday, and all that they really held, was that so long as Virginia operates a system of public free schools, appropriations for such schools cannot be predicated in any way upon the deliberate preservation of racial segregation.

All right. We have known such opinions were bound to come. The object now must be to minimize the consequences of these rulings and to delay their impact until new defensive steps can be taken. Virginia is not helpless.

This newspaper will take its stand right now on the subject of Section 129: Let it go! (Section 129 is the part of the Constitution of Virginia which makes it mandatory for the General Assembly to "maintain an efficient system of public free schools throughout the State.") — Richmond News Leader.

This is a time for the too-cautious moderates to speak up, not in an I-told-you-so way but in forthright reference to the flimsy laws that have been tossed aside, and to the fact that there has been a better approach from the beginning, one clearly outlined by the Federal courts — and by careful reading of what was involved, and common sense.

The extremist-emotionalists will have a difficult time now, perhaps leading to understanding the realities involved and arriving at a moderation which will bring better, legally acceptable procedures. For, now, everything must be thought through, not demagogically pressured through. —The News, Lynchburg.

Undoubtedly many will greet these decisions by a federal and a native Southern court with renewed resentment. Nobody in the South, however, any longer can confront the situation under any delusions that massive defiance is a legal possibility. This is a situation in law under which we must live if our schools are to be preserved and our children are to have a chance. New anger may serve old emotions. Only a purpose to preserve our schools in the best possible manner under the law will serve the South. — News and Observer, Raleigh, N.C.

Realistically, our present situation seems to be this. As already noted, there may be some token integration in a few public schools in a few localities, perhaps as early as the semester beginning in February. If so, it is a minimum evil which simply must be accepted as such.

Our real problem goes beyond this. Some localities may be willing to accept this token integration. In other localities, however, there will be no such acceptance, and the vast majority of citizens will prefer to abandon their public schools. They should have the right of choice in the matter.

If segregation is not required, the state doubtless has the right to make tuition grants available to families without access to any public schools, or families that prefer to withdraw their children from mixed schools. In each case, such grants will make possible the financial support necessary for an adequate system of private schools.

These are the hard lines along which we now must proceed. It will be the task of the commission to be appointed by the Governor to recommend precise details, and supporting laws, to carry out some program of this type.—Richmond Times-Dispatch.

As Virginia Editors See It—

A Place for Darden Urged In Study of School Problem

Virginia's next move will probably be the appointment of a study commission by Governor Almond to recommend new legislative proposals. If a study group is needed, we hope the governor will not limit it to members of the General Assembly. The best brains the state can muster should be brought to bear on the school problem. Men of wisdom and judgment are needed, whether they are legislators or not.

One name that immediately comes to mind in thinking of a study group is that of President Colgate W. Darden Jr. of the University of Virginia. Here is a distinguished Virginian with experience in the executive and legislative branches of government and, more recently, in the field of education. There are others — Virginians who will not let the passions of the moment distort their judgment — whose advice is needed on any study group.

And — lest we shut off communication between the races at a critical time — a study group should provide for representation of Virginia's Negro citizens.

Virginia needs a fair and workable plan of adjustment to court orders for desegregation. To reach a just solution to the problems facing us will require the utmost in wisdom and tolerance—Free Lance-Star, Fredericksburg.

Assuming the attitude of massive resistance, if not the massive resistance laws, is still intact, there is the question of what new approach Virginia can take. To that one there is no ready answer. Presumably the governor in the near future will name the legislative study commission of which he has spoken. There is no further reason for delay, and the sooner such a body can begin its deliberations the better.

In the meantime there is no assurance the problem will assume a dormant shape until new legislation is enacted. Localities in Virginia other than those in which suits have originated may find themselves in the position of being parties rather than spectators.

Yet the right of a locality to close schools or to withdraw funds has not been denied by either state or federal decisions. Moreover, even in the discouraging legal situation which now exists, it is difficult to see how any plausible challenges to the segregation policy could be made in the midst of a school year. But if Virginia is going to erect new defenses for September, 1959, it does not have much time to lose, especially if constitutional amendment must be undertaken.—Progress-Index, Petersburg.

The two decisions in Virginia yesterday—one by the state Supreme Court of Appeals, the other by the three-judge federal court—together form a powerful one-two punch that knocks out of legal existence the legislative devices of the massive resistance program.

The first punch is the decision of the state's highest court, intimately familiar with Virginia's constitutional law and quite aware of all surrounding circumstances. In a special sense this is Virginians speaking to Virginians.

The second punch comes straight out of the United States Supreme Court decisions of 1954, 1955, and 1958. It hits hard, and the sweep of its impact extends far. It has a special significance, for it emerges out of the tragedy and travail of Norfolk's closed schools and their 10,000 punished pupils.

Together the two decisions not only knock down—that is now the first necessity. They also clear away the rubbish. For the rest, a historic opportunity now opens for Virginians. The great of heart and mind will rise to it. — The Pilot, Norfolk.

Gov. Almond in his radio-television speech last night (Tuesday) did little to calm the concern of Virginians over the two-part threat of integrated schools and no schools at all. Mr. Almond, we fear, sounded more like a battle leader than a pathfinder.

On the positive side, the Governor did reconfirm his previously-announced intention of appointing a legislative commission to draw up a new school program and made a veiled reference to restoring the tax revenues "of this Commonwealth to the control of the people." It had been our impression this was where control has always resided.

Mr. Almond, to his credit, also promised to use every means at his disposal to keep the peace and called on Virginians to comport themselves with "dignity and restraint." We wish he had made an even stronger statement on this point.

Some time will elapse before a new school program can be formulated by the Legislature. That calls for utmost vigilance on the part of local and State law enforcement agencies to see that tensions do not erupt into public disorders. Virginians, we believe, should be made unmistakably aware of the Governor's determination to prevent violence and preserve peace and order. He should have the full support of all citizens in that determination. Violence is madness. Virginia wants no Little Rock.—Roanoke Times.

Desegregation in Norfolk
(Confidential Report)

Harry J. Walker

Background of the Community

In 1950, Norfolk had a total population of 213,513 of which 63,448, or 29.6 per cent, were reported as nonwhite. ~~Estimates of the~~ Estimates of the population for 1957 placed the total population at 219,896. The estimated nonwhite population was 73,787 for 1957, or 24.9 per cent of the total.

Over the last several decades there has been a steady movement of the white population to suburban areas. A large portion of this population will again be included within the corporate limits of the city with the anticipated annexation of a large area adjacent to the city.

The current school population is estimated to be in excess of 42,000 including the Negro population which is estimated to be about 15,000. According to one of the assistant superintendents of the public schools, the annexation of adjacent territory will result in an increase in the white school enrollment which has been declining somewhat over the past few years.

Norfolk differs from other Virginia cities in that it is the site of a number of federal government enterprises, the largest of which is the naval installation. These afford employment for a large proportion of the working population including the Negro labor force. The existence of the naval base and federal governmental operations together with the fact that the city is a seaport creates a transient population and brings into the city many persons from the outside. This gives to the city a cosmopolitan character not found in other large Virginia cities.

Several officials of the city government point to the cosmopolitan

character of the city as an influential factor in the "progress we have made in race relations." A former chairman of the Board of Education recounted with pride that Norfolk was among the first southern cities to equalize salaries for Negro teachers. He pointed to the fact that for several years joint meetings of Negro and white teachers have been held and that Negro and white supervisory personnel in the school system meet regularly to consider common problems. In addition, twelve Negroes are members of the police force. There also has been some participation of Negro recreational personnel in staff meetings of the recreation department although with a few exceptions such as track meets all recreational programs and activities have been conducted on a segregated basis.

Norfolk is unusual among Virginia communities facing court orders to desegregate in September. By contrast Norfolk has 151 Negro pupils who have applied for admission to nine white schools while other communities have only a few Negro applicants. The School Board upon advice of the city attorney has instituted a pupil-assignment plan. Under this plan all Negro pupils applying for admission to a white school are required to submit themselves for a placement test and to be interviewed for assignment to white schools. Negro leaders view the pupil-assignment plan as a device for preventing the enrollment of Negro pupils in white schools.

Climate of Opinion

With the city under a federal court order to desegregate at least some of the public schools, the people of Norfolk on the surface are calm. This is true of both the white and Negro communities. The only organized opposition of citizens to desegregation comes from the Defenders of State Sovereignty. Public officials of the City do not take the Defenders seriously. It is

recognized, however, that this group encouraged by the state program of massive resistance could be a source of racial tension and conflict if the schools are desegregated.

Most leaders of both the white and Negro community do not anticipate racial violence when schools open in September, largely because of the Governor's decision to close a school upon knowledge of the enrollment of a Negro pupil rather than upon the actual attendance of a Negro pupil at such school.

The president of the local P.T.A. Council, William I. McKendree, has been appointed by the Tidewater Educational Foundation, a private organization, "to lead efforts to organize private schools for emergency use" if public schools are closed. According to the Virginia's Pilot (July 30, 1958) the leaders of the foundation "have been in sympathy with the state's massive resistance program."

McKendree has been reported by liberal white citizens to be active with the Defenders. Robert Stern, who is a member of the faculty at William and Marys College, states that McKendree has addressed meetings of the Defenders and regularly meets with some of their committees. McKendree is described by liberal whites as a "neurotic, rabble rouser who has engaged in the most vicious verbal attacks on white liberals."

In general, city officials expect any public schools which enroll Negro pupils to be closed. Therefore, a "wait and see" attitude has developed. The fact that they do not anticipate attendance of Negro pupils at white schools leads to the belief that there will not be any violence.

The Position of Community Leaders on Desegregation

Mayor W. Fred Duckworth is considered even by his subordinates to be a person of limited ability. He has studiously avoided making statements regarding the problem of desegregation in the Norfolk community. In fact, it is the official opinion that the problem is primarily a legal one involving the Federal Government and the State of Virginia. For example, when twenty-two white citizens, residents of the west side of Norfolk, where no white schools would ~~be~~ currently be involved in desegregation, petitioned the City Council to keep schools open regardless of "race issues," the Mayor stated: "we have no authority in this matter and we don't propose to get into a dog fight with any agency involved in it." The City Council issued instructions to forward the petition to the School Board.[1]

Actually all city officials on advice of the City Attorney have placed responsibility for handling all issues relative to desegregation in the hands of the School Board. The School Board in turn is relying upon its pupil placement test devised by the City Attorney to meet the situation. As indicated previously Negro leaders view this as a means of eliminating all Negro applicants for enrollment in white schools.

The Negro community is divided on the question as to whether Negro pupils should submit themselves to the testing program. A group of Negro ministers with the support of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. have succeeded in influencing some Negro parents to have their children take the placement test. Meanwhile, Victor Ashe, attorney for the N.A.A.C.P., in opposition to

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[1] The Virginian Pilot, July 30, 1958.

the leaders of this organization is representing twenty-one Negro children who are refusing to submit to the placement test. Suit has been filed before Judge Hoffman of the federal District Court contending that the placement test is discriminatory. Argument on this suit is scheduled for August 18, 1958.

On July 29, the first day scheduled for the placement tests, sixteen Negro pupils presented themselves for the test to comply with the School Board's assignment plan. The following day the daily papers announced that sixteen additional Negro students were scheduled to take the test.

According to Edwin L. Lamberth, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Charge of Administration, the School Board expected that a few of the Negro pupils who submitted to the test would qualify for admission to white schools.[2] Upon admission to these schools it was anticipated that the schools would be closed, thus precipitating a showdown with the State. He was non-comittal on the plans of the Board following the closing of these schools. He believed that, however, white students in these schools would be assigned to other schools and that Negro pupils would return to segregated schools. This view is shared by Dr. Coppage, a Negro dentist who is one of the staunch supporters of the N.A.A.C.P. and who believes that Negro pupils should take the placement tests.

Robert Stern, who is a white liberal and who has a close relationship with the Superintendent of Schools and some of the members of the School Board, reports that the Board is reluctantly willing to desegregate some of

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[2] Interview with Edwin L. Lamberth.

the elementary schools. According to Stern the Board fears that great hostility and possibly violence will result from desegregation at the junior high and high school level. They recognize, however, that any plan of desegregation cannot hope to succeed in the face of the Governor's massive resistance program.

Assistant Superintendent Lamberth argues that the pupil-placement plan does not "differ essentially from the plan used in North Carolina." The situation in Norfolk, he contends is different in two respects:

> (1) most communities in the South had only a few -- not more than ten -- Negro applicants for white schools, we have one hundred and fifty-one; (2) Negroes here cannot be intimidated. Not that I think they should be. In this we are fortunate. Many of them have civil service jobs with the federal government because of the naval installations here. Others are self-employed. Now in some other communities you know what would happen if Negroes applied to get in white schools. All kinds of pressures would be applied and some of them would lose their jobs.

Some evidence which tends to corroborate the statement of Robert Stern appears in the comment of Lamberth, whom Stern regards as less enthusiastic about the prospects of desegregation than Superintendent of Schools Brewbaker. Stated Lamberth:

> I think this thing has to be worked out gradually. I think there would be real violence if we admitted all one hundred and fifty-one Negro applicants. I have not looked at their records yet. They are right here on my desk. We want to select the best Negro pupils. I know that three of those who have applied have a record as trouble makers. When I called a principal at one of the Negro schools and asked for the record of this student, he said: oh! not that boy. He wanted to get rid of him but he thought that he would be a bad risk for this experience. I'm sure that there are some excellent students in the Negro schools and these would be the ones we would want.
>
> ...I believe if this plan (testing and interviewing Negro applicants) were given a chance we would enroll some Negro pupils in white schools.

In regard to the suit to test the legality of the pupil-placement plan Lamberth remarked:

> If the court eliminates this plan, I'm sure ~~one~~ our lawyer will come up with something else. Of course the time is short. I don't believe the court will kick out our entire plan. I think some features may be eliminated.

One cannot help gain a clear impression that official Norfolk regards its plan as a delaying action. If the plan is disapproved by the federal Court, time will be given to introduce a new plan. If any Negro pupils are admitted to a few white schools, which at best is the intent of the plan, and they are closed provisions can be made to reassign white students and to return Negro students to Negro schools. Most thoughtful Negro leaders, while convinced that ultimately schools will be desegregated, also seem to feel that there is a likelihood that no schools will be actually desegregated in September. It is for this reason that whatever racial tensions are buried beneath political and administrative maneuvers the surface remains calm.

Racial Tensions and Prospects of Violence

No one, including the man on the street, in Norfolk anticipates racial conflict in September -- and this because they do not expect the schools to be desegregated. When the question is posed on a hypothetical basis that the State does not close the schools and permits desegregation some of the more sober leaders among Negroes recognize the possibility of racial disturbance. It seems hard, however, for white leaders to think seriously of this possibility. Members of the School Board believe that some token integration could take place in the elementary schools, but not peacefully ~~ably~~ in the high schools. But then they find it easy to focus attention on the conflict between the massive resistance program of the State and the Federal Court order.

The pupil placement program of Norfolk is a bastard child of this conflict. It represents the School Board's effort upon advice of legal counsel to escape being held in contempt by the Federal Court in not complying with its decree and at the same time to not come in conflict with State laws.[3]

With regard to the prospects of racial violence in September the Assistant to the City Manager observed:

> Right now the school situation is out of the city's hands. I'm sure if there is any trouble we can take care of it. The chief of police is aware of the problem and has plans to act if necessary.
>
> I have lived in Norfolk all of my life and you'll find people here are different from the rest of Virginia. I guess being a seaport town has something to wo with it, or may be its because we have a shifting population. I don't know. As far as I can see there doesn't seem to be any tension here. Norfolk is not like Little Rock. In Little Rock there were all kinds of signs of violence before it took place. I don't think we'll have anything here like Little Rock.
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> I think it is a good thing that the test of the state's position on the schools should come in Norfolk - a populous area. In some smaller places I think we would have trouble. In time, Norfolk will work this problem out.[4]

Most of the fear of violence which appears not to be uppermost in the minds of white and Negro community leaders stems from the recognition that a group like the Defenders of State Sovereignty could incite some people to

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[3] See appended document entitled "Questions asked by the School Board and Answers by Counsel." One does not have to be a lawyer to note the ~~unacceptable~~ unconscionable position of the School Board in this matter.

[4] This document was provided by Mr. Smith, Assistant to the City Manager. It is significant that in general he is highly regarded as a forthright person by Negro leaders including Victor Ashe, NAACP attorney.

violence. This, it is generally believed, would occur only if Negroes actually attended white schools.

Some of the Negro leaders (Dr. Coppage, Attorney Ashe) and whites believe that Negroes would strike back hard if there were any attacks on Negroes by whites. They also regard the presence of naval forces as a deterent to wholesale rioting.

Chief Anderson of the Norfolk Police Department states that he is aware of the possibilities of racial disturbances, but like other city officials does not anticipate trouble because of the simple belief that no schools will be desegregated. Chief Anderson is an auslander in Norfolk, being a native of Indiana. He came to Norfolk from Kansas City where he had been Chief of police. Prior to that he had served on the police force in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He is well educated for a policeman — even a police chief. As an outsider he is not entirely accepted by Old Virginians. He recounted his experiences with segregationists resulting from his deliberate failure to enforce segregation on City buses.

> I'm from Indiana and being an outsider here doesn't make my job easier. I have had white people come in here and say some pretty rough things to me. They asked me if I came down here to let the dirty niggers sit anywhere on the bus. They used to get after me for not enforcing segregation. I have been here for two years. It is hard to understand the mentality of these people. My son has had a hard time in high school because he does not accept the southerners point of view, especially with regard to the history of the South...

With regard to preparation for handling racial violence, Chief Anderson explained that he knew Joe Lohman (Sheriff of Cook County) and

was familiar with his work.[5] He especially commented on the work with minority groups of a police officer in Milwaukee whom he said had "developed techniques from the standpoint of a police officer and not an academic man." With regard to his plans for Norfolk, he stated:

> I have requested all of my commanding officers not to take leave until after the month of September. I don't believe anything will happen that we can't handle. But if something did happen and my men were on vacation lying around on some beach, the first thing they would do is criticize me for not being on the job.
>
> I have also given instructions to my men on the way to handle incidents. I have taken this up at the meetings of my commanding officers. I have instructed them to bring in anyone who is involved in any racial dispute. I think I have succeeded in impressing upon them that this is good police practice and that their job is to make arrests and not decide who is responsible. This is the job for the courts. The officers are expected to bring in those who are involved, including the Defenders, and the courts will decide what to do with them.
>
> I have thought of asking for additional men to be added to the regular force. We need them anyway, but I wouldn't get anywhere because this would cost the city money.
>
> Some people have asked that we form a citizens auxiliary police force. Such an untrained group can cause more trouble than they prevent.
>
> n I don't think we are going to have any trouble in September because as soon as it is announced that a Negro child is enrolled in a white school, the school will be closed.

Chief Anderson is also of the opinion that the "Defenders" could be a source of racial disturbance.

> Now, if Negro children were permitted to go to a white school, I think the Defenders would make trouble. I believe

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5 The success of this interview was owing largely to the fact that the interviewer identified himself as having worked with the Chicago Police Department. Chief Anderson was acquainted with the Commissioner of Police and many of the officers with whom the interviewer had worked.

> if we could get a few in at a time we could handle the situation. Right now the attitude on the part of the city is to wait and see what will happen at the state level if a Negro child is admitted to a white school. A group of white citizens appeared before the City Council with a petition to keep the school open with or without segregation. The Council told them that it was out of their hands.

An appraisal of the prospects for racial conflict of a violent nature in the near future is not easy to make. At the present time there exists a rather easy calm. Many people reflect a sense of uncertainty regarding the future, largely because of the unresolved legal conflict posed by the massive resistance program of the State and the fact that the City is under a Federal Court order to desegregate. In the center of this conflict is the Norfolk School Board attempting to devise a self-defeating program of desegregation which will enable it to escape Federal Court censure and at the same time steer a course around the legal obstacles imposed by the State government. Any deflection of this program, which would lead to the closing of white schools or the actual attendance of Negro pupils of white schools, could alter the racial situation over night. Thus, severe racial tension and violence while not imminent could develop with a sudden change in the balance of interests and forces. Conflict must be regarded as a latent component of the Norfolk situation. Thus far, the possibilities of racial disturbance is recognized, but only in an academic sort of way. Future developments may force a more realistic understanding of this possibility and there is the probability that this may come to late. One can say with confidence that at least at the present time there exists no great fear of violence. Lacking in this situation is no realistic and certainly no comprehensive program on the part of citizens' organizations to deal with occurrence of violent racial strife.

Programs of Civic Groups

Norfolk Women's Council. This group appears to enjoy a high degree of respectability in the Norfolk Community. Its membership, which now numbers about four hundred, is comprised largely of the wives of white and Negro professional and business men. Some of these women are also employed in professional and high status clerical pursuits.

The respectability of this organization is in part owing to the social position of its member, but largely to its program. Although the Council has a professed interest in the improvement of race relations and has openly supported and worked for desegregation of the schools, it has also focussed its program in its public meetings on community-wide problems which are not obviously racial in character. For example, one of its recent public meetings was devoted to a consideration of the nature of the housing code. For this meeting the City Manager was the chief speaker. For another meeting the Chief of the detective bureau was invited to discuss problems of law enforcement.

With regard to the problem of desegregation plans are being laid to have white members of the Council escort Negro children to white schools when they are desegregated.

It is of interest that the present president of the Council is Mrs. Ashe, wife of the Negro attorney who is one of the attorney's for the NAACP in the current desegregation litigation.

Committee to Preserve the Public Schools. This committee is headed by Robert Stern who is a faculty member of William and Mary College. Mr. Stern has formed a legal committee to consider legal action to keep open

white schools which are desegregated. He states that he has worked and continues to work with interracial groups, but for strategic reasons has limited the membership of his Committee to white people. With some of the members of his Committee he recently held a conference in Arlington with that City's Committee to preserve the public schools. He reports that at the conference it was decided that each ~~committee~~ community should tackle its own problems.

The Norfolk Committee favors court action at the State level. It is believed that a favorable decision by the State Court of Appeals would prevent charges of the invasion of state's rights. On the other hand there is some doubt that judges in this Court would be free from bias stemming from the political situation. There is also some fear that to seek an injunction in a Federal Court would result in a decision that the plaintiffs had not exhausted all remedies by instituting suit in the state court. This group is anxious to have an opinion from lawyers experienced in this area of law with regard to strategy as indicated by these questions. Members of the legal sub-com point out that the case will have to be brought by parents of white pupils whose school is closed. The superintendent of the public schools has made it clear that the Board of Education could not institute such a legal action because technically it is a part of the state administrative machinery.

The Committee, while having no difficulty in assembling a legal sub-committee, has experienced difficulty in finding a lawyer who would take such a case.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 8/19/58

151 Negroes Refused Admission to Schools in Norfolk

NORFOLK, Va. (AP)—The Norfolk school board Monday night denied the application of 151 Negro pupils seeking admission to the city's white public schools.

In announcing its action, the board said that although it "is aware that the petitioners are all of one race asking to be assigned to schools of the opposite race, it has attempted to approach the problem from the standpoint of sound education."

The school board announcement was made several hours after Federal District Judge Walter E. Hoffman had directed the board to advise him by Wednesday of its action on the applications of 87 Negro pupils seeking admission to white schools.

These 87 had taken tests and been interviewed under the school board's local pupil assignment plan. The remainder of the 151 had either boycotted the tests and interviews or had failed to complete them.

The board's announcement came shortly after two justices of the state Supreme Court of Appeals had granted an injunction until Oct. 15 restraining the board from executing its assignment plan. The injunction was granted on petition of Mr. and Mrs. Coleman H. Coley, white parents of Norfolk, who contended the board's plan violated state law which vests sole authroity for assignments in the state pupil placement board.

The school board's action in denying the 151 applications was taken prior to receiving official notification of the Supreme Court injunction. A school board attorney said, however, "We're not assigning anybody, so we don't feel we're violating any injunction."

Consultant file
Norfolk Va

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
Southeastern Jurisdictional

MRS. R. V. ENNIS
Secretary of Wesleyan Service Guild
1326 Hollins Avenue, Norfolk 2, Virginia

September 8, 1958

Mrs. M.E.Tilley
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

It is rather singular that this morning I addressed an envelope to you to send you a copy of my letter to Governor Almond and in today's mail your letter to me arrived.

I am enclosing the copy of my letter and also clippings from Norfolk paper that show the latest about the school situation. Things do not look good.

Would it be possible for you to prepare for me a list of the persons in my area that attended the meeting in Washington which I missed? I believe it would give me courage if I knew someone close home whom I could contact in case of necessity to make quick decisions.

I expect to be in Atlanta by Friday night on my way to Eagle Rock Camp below Madison. I am driving and will allow time to contact your office and get the list if convenient to you. When flying on schedule through Atlanta twice this summer I have not had time to find a telephone not in use!

Do please pray for us in Norfolk during these next critical days.

By all means count me in for the October meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I plan to attend.

Most sincerely,

Kathryn M. Ennis
MRS. R. V. ENNIS

enclosures

Women's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. V. ENNIS
Secretary of Wesleyan Service Guild
1536 Hampton Avenue, Norfolk 9, Virginia

Written from
Elk Creek, Virginia

September 8, 1958

The Honorable J. Lindsay Almond,
Governor of Virginia
State Office Building
Richmond, Virginia

Honorable Sir:

As I have, during these recent weeks, watched our Norfolk papers in a distant village I have become alarmed and sincerely concerned about the school situation in our City.

I am proud to be a Virginian and I am proud of the history of our great State but I fear that Virginia's historic record is being brought low in 1958 with threats of closing schools and in future years there will be Democrats other than myself who will be ashamed of the 1958 record of this State.

It seems to me, you, as the leader, have a great opportunity to direct destiny in a Christian, honest, fair and statesmanlike way. Right now people are emotionally frustrated and they are waiting for a leader unafraid to do the right thing. I hope you are such a leader. With a firm, right attitude to follow I do believe there would be no trouble and no bloodshed in Virginia over integration.

Enough crack-pot laws have been tried and found wanting to convince some of us that the [illegible] to meet the situation is to obey the law of the land and in order to do that to create a climate of acceptance on the part of the people. But, instead of that these years have been wasted in creating a climate of frustration and misunderstanding. Why prolong the agony and the tension?

My prayers will be that you will rise to the occasion and be a ready Christian Governor of the State of Virginia because you are the Governor of the Black as well as the White. May God give you courage to be fair to the Federal Law and to all the citizens of our Sovereign State.

Respectfully yours,

Special Delivery

MRS. E. V. ENNIS

Consultant — Norfolk. (Harry Walker)

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. V. ENNIS
Secretary of Wesleyan Service Guild
1536 HOLLAND AVE., NORFOLK 9, VA.

September 23, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTENTION: Mrs. M. E. Tilley

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Under separate cover I am mailing clippings that will bring you up to date on the school situation in Norfolk.

There are two groups working for re-opening of schools. All these who are specifically for integration and another group that is for a middle-of-the-road attitude just for opening schools for the benefit of education itself. For the latter group I have a copy of the circulation which must be signed by individuals. The list should be published within the next two days. I am very glad that I got back in time to help work on these two projects. The other group is circulating a petition that reads very much like the following:

> "We, the undersigned, believe that public school education is vital for the preservation of civil and religious liberty in the United States of America.
>
> We are prepared to commit ourselves to non-violent means to insure a peaceable transition to de-segregated education."

This has been circulating for about ten days ans should have about 1500 names by now. The officers are very high-type persons:

Rev. James Brewer, Unitarian Mininster
503 Massachusetts Avenue

Mr. Irving Truitt, Jr., (Epworth Methodist) 1st Vice.
7420 Hampton Blvd.,

Miss Mary Kidd (PTA Officer) 2nd Vice

Mrs. Robert Thrasher(wife of physician)
7433 Flicker Point Office: 1102 Colonial Avenue

Dr. Forrest White, Treas.
1079 Algonquin Road

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. V. ENNIS
Secretary of Wesleyan Service Guild
1536 HOLLAND AVE., NORFOLK 9, VA.

Members-at-large:

Dr. Mason Andrews
1011 North Shore Road

Mr. Robert Stern
1322 Magnolia Avenue

Miss Margaret White
800 Baldwin Avenue

Mr. Ellis James
6110 Powhatan Avenue

Mrs. Joseph M. Commander (Past pres. Norfolk Jr. Woman's Club
400 Ridgeley Road won outstanding woman of year some time ago)

Miss Nancy Holt (Retired Missionary--tireless worker)
338 Freemason Street

I would also suggest Mrs. Forrest White as a tireless worker in getting signatures for the school project and in all phases of inter-racial understanding. She is an active member of the Woman's Council for Interracial Cooperation in Norfolk. Also her mother-in-law is most active, Mrs. Luther W. White, 1049 Lexan Crescent, Norfolk. Mrs. White is sister-in-law to Mrs. R. M. White in Richmond who is constantly fighting racial understanding--whose father was a Methodist Bishop.

In Portsmouth I would like to list the name of Mrs. Raymond Musser, 1801 Rodman Avenue, Portsmouth. Her daughter taught at Allen High in Asheville after graduation at Scarritt College.

In Hampton, I would like to list Mrs. J. A. Ferguson, 267 Newport News Avenue, Hampton, Virginia

I hope this list will help you somewhat to feel you have a corps of workers in this area who are now at work!

I will keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Katherine Ennis
(Mrs. E. V.)

Incl. Bulletin from my church--
Excellent sermon and prayer for
school situation--quiet and profound
message.

confidential

~~FBR~~
Norfolk - file - CSP

COPY

MEMORANDUM

TO: Alex Miller

FROM: Bill Korey

DATE: February 4, 1959

SUBJECT:

I had lunch today with Frank Reeves, the attorney handling the NAACP cases in Northern Virginia. It was something in the nature of a victory celebration since Frank had just won the case to compel Alexandria to admit 9 Negro students next week.

I asked Frank what in his judgment made for the difference between Arlington and Norfolk on the one hand and Little Rock on the other. Frank said that the difference lay in the fact that some of the leaders in the white communities of Arlington and Norfolk were willing to stick their necks out for law and order and the public school system. And the same leaders were able to compel a posture on the part of law enforcement authorities to that end.

He noted particularly the work that we had done in Arlington and he recapitulated the story which I believe I once told you about Ed Campbell in a Norfolk case. You may recall that Ed Campbell, with whom I have worked here in Arlington, was the lawyer handling the case of 12 white parents who were asking for an injunction to force the opening of the closed public schools. When Ed learned that the NAACP was going to ask for a similar injunction in behalf of the Negro parents, he called us long distance to ask us if we could prevail upon the NAACP not to pursue this course because his plaintiffs would feel that they might be construed as working in collusion with the NAACP and therefore would pull out of the case; that the best posture in terms of public school openings is for the white community to fight for same. We called Frank who was in New York at the time. Frank told me confidentially that a hot debate took place within the leadership of the NAACP as to whether to forego their own planned injunction and to let the whites in terms of Campbell take the leadership. Frank won out in the fight and of course he had taken the position which we had suggested. He feels his opinion has now been vindicated as indicated in my opening remarks.

I have suggested strongly to Frank that he prepare a memorandum on his viewpoint and send it to Roy Wilkins. He said he would.

WK:rsg
cc: Arnold Forster
Oscar Cohen

HCF to go 11-20?

RECEIVED OCT 15 1956

9 East 38th Street, Room 801
New York 16, New York
Murray Hill 5-1606

October 11, 1956

To: Participants in meeting at Willard Hotel, Sept. 18, 1956

Enclosed is a summary of the discussion at our recent meeting in Washington.

In accordance with the decision at the meeting, Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean have appointed subcommittees to formulate recommendations and procedures to facilitate cooperative planning and action in a number of areas, including:

The organization of local citizens groups and the coordination of field activities;

the exchange, preparation, and dissemination of audio-visual materials;

the investigation and reporting of information regarding the composition, tactics and programs of White Citizens Councils and other similar groups;

the organization and promotion of interreligious activities on the national, regional and local levels;

the counteraction of pressures exerted through or by Community Chests on agencies favoring integration;

the development of programs whereby educational, business, veterans, legal and other community groups which are not committed to support of the Supreme Court decision, could be involved in activities in line with their own special interests, which might indirectly facilitate compliance with the Court's rulings.

Every effort will be made to have the subcommittee reports available in writing for distribution to you in advance of the next meeting on November 20. You will be advised regarding the locale of the meeting as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made. I sincerely hope that you have reserved this date on your calendar and that you will be able to attend.

Cordially yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

AA:RB
Enc.

P.S. Additional copies of these minutes are available upon request.

Summary of meeting at Willard Hotel, Washington,D.C., Sept. 18,1956

Those present were:

Ralph Arkush, Recording Secty.,Nat'l.Council of Churches of Christ
Miss Lilace R. Barnes, President, National Board of Y.W.C.A.
Kenneth Birkhead, Exec.Director, American Veterans Committee
Theodore Brown, AFL-CIO
Mrs. Frances Cahn, Exec.Director,Nat'l.Council of Jewish Women,Inc.
" Moise S.Cahn, President " " " " " "
James B. Carey, President, Int'l.Union of Elec.Radio & Machine Workers
Dr. C.Emanuel Carlson, Exec.Director, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
Rev. Maynard Catchings, Assoc.Secty.,Nat'l.Student Council, Y.M.C.A.
Herman Edelsberg, Washington Director, Anti-Defamation League
Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, President, Union of American Hebrew Cong.
David Freeman, Vice-Pres., Fund for the Republic
Dr. Frank F. Graham, U.N. Representative in India & Pakistan
Edward Hollander, Exec.Director, Americans for Democratic Action
Nelson Jackson, Nat'l. Urban League
Dr. Oscar J. Lee, Director, Dept.of Racial & Cultural Relations, Nat'l. Council of the Churches of Christ
Herman Long, Director,Race Relations Dept.,Congregational Christian Churches
Edwin Lukas, Director,Dept.of Nat'l.Affairs, American Jewish Committee
Patrick Murphy Malin, Director,American Civil Liberties Union
Mrs. Vivian C. Mason, President, Nat'l.Council of Negro Women
Dr. A. C. Miller, Secretary, Social Service Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
Clarence Mitchell, Diredtor,Washington Bureau, NAACP
George S. Mitchell, Exec.Director, Southern Regional Council
Dr. John Morsell, Ass't.Exec.Secty., NAACP
Emanuel Muravchik, Director,Field Service, Jewish Labor Committee
Rabbi David Panitz, United Synagogue of America
Shad Polier, Vice-Pres., American Jewish Congress
Rev. Carl Pritchett, Division of Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church, U.S.
Joseph Rauh, Jr., Nat'l. Chairman, ADA
Roy Reuther, United Automobile Workers of America
Dr. Alex Sharpe, Secty.Board of Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Bert Seidman, AFL-CIO
Very Rev. Maurice V.Shean, Chairman, Catholic Committee of the South
Boris Shishkin, Director, Dept.of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO
Mrs. Savilla M. Simons, General Secty., Y.W.C.A.
Miss Esther Stamats, Director, Dept.of United Church Women, Nat'l, Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
William Stern, Vice-Chairman, Jewish Labor Committee
David Ullman, Vice-Chairman, Nat'l.Community Relations Advisory Council
Albert Vorspan, Exec.Secty.Commission on Social Action, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Mrs. Theodore Weddell, Protestant Episcopal Church
Roy Wilkins, Exec. Secty., NAACP
Clarence Yarrow, American Friends Service Committee
Arnold Aronson, NCRAC, Secretary

Morning session - Mr. Ralph Arkush presiding. The invocation was given by Dr. A. C. Miller.

Mr. Arkush opened the meeting by pointing out that it had been called jointly by leaders of the major religious faiths. This, he said, was as it should be, for the issue involved - the issue of desegregation - was essentially a moral issue involving the fundamental religious principle that all men are created equal. There was no need, he continued, to argue the case for the elimination of segregation, since each of the organizations represented was already on record in support of decision of the Supreme Court and was actively engaged in seeking to facilitate its implementation. Quoting from the letter of invitation from Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean, he said that the meeting had been called to exchange experiences and views "in the conviction that greater mutual knowledge of plans and greater mutual understanding of methods will contribute toward the achievement of our common purpose; and that a free informal exchange may lead to some concert of effort that will enlarge the effectiveness of all our programs."

Mr. Arkush explained that the meeting might be said to have had its origin in two separate conferences, one held by the National Council of Churches last February and another at approximately the same time under the auspices of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. At both of these conferences, recommendations were adopted calling for the organization of a Joint Committee on Strategy, which might serve as a vehicle for coordinated planning around the whole issue of desegregation. In order to avoid unnecessary duplication, he continued, a Subcommittee on Strategy was named, drawn from the groups participating in both conferences. It was the feeling of this subcommittee, Mr. Arkush reported, that while an exchange of views and information had been taking place among the organizations on the staff level, the principal officers of these same organizations had at no time had an opportunity to come together for similar interconsultation. It was the view of the subcommittee that the importance and complexity of the issue was such that effective coordination was not likely to be achieved until the responsible heads of the organizations concerned reviewed the problems jointly, formulated a common program, and indicated the roles and responsibilities each was prepared to assume. The present meeting, he concluded, was designed to serve that purpose.

Mr. Arkush suggested that in accordance with the agenda which had been submitted previously, the morning session would be devoted to reports from the participating organizations regarding the programs and activities to facilitate integration carried on by their respective organizations, the problems encountered both within their own constituencies and in the general community, and an assessment of priority needs. In order to maximize the opportunity for full and frank discussion, he said, no publicity concerning the meeting had been issued and no reports would be released to the press unless the participants themselves so ordered. He then called on Dr. Oscar Lee to report on the program being carried on through the National Council of Churches.

Dr. Lee reviewed briefly the activities of the National Council in facilitating loans to families in need, in providing direct assistance to families seeking relief and relocation, and in replacing ministers who had lost their pulpits because of their stand against segregation. He reported that as of the first of October the National Council of Churches expected to have a full time field person operating out of Nashville, who would seek to maintain contact with the different churches and denominations in the area and to serve as a liaison for work with other interested groups. In Dr. Lee's view, the need for more adequate communication among the organizations, both on the national and local levels, was a major challenge. He felt that effective assistance by national organizations was made difficult because of the resentment, so prevalent among many Southerners, of outside interference and the accompanying feeling that segregation was a Southern problem with which they were most qualified to cope. He suggested further that the tendency of the press and other media of information to focus on problem situations, resulted in a distorted picture of the overall situation. Accordingly, he recommended that greater attention and publicity be given to the positive gains that had been achieved and to the many situations in which integration had taken place successfully.

Miss Stamats, Dr. Miller, Dr. Pritchett and Mr. Catchings supplemented Dr. Lee's report.

Miss Stamats advised that the United Church Women had prepared and disseminated appropriate materials to assist its affiliated Councils in dealing with the desegregation issue. These Councils, she reported, were all interracial in character and were working closely with Catholic and Jewish women's groups. A number of workshops had been conducted in various communities on how to deal with controversy and additional such workshops were being planned.

Dr. Miller reported that the Southern Baptist Convention had distributed a considerable quantity of literature dealing with the desegregation issue and planned monthly mailings of educational materials to all pastors and to a number of lay leaders in the region. Plans were already under way, he said, for a series of regional planning meetings and it was hoped that these would be followed by meetings on a state-by-state basis.

Dr. Pritchett reported that the Presbyterian Church had likewise distributed considerable literature and had initiated a number of workshops. Particular attention, he said, had been directed to the dissemination of resolutions which had been adopted in support of the Supreme Court decisions and for an inclusive church membership on the basis of faith in Christianity, without regard to race.

Mr. Catchings reported on the college program of the YMCA. This, he said, involved the dissemination of materials regarding successful integration at the college level, as a guide to colleges and universities which had not yet integrated their student bodies, work with students on Southern campuses, in an effort to develop an informed and enlightened new leadership, and programs on campuses in other sec-

tions of the country, designed to combat the stereotype of the South, either as completely bigoted or as solely qualified to deal with the problem.

The chairman then called upon Rabbi Eisendrath to report on the experiences of the Jewish religious organizations.

All of the Jewish religious bodies, Rabbi Eisendrath said, had taken unequivocal positions in support of the Supreme Court decision. The problem, he continued, was to convert the rank and file to those positions. This problem, he suggested, was common to all organizations. He referred to a study by Will Herberg which showed that 50% of the church members interviewed were of the opinion that the church should not become involved in social issues and that its stand on such issues need not be followed. Accordingly, he said, the focus of the program of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was on the organization of social action committees in each temple and on the study of such issues as desegregation, based upon the resolutions and positions adopted by the national organization. He reported in addition that institutes and workshops on this subject were being conducted and that it was planned to employ a field man in the South. Dr. Eisendrath suggested that resistance by Southern constituents to the positions taken by their national organizations stemmed from the tendency to regard any action that was not indigenous to the South as outside interference. He was in agreement with Dr. Lee's evaluation regarding the need for increased communication among the various religious groups and between religious, labor and civic bodies. He said that many Southern Jews who supported the principle of desegregation were nevertheless hesitant about taking any action, for fear that leadership by Jews would intensify latent anti-Semitism. This feeling of isolation and insecurity, he observed, appeared to be common among other groups as well, and gave added emphasis to the need for cooperative efforts, particularly under interreligious auspices.

Father Shean was then called upon to report on the activities and problems encountered by the Catholic community in the South.

Father Shean indicated that programs under Catholic auspices differed from community to community, depending largely upon the attitude of the Bishop in the area. These attitudes, he said, varied considerably. Moreoever, he said, forthright action taken by some Bishops had met with strong opposition by the parishioners. In his view, the lack of communication among the various groups in the community and the resulting feeling of isolation constituted a major problem. While the sense of isolation among Catholics, he said, was perhaps in part self-imposed, through concentration on provlems within the group itself, it was aggravated in many instances because those Catholics who had moved forward were labelled as radicals and were thenceforth avoided by others in the community. The problem encountered by Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans, he suggested, was not only that of appearing to stand alone among his own people, but of standing alone in the total community. In his opinion, Catholic institutions in Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia would in all probability already have been integrated had it not been for the feeling that such action would be resisted by the total community, leaving Catholics in complete isolation. Father

Shean ventured the opinion that the tendency to couple an expression of personal support for desegregation with a statement that it would not be acceptable to the rest of the community was, in part at least, a rationalization. "We avoid facing the problem," he said, "by saying that it would not be acceptable, without determining whether jointly we might not be able to make it acceptable." Each pastor, he concluded, could be persuaded to move ahead faster if he were made to feel that others would be with him.

Mr. Seidman, reporting for the AFL-CIO, stated that the labor movement was committed by action of its convention to intensify its civil rights program and was determined to carry out this commitment. He said that intense pressure had been exerted on the leadership of the labor movement to desist from its forthright pronouncements in respect to desegregation but that such pressures had been resisted. Attempts to split the labor movement in the South, and to organize a Southern labor movement, he continued, had thus far proved most unsuccessful. He advised that a number of summer institutes had been held on how to work with other groups in the community on the desegregation issue and that it was planned to continue such institutes throughout the year. The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee had published a manual on integration, citing examples of successful integration in industry and emphasizing the costs and consequences of economic discrimination. He said that advances were being made in breaking down discrimination in employment within the deep South and he expressed the opinion that these advances would help facilitate integration in other areas.

Mr. Carey supplemented the report of Mr. Seidman and emphasized the need for political action. The election of a liberal Congress, he asserted, was essential in order to overcome the dominant position of the Dixiecrats. Moreover, he cautioned against too great a reliance on the Supreme Court for leadership in this area. He pointed out that the health and age of many members of the Court was such that its composition and views might be changed sharply in the near future. He emphasized the need for leadership by the President, for the enactment of federal civil rights legislation, and for joint planning and action among the voluntary organizations.

Mr. Reuther, reporting for the UAW, said that in many respects the experiences of his organization paralleled those of other groups, in that the policy declarations adopted on the national and state levels were not always accepted and followed locally. It was his impression that when resistance to national policy was met with firmness, good results were achieved; contrarywise, where there was vacilation, the difficulties appear to have been increased. He advised that one cent per month from the dues of every UAW member was being allocated to anti-discrimination work. The staff of the Fair Practices Committee, he said, had recently been increased to provide for a total of eight full time field workers and a determined effort was being made to establish a Fair Practices Committee in every local of the union. He recalled that during the Detroit riots of the early 1940s, no incidents had occurred in the vicinity of those plants in which integration had taken place and where white and Negro workers had come to know one another. He concluded from this that integration

on the job was a significant factor in fostering greater receptivity to integration in the schools and other areas. In his view, the paramount need was for effective coordination on the national level, leading toward coordinated action on the local level through the constituencies of the cooperating national organizations. The combined strength of the affiliated memberships, he declared, was sufficient to solve the problem. He urged that there be further unpublicized meetings for coordinated planning and action and the formulation of procedures that would facilitate the interchange of information regarding agency programs, publications, memberships, etc. He recommended that efforts be concentrated on the fringe and border areas in order to isolate the hard core resistors.

Mrs. Simons stated that the YWCA was seeking to implement its long standing national policy against discrimination. She pointed out however, that since each of the local affiliates was an autonomous organization, there was necessarily a wide variation in practice. As evidence of the progress being made, she reported that the Houston YWCA had fully integrated both its eating and its residence facilities. She said that the National Board of the YWCA had voted that efforts to further integration be given the highest priority during this year. Accordingly, three additional field workers had recently been employed and workshops under the direction of the staff of the national office were being conducted in Southern communities in an effort to strengthen and develop new local leadership. She observed that a South African was being used in many of these workshops in order to give a world perspective to the issue. She advised that the YWCA and many other organizations receiving funds from Community Chests were being threatened with the loss of such funds in many Southern communities because of their pro-integration position. Closer cooperation and coordination among all the organizations, she suggested, would make it easier for each to stand up and be counted.

Mr. Jackson corroberated the report of Mrs. Simons. In many communities, he said, strong pressure was being exerted upon the Community Chests to drop the Urban League from among the beneficiary agencies. He contrasted the experiences in Miami and in Jacksonville to illustrate that where the problem had been anticipated and efforts made to enlist the support of other groups it had been possible to persuade the Community Chest to resist such pressures, whereas in situations in which there had been no coordinated effort, the Community Chest had yielded. He reported that much of the pressure was being spearheaded by the Citizens Protective Association out of St.Louis, and he recommended that procedures be developed for exchanging information about the composition, personnel and activities of this and other similar groups. He commended a statement adopted by the AFL-CIO Community Services Department in opposition to any restriction by Community Chests based upon race or other such factors. The problem, he asserted, should be of concern to all organizations, for unless it was met head on in a concerted manner, all liberal social agencies were likely to be subjected to similar pressures.

Mrs. Mason stated that the experiences and the problems encountered by the National Council of Negro Women were similar to those of the other reporting organizations. She cautioned against permitting

situations involving extreme resistance to becloud the significant progress that had been made and she advocated greater emphasis in our own publicity on the many situations in which integration had been achieved smoothly and successfully. The paramount need, she said, was for a greater exchange of information and experiences and for common planning among the many organizations which were working separately on the problem. She reported, that the National Council of Negro Women was convening a conference of eighteen womens' organizations to be held in Washington November 16-17. She felt that united action among various womens groups could be instrumental in bringing about a more favorable climate of opinion in the community. Accordingly, the November conference will focus on means of bridging communications among womens' groups on the local level. She extended an invitation to all those present to attend. She stated that the National Council of Negro Women had undertaken a campaign aimed at increased registration and voting and recommended that similar programs be undertaken by other organizations.

Mrs. Moise Cahn reported that the National Council of Jewish Women had a long standing policy in support of integration in all areas. This policy, she said, had been accepted by most Southern sections of the Council and only one request had been made for a change in the national policy. In her opinion the lack of coordination on the local level and the resulting isolation of liberal individuals and organizations, together with the fear of reprisals and social ostracism, served as major barriers to effective local action. Accordingly, she felt that it was essential that there be coordinated planning at the national level in order to stimulate and reinforce local efforts. The National Council of Jewish Women, she said, had voted to join with other like-minded groups in joint planning and action and looked toward this meeting as the beginning of such a cooperative undertaking.

Luncheon session - Dr. Maurice Eisendrath presiding. The invocation was given by Rabbi David Panitz.

Dr. Eisendrath praised the NAACP for its leadership in the struggle for full equality and declared that it was the responsibility of all liberal organizations to associate themselves with the NAACP, in order to counter the libels and labels which are currently being levelled against it. He then called upon Mr. Wilkins to discuss what government can do to contribute toward the rapid and harmonious transition to an integrated public school system.

Mr. Wilkins constrasted recent developments in Clinton, Tenn., and in Clay, Ky. Clinton, he said, provided a blueprint of what can be accomplished in a community which, while believing in segregation, was determined to maintain law and order. The attitude in Clay, on the other hand, was personified by the statement of a 14 year old girl who had asserted that she would prefer to grow up to be an idiot rather than go to school with Negroes. This attitude, he said, showed that integration is as necessary for white children as for Negroes and demonstrated that the segregated system has failed to develop the kind of personalities necessary to function effectively as citizens in a democracy.

The basic duty of any government in a democracy, he said, is to maintain the law as established through democratic processes and to establish a climate for cooperation. The government and informed leadership in the South, he said, knew on the basis of earlier Court decisions, and from the fact that the five cases had been joined, that the Court was likely to rule as it did. Under these circumstances, he asserted, it was the responsibility of government and of the leadership to prepare the citizenry of the South for the decision. This was not done. Moreover, he continued, the government had failed in its responsibility to clarify the terms of the decision, to interpret the role and function of the Court in our system of government, and to make clear the responsibilities of citizenship. Following the decision, the government could and should have called a conference to consider methods of facilitating integration. The failure of the government to do so, or to take any other action, he asserted, dissipated the goodwill which existed at that time and created a vacuum into which the White Citizens Councils moved. He suggested further that the Department of Education could have been and should still be called upon to conduct studies of successful integration and to provide basic data to offset the stereotypes regarding Negro learning capacity, etc. Government could have and still should call a conference of industrial leaders, he said, to consider the role that they could play in maintaining economic stability. The neutralizing of this group, he said, without necessarily converting them to integration, would in itself be most helpful, since many industrial leaders were exerting their influence in support of the White Citizens Council. He recommended that a conference be called under government auspices of representatives of communities where successful integration had occurred in order to evaluate the differing approaches, experiences and results. The emphasis of government action, he said, should be on educational techniques, with coercion reserved for those situations where open defiance was proclaimed. He referred to Mansfield, Texas, as one such situation and asserted that what the government does or does not do in the face of the open defiance in Mansfield will go a long way toward determining the pattern in future situations. The government, he concluded, had a fundamental stake in the peaceful and speedy resolution of this problem - a stake that was reflected in the need for trained military, scientific, and technical manpower, in the need for an informed and unified citizenry, in the need for bolstering our international position as the examplar of democracy, and in the need for safeguarding the processes of democratic government itself.

Dr. Eisendrath then called upon Mr. George Mitchell to discuss the role of voluntary organizations in facilitating the rapid and harmonious implementation of the Supreme Court decisions.

Mr. Mitchell emphasized that there is no solid South. He said that there was a tremendous variation in attitudes and practices, not only among the different states in the South but within each state as well. He observed that while the law is uniform, its application must be varied in terms of these local differences. This, he thought, could be done only through voluntary agreement. Observing that the law does not operate on the basis of opinion polls, he said that an overwhelming majority was not necessary to secure its implementation.

In his opinion, a few people who were in a position to evolve a concrete plan could accomplish this result, since in all probability such a plan would be accepted and supported by the Court.

He proposed the following formula as a guide to the organization of local citizens groups --"getting people of similar cultural backgrounds and interest to work together on common problems." In this instance, he suggested, the common problem was that of better education and the major contribution which the national organizations could make would be to induce their local constituents to get together in accordance with his suggested formula, to study the conditions of the schools in their community, the adequacy of the teaching personnel, school boundaries, numbers and the proportions of white and Negro children and other similar factors. Such a study, he was convinced, would lead to a workable plan. He said that at the present time no Southern state was regarded as the leader in the region and he predicted that leadership would devolve upon that state which progressed most rapidly toward integration.

Afternoon Session - Father Maurice Shean presiding.

In opening the session, Father Shean observed that there appeared to have been unanimous agreement regarding the need for closer cooperation and more effective working relationships among all the organizations represented. Attention would be focused during the afternoon, he said, on suggested programs, approaches and techniques and on the roles which different groups and organizations might play and the facilities which they might provide in bringing about this result.

Mr. Graham suggested that it was essential that each national organization which was on record in support of the Court's decision seek to stimulate its constituents in Southern communities to organize and to participate in local citizens councils as a counterforce to the White Citizens Councils. The organization of such local citizens groups, he felt, could most readily be built around the twin concepts of law and order and support of the public school system. Both of these concepts, he said, enjoy majority support, and taken together, would inevitably lead to integration.

Mr. Long expressed the opinion that resolutions in support of the public school system or in support of law and order were too general in character. The successful organization of a national coordinating body and of counterparts in the community, he said, would have to derive from specific commitments to support the Supreme Court decisions in the desegregation cases and not from generalized principles.

In response to Mr. Long, it was pointed out that the purpose of the meeting as stated in the letter of invitation from Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean was "to consider how best to pursue our shared democratic objective of facilitating the rapid and harmonious transition to an integrated public school system, in accordance with the rulings of the United States Supreme Court." It was agreed that this statement of purpose be regarded as a continuing objective of the group in whatever future activities might be undertaken.

Mr. George Mitchell recommended that within the context of this overall objective each of the organizations represented undertake to communicate promptly with its constituents "in as many segregated communities as possible, to encourage small groups of representative citizens, white and Negro, to meet frequently and work out a plan for compliance with the Supreme Court decisions on public education." In answer to a question regarding the geographical areas which merited top priority, Mr. Mitchell suggested that efforts be concentrated initially in the states of Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

Dr. Lee said that he shared Mr. Mitchell's view regarding the importance of local community organization. He expressed doubts, however, that local citizens councils could be organized effectively by directives from national organizations. The process, he said, would have to be begun by bringing local people together as individuals.

Father Shean expressed agreement with Dr. Lee on this point. It was his opinion that the organization of representative local groups required a personal contact approach and could not be accomplished by correspondence. He suggested that an effort be made to formulate concrete procedures for facilitating cooperation on the local level in advance of the next meeting. In the interim, he recommended that each organization undertake to persuade its members to join the state Human Relations Councils affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Lukas observed that the field personnel of the various organizations were in an excellent position, on the basis of their own experiences, to offer constructive suggestions for facilitating cooperative planning and action on the local level. Accordingly, he recommended that a meeting of the Southern field staffs be convened as soon as possible, in order that their views and recommendations might be made available for consideration at the next meeting. This recommendation was adopted.

Mr. Arkush commented that there seemed to be no difference of opinion regarding the need and value of common planning and action. He therefore proposed that the groups represented establish an organization which could serve as an instrumentality for the furtherance of such cooperation on a continuing basis. He suggested the "U.S. Conference in Support of the Supreme Court Decisions" as a possible name for the proposed organization.

Mr. Lukas said that the essential problem was that of facilitating inter-organizational communication. He suggested that this could be achieved on a wholly informal basis, without the need of a formalized structure.

Mr. Vorspan agreed that it was not necessary to develop an elaborate and intricate structure. On the other hand, he said, reliance on a loose and purely informal exchange was not likely to bring about the kind of effective working together which everyone present deemed so important and desirable. He suggested that subcommittees be ap-

pointed to report back at the next meeting with concrete proposals regarding program and methods of cooperation.

Mr. Hollander suggested that the Civil Liberties Clearing House represented a pattern of organization and operation which he believed could be followed to good advantage with respect to the desegregation issue.

Miss Barnes stated that she lacked authority to commit the YWCA at this time to affiliation with any new organization. The representatives of many of the other organizations, she said, were undoubtedly in a similar position.

Dr. Lee observed that if the group were to proceed beyond the discussion stage, it was essential that someone take responsibility for doing the "legwork." He said that considerable time and effort had gone into the organization and arrangements for this meeting. Implementation of the many recommendations that had been advanced, he concluded, required that someone be given responsibility for the necessary follow-up.

Mr. Stern commended those responsible for arranging the meeting. He recommended that the convenors and the secretary be asked to continue in the same capacities and that the secretary's office be made the centre for future communications. This recommendation was unanimously adopted.

After further discussion, the following additional decisions were unanimously agreed upon.

1. That the convenors of the meeting, Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean, be asked to reassemble the group for a second meeting on November 20.

2. That Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean be authorized to appoint such subcommittees as they deemed advisable, drawn from the staffs of the participating organizations, to formulate concrete proposals regarding program and structure, and that an effort be made to have such proposals distributed in writing in advance of the November meeting.

3. That suggestions regarding program or structure, in addition to those presented at the meeting, be forwarded to the secretary within the next two weeks, in order that they might be considered by an appropriate subcommittee.

4. That no publicity be issued regarding the meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

AA:RB

November 6, 1956

Mrs. Frances T. Cahn
Executive Director
National Council of Jewish Women
One West Forty-Seventh Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Cahn:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be Chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee: Gloster Current of the NAACP, Mrs. Vivian Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, Mrs. Savilla M. Simons of the YWCA, Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO, Miss Esther Stamats of the United Council of Church Women, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, and you.

What Arnie said about the purpose of the subcommittee is this: "The task of this subcommittee is to formulate recommendations to facilitate the organization of small groups of representative citizens in Southern communities concerned with developing plans for compliance with the Supreme Court decision. This would involve the development of procedures for exchanging names among the participating organizations of interested constituents, for improving communication, for coordinating the work of the Southern field representatives, for selecting the communities which merit priority attention, etc."

Arnie said I, Mitchell, should convene a meeting of this subcommittee so that it could report to a new meeting of the whole show coming off in Washington November 20th. I think you are all too busy to come to a special subcommittee meeting. Anyhow, at a meeting which occurred adventitiously at Tuskegee Institute, October 24-25, there were together for another but related purpose most of the Southern agencies busy in this field. Out of that meeting with them I think I can put together for your scrutiny a proposed report to the November 20th meeting.

Attached is a roughest draft of a report. It awaits anxiously your scrutiny. Please put scrutiny upon it, and send it back to me altered scratched up, or what you will. I will take your return of it to me as permission to put together what all of you say and produce a new report and make it available for the November 20th meeting.

Incidentally, it happens that I cannot be myself at the November 20th meeting, but Harold C. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council will be present and will do all things needful.

If anybody says this won't work and a committee ought to meet ahead of time, name the time and place and I will try to get to the meeting, But my motto will be "scrutiny gives consent."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 6, 1956

Mrs. Vivian C. Mason
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

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George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Consultative Conf. on Desegregation

November 6, 1956

Mr. Gloster Current
Director of Branches
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Twenty West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Current:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee: Mrs. Frances Cahn of the National Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. Vivian C. Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, Mrs. Savilla M. Simons of the YWCA, Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO, Miss Esther Stamats of the United Council of Church Women, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, and you.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 7, 1956

Mrs. Savilla M. Simons
General Secretary
Young Women's Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Simons:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee: Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, Mrs. Vivian C. Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Frances Cahn of the National Council of Jewish Women, Gloster Current of the NAACP, Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO, Miss Esther Stamats of the United Council of Church Women, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, and you.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 7, 1956

Miss Esther C. Stamats
Director, Christian Social Relations
National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the U.S.A.
175 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Stamats:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee; Mrs. Savilla M. Simons of the YWCA, Mr. Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, Mr. Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO, Mrs. Vivian C. Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Frances Cahn of the National Council of Jewish Women, Mr. Gloster Current of the NAACP, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, and you.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 7, 1956

Mr. Boris Shishkin
Director
Department of Civil Rights
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Boris:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee: Mrs. Savilla M. Simons of the YWCA, Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, Mrs. Vivian C. Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Frances Cahn of the National Council of Jewish Women, Gloster Current of the NAACP, Miss Esther Stamats of the United Council of Church Women, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, and you.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 7, 1956

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Synagogue Council of America
110 West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee; Miss Esther C. Stamats of the United Council of Church Women, Mrs. Savilla M. Simons of the YWCA, Mr. Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, Mr. Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO, Mrs. Vivian C. Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Frances Cahn of the National Council of Jewish Women, Mr. Gloster Current of the NAACP, and you.

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Attached is a roughest draft of a report. It awaits anxiously your scrutiny. Please put scrutiny upon it, and send it back to me altered, scratched up, or what you will. I will take your return of it to me as permission to put together what all of you say and produce a new report and make it available for the November 20th meeting.

Incidentally, it happens that I cannot be myself at the November 20th meeting, but Harold C. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council will be present and will do all things needful.

If anybody says this won't work and a committee ought to meet ahead of time, name the time and place and I will try to get to the meeting. But my motto will be "scrutiny gives consent."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 7, 1956

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

You will, I hope, have heard from Arnie Aronson as from Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street, Room 801, New York 16, New York, that the continuing committee keeping on from the Willard Hotel meeting in October, (which continuing committee was Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman, and Father Shean), set up some subcommittees. One of them they called a subcommittee on local community organization. The continuing committee asked me to be chairman of that subcommittee and they put the following people on the subcommittee: Mrs. Vivian C. Mason of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Frances Cahn of the National Council of Jewish Women, Mr. Gloster Current of the NAACP, Mrs. Savilla M. Simons of the YWCA, Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO, Miss Esther Stamats of the United Council of Church Women, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, and you.

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1956

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MEMO

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

515 Madison Ave., N.Y. 22, N.Y. Plaza 1-1801

Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Counsel.

For your information

this for your edification. - I've got 7,000,000 copies - Regard

ALEXANDER F. MILLER

RECEIVED NOV 15 1956

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

November 13, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for sending me for my "scrutiny" the plan which our sub-committee on local community organization is presenting to the meeting on November 20.

I think the plan is an excellent one and carries the definite impress of your own original thinking and wise knowledge about the Southern area. As I read the report, however, I could not help but think of the old maxim, "Many roads lead to Rome." I am wondering if our sub-committee is completely fulfilling its responsibility by merely outlining the one method of procedure — excellent as it is — which you recommend. I am wondering if it would not be possible to make several additional suggestions.

It is my feeling that the problem of desegregation in any Southern community can be parsed into several categories. For example, the need to get the good people involved and working together. This need is well taken care of by your memorandum. It seems to me there is also a definite need to carry on concurrent activities on several different levels. I think that our committee might spell out these levels and the activities which are encompassed, even though the overall committee you envision might carry on these specific activities.

Take the daily press. There needs to be several earnest talks with the editor and his aid needs to be enlisted both in educating the community to the problem of desegregation and the role which the community needs to play. Earnest talks with the editor might come from a member of your "good folks committee" or even a single important individual in a community such as an advertiser or a clergyman or even from some outsider whose opinion he cherishes.

If we have learned anything from the experiences in Clinton, Sturgis, and Clay and other communities, it is that organizations like the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan and individual bigots can play an important role in impeding the desegregation process by acting as catalytic agents to stir up mob violence. Local individuals need to be alerted to the dangers of groups and individuals who fall into this category. The police force and the city officials informed that the community wants no violence. From the

little knowledge I have of Southern cities, I am certain that there are a lot of people who might not be advanced enough in their thinking to be useful on your 'good folks committee' but who so abhor mob violence and the Klan mentality that if properly oriented they would insist that police officials take proper action. These good people can be activated frequently by outsiders like Mrs. Tilly, or your good self, or even an Arthur Levin. Many of them might respond to such direction more quickly than if asked by some local person. We must not overlook the fact that fighting the Klan or the White Citizens Council or mob violence requires a good deal of knowledge, experience and skill. There also ought to be a rather solid push to supplement the work of your 'good folks committee' by various individual groups. These groups could vary from a women's church group to a League of Women Voters unit to a B'nai B'rith Lodge. Frequently, individuals belonging to these groups may not want to meet jointly with representatives of other groups, races or faiths. Yet, they can be very helpful in their own quiet way in helping others in a time of crisis or in the long tough pull of integration per se.

Incidentally, if I have laid too much stress on mobs and violence and Klan-like organizations, it is because I feel that in many parts of the South these represent the first important obstacle to the desegregation process. Removing the threat of violence and intimidation I feel will speed up the desegregation process immeasurably.

I do hope You find these thoughts of some help. I look forward to seeing you. With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

December 11, 1956

To: Agencies represented at the Tuskegee Conference of October 24-25, 1956.

From: The Southern Regional Council

The attached memorandum is being sent to all agencies participating in the newly formed Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

Most of the agencies taking part in the Tuskegee conference of Fund for the Republic grantees are also participants in the CCD. Thus it is our hope that the January conference described in the attached memo can serve two purposes:

(1) As a meeting of Southern field representatives of CCD agencies, and

(2) As a follow-up of the Tuskegee meeting.

Please note that attendance is limited to two representatives per agency.

Your agency was represented at Tuskegee by _____

_____.

Please let us know if we may expect the same representatives, or others, on January 23-24, 1957.

GSA:mbo
Enc.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

December 11, 1956

To: Agencies Participating in the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

From: The Southern Regional Council

Participants in the New York meeting on November 20, 1956 expressed the desire for a conference of Southern field representatives. The objective is to enable Southern staff persons of the several agencies to discuss their respective programs, develop ideas for inter-agency cooperation, and advise their national offices of ways in which the newly formed CCD might facilitate field coordination. Such a meeting has been arranged for January 23-24, 1957 at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia.

This notice is being sent to all the agencies participating in CCD with the request that those which have staff members working in the Southern region notify us as follows:

(a) Whether you will be represented at the January 23-24 meeting.

(b) The name or names of the Southern staff personnel that will attend. (In order to hold the conference to a manageable size we are asking that each agency send no more than two representatives.)

(c) Any suggestions you may wish to offer for the agenda of the conference.

We will send the persons designated a further notice of the meeting, including details of time and place.

GSA:mbo

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 8-7530

BROTHERHOOD
SPONSOR OF BROTHERHOOD WEEK

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

Founded 1928

43 WEST 57TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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JAMES F. TWOHY
ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS

PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT
STERLING W. BROWN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

SECRETARY
OSCAR M. LAZRUS

April 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As a member of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, we are sending you, under separate cover, a selection of recently issued NCCJ materials in this area of concern. We hope they may prove useful.

Additional materials and revisions of our bibliographies on integration will be forwarded to you from time to time. Quantities of these materials may be secured at cost from any one of our 62 regional offices or from Miss Lillian Cohen, Associate Director, Field and Program Services, at our national office.

Cordial best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dumont F. Kenny

Dumont F. Kenny
National Program Director

DFK:JM

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

INTERRELIGIOUS COMMITTEE CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.
LO 4-3450

Roy McCorkel, Chairman

MEMORANDUM August 6, 1958

TO: Members of the Interreligious Committee, CCD

FROM: Roy McCorkel

Dear Friends:

Since my return from the Soviet Union on July 18, I have been exploring the possibility of proceeding with the conference across faith lines on desegregation, which we had planned to hold in Virginia early in September, to bear common witness on the racial conflict. I am extremely sorry to report that after consultation with Will Campbell, and after carefully considering all possibilities, it does not appear feasible to hold this conference in September, as anticipated. One important factor leading to this decision is that the Catholics are holding an interracial conference late in August in Chicago and it seems that they would not be able to give full support to the Virginia conference, since it would follow so closely after their own. Will Campbell and I deeply regret the postponement of this conference, as we know you do, especially since several attempts have been made to get such a conference underway without success. However, we will keep trying.

Best wishes for the holiday period.

Ever sincerely,

RMcC:r

Roy McCorkel.

Mass Media Ctee
CCD

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE:

To have ten to fifteen important but relatively unpublicized Southern editors and civic leaders meet with the same number of leaders of important national and Northern publications to consider how both groups might more effectively develop a climate of opinion in which respect for law and order and a smoother path to desegregation will prevail.

The conference might consider a survey of the treatment of the desegregation problem in both Southern and Northern mass media.

SOUTHERNERS:

Reed Sarratt, executive editor, The Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N.C.

Buford Boone, editor, The News, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Irving Carlyle, attorney, Winston-Salem, NC.

Professor James Silver, Univ. of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.

Thomas W. Young, editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Wilson Wyatt, Louisville, Ky.

Weldon James, L'ville

Charles Finnsley, Louisville, Ky.

Lillian Smith, Ga.

John B. Orr, Jr., state senator, Miami, Fla.

J.M. Dabbs, Rip Rap Plantation, Mayesville, S.C.

Mrs. M.E. Tilley, Atlanta, Ga.

J.H. Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.

Sarah Patton Boyle, Univ. of Va., Charlottesville, Va.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala.

Dr. Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

Jonathan Daniels, Harry Ashmore, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter.

Andrew McDoud Secrest, editor, Cheraw Chronicle, Cheraw, S.C.

Claudia Thomas Sanders, Gaffney, S.C.

John Popham, Southern corr. New York Times.

Martin Ochs, Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Wallace Westfeldt, Nashville Tennessean.

Bill Baggs, editor, Miami Daily News, Miami, Fla.

Carter Wesley, Houston Informer

C. A. Scott

Nelson Poynter

Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville, Times

NORTHERNERS:

Elmo Roper

Frank Stanton, Ed Murrow CBS

~~Henry Luce~~ or Ed Thompson of LIFE

~~Gardner Cowles or~~ Dan Mich of Look ~~Or Bill Attwood~~

~~David Sarnoff OR Davidson Taylor~~, NBC Ken Kilby

Turner Catledge, New York Times

~~Whitlaw~~ Whitelaw Reid, NY Herald Tribune - Ogden Reid

J. Russell Wiggins, Washington Post - ~~(or Al Friendly)~~

Roy Howard, Jr., Scripps-Howard

Alan Gould, exec. ed. Associated Press

Hugh Baillie, United Press

Seymour Berkson, INS and Hearst chain

John Charles Daly, ABC

Wade Nichols, Redbook

Kenneth Payne or ~~Fritz~~ de Schiel of Readers Digest

Lou Gillenson, Coronet

Otto Weise, McCalls

Beatrice & Gould, Ladies Home Journal

Newsweek

Time

Ben Hibbs, Saturday Evening Post ???

Cuts of Interest
St Louis

Dan Cupid.

Frank Stanton, CPS

Henry Lane or Ed Thompson of NYPD

Gardner Douglas or Don Ryan of Look

Devin Garrard or Bowlsbee Taylor, NYC

Turner Catledge, New York Times

Arthur Mitchelmore, NY Herald Tribune

J. Lawrence Mitchell, Washington Star

Guy Richard, etc., Washington

Alan Gould, exec. ed. Washington Post

Hugh Baillie, United Press

Seymour Berkson, INS and Herald Trib

John Cheriko Daly, NBC

Jack Nichols, Baltimore

Kenneth Payne or Julian Bond of Kennedy Library

Lee Williams, Gannett

Otto Walter, Philly

Beatrice Gould, Ladies Home Journal

Bernard

Hugh

Jim Hibbs, Saturday Evening Post ???

from ARNOLD ARONSON

Dear Frank,

I thought the attached minutes might be of interest to you.

How about lunch before your trek to Africa?

Arnie

National Community Relations Advisory Council

MUrray Hill 5-1606

9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Harold 6/14/56
I don't know of you & George know about this, so I pass it along. You might send it to Dave Freeman when you are finished with it
Best regards
Frank

Minutes

Meeting of Strategy Committee, May 18, 1956, New York, N.Y.

Present were:

Dr. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches, presiding
Irving Ferman) American Civil Liberties Union
Allan Reitman)
Edward Hollander, Americans for Democratic Action
Bert Seidman, AFL-CIO
Will Maslow, American Jewish Congress
Sol Rabkin, Anti-Defamation League
Emanuel Muravchik, Jewish Labor Committee
Dr. John Morsell) NAACP
Roy Wilkins)
Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council
Fay Bennett, National Sharecroppers Fund
Vera Rony, Workers Defense League
Odile Sweeney, YWCA

Dr. Lee recalled that the conference which had been convened by the National Council of Churches in February had authorized the formation of a "strategy committee" which could serve as a vehicle for coordinated planning on a continuous basis in relation to various problems arising out of the desegregation issue, other than the problems of relief and relocation for which a separate committee had been established. Many of these problems, he pointed out, were already being considered jointly through the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, in which a number of the same organizations attending the February conference are cooperating. Accordingly, he said, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication, a subcommittee on strategy, drawn from both groups, had been designated, and invitations to the present meeting had been sent to organizations represented on the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference and to others represented at the February meeting. He then called on Dr. Morsell to report on the deliberation of the subcommittee.

Dr. Morsell observed that an exchange of views and information regarding desegregation had been taking place among the organizations. He pointed out, however, that such exchanges were on a staff level only, and that the principal officers of these same organizations had at no time had an opportunity to come together for similar interconsultation. It was the view of the subcommittee, he said, that the importance and complexity of the issues were such that effective coordination was not likely to be achieved until the responsible heads of the organizations concerned reviewed the problems jointly, formulated a common program, and indicated the roles and responsibilities each was prepared to assume. Accordingly, he reported, the subcommittee recommended that a meeting, involving the leaders of a number of religious, labor, civil rights and social welfare organizations be convened for these purposes. Dr. Morsell

then presented a suggested outline for such a meeting which had been prepared by himself, Mr. Muravchik and Mr. Aronson upon instruction of the subcommittee.

Following extended discussion, it was agreed that:

I. An all day unpublicized meeting as recommended by the subcommittee be arranged for early September, either in Washington or New York.

(1) The meeting should not be called in the name of any organization. It was recommended that the call be issued over the joint signatures of the heads of the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America. Should this prove impracticable, the invitations should be signed by two or three other prominent individuals.

(2) In order to facilitate a maximum of informal discussion, attendance at the meeting should be limited to approximately forty persons, including both organizational heads and necessary staff personnel, drawn from the organizations most actively concerned with desegregation.

(3) In addition to the organizational representatives, individual Southerners, such as Drs. Frank Graham, Benjamin Mays and George Mitchell, should be invited in their personal capacities.

A committee consisting of Arnold Aronson, chairman, Oscar Lee, Alex Miller and Miss Odile Sweeney, was designated to draw up a list of invitees in accordance with the above recommendations.

II. The following topics recommended by Dr. Morsell's subcommittee were tentatively approved for inclusion on the agenda of the proposed meeting.

1. An overall review of the trends and developments in the Southern civil rights picture, including the problems which merit most immediate attention and the areas in which joint action could most usefully be sought.

2. Economic and industrial: Known or reported instances in which plans for industrial expansion in the South have been delayed or canceled because of the troubled racial situation and exploration of the best ways of exploiting such developments for propaganda purposes. Also consideration of the possible use of economic pressures to counteract the pressures now being exerted.

3. Voting: A comprehensive and up-to-date review and evaluation of the whole voting picture -- who votes, where and of what kind are the obstacles to voting, and what are the varying strategies that seem to be called for.

4. Education: The ideas to be discussed in connection with this point would have to do mainly with the chances and methods of involving such comparatively neutral organizations as the NEA and the PTA's in activities directed solely at preservation of the public school system. In other words, desegregation would not be offered as the focus of activity of such groups; the idea would be that if public sentiment is strongly enough set against tampering with the public school system, such tampering will have less chance of being urged as an alternative to desegregation.

5. Institutional influences: Discussion regarding the role of the various religious denominations, labor unions, and other organizations. Of chief importance would be the public position which they declare on the issue and the facilities which they may be able to furnish for the establishment and maintenance of communication with accessible Southern elements.

6. Political other than voting: This would be concerned with possible joint efforts to be pursued with respect to legislative and administrative activities in the field of civil rights.

7. The Citizens Councils: Attention here would center on the value and chances of an "intelligence" operation on the Councils --make up, personalities, methods and acts -- and of the most effective uses to which the resulting information could be put.

Cutting across all seven discussion items above are three areas of common interest around which joint discussions might be particularly useful. These are:

a. Communications within the South and among Southern moderates; and between Northern liberals and Southern moderates.

b. Information and intelligence: What might be done in the way of setting up some kind of information exchange or clearing house by which information relating to each of the seven topics might be gathered and through which it could be channeled. The existing information sources would receive full utilization.

c. The mass media: Here again is an area which can be discussed in connection with each of the seven topics.

A committee, consisting of Dr.Morsell, chairman, John Gunther, Emanuel Muravchik, Boris Shishkin, and Albert Vorspan, was given responsibility for drafting a definitive agenda within the broad framework outlined above.

Respectfully submitted,

AA:RB

Arnold Aronson

Participants in meeting at Willard Hotel
September 18, 1956

Mr. Ralph Arkush, Recording Secty.
Nat'l. Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
Vice-Chairman, Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations
297 - 4th Avenue, New York City

Mr. Kenneth Birkhead, Exec.Director
American Veterans Committee
1751 New Hampshire Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Theodore Brown
AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor Bldg.
Washington 1, D.C.

Mrs. Frances Cahn, Exec.Director
Nat'l. Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
1 West 47th Street
New York City

Mrs. Moise S. Cahn, President
Nat'l. Council of Jewish Women, Inc.

Mr. James B. Carey, President
Int'l. Union of Elec. Radio &
Machine Workers of America &
Chairman, Civil Rights Committee
of AFL-CIO
1126 - 16th St. N.W.
Washington, 6, D.C.

Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson, Exec. Director
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
1628 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Rev. Maynard Catchings, Assoc. Secty.
Nat'l. Student Council, Y.M.C.A.
291 Broadway
New York 7, N.Y.

Mr. Herman Edelsberg, Washington Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
1003 K St. N.W.
Washington, 1, D.C.

Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York City

Mr. David Freeman, Vice-Pres.
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dr. Frank F. Graham
U.N.Representative in India & Pakistan
U.N. Bldg. 42nd St. & 1st Ave.
New York 17, N.Y.

Mr. Edward Hollander, Exec. Director
Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Nelson Jackson
Nat'l. Urban League
14 E. 48th St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dr. Oscar J. Lee, Director
Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations
Nat'l. Council of the Churches of Christ

Mr. Herman Long, Director
Race Relations Dept.
Congregational Christian Churches
% Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Edwin Lukas, Director
Dept. of Nat. Affairs
American Jewish Committee
386 4th Avenue
New York City

Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin, Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 5th Avenue
New York City

Mrs. Vivian C. Mason, President
Nat'l. Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dr. A.C.Miller, Secretary
Social Service Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Ave. North
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director
Washington Bureau, NAACP
100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec.Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E. Room 432
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dr. John Morsell, Ass't.Exec.Secty.
NAACP
20 W. 40th St.
New York City

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik, Director
Field Service, Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th St.
New York City

Rabbi David Panitz, representing
United Synagogue of America
3080 Broadway
New York City

Mr. Shad Polier, Vice-Pres.
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th St.
New York City

Rev. Carl Pritchett
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church, U.S.
341 Ponce de Leon St. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Joseph Rauh, Jr. Natl.Chairman
ADA

Mr. Roy Reuther
United Automobile Workers of America,AFL-CIO
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit 14, Mich.

Dr. Alex Sharpe, Secty.
Board of Missions, Presbyterian
Church,U.S.A., 150 - 5th Ave. N.Y.C.

Mr. Bert Seidman
AFL-CIO

Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, Chairman
Catholic Committee of the South
Rock Hill, S.C.

Mr. Boris Shishkin, Exec.Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee
815 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Savilla M. Simons, General Secty.
Young Women's Christian Ass'n. of the U.S.A.
600 Lexington Ave.
New York City

Miss Esther Stamats, Director
Dept. of United Church Women
Natl.Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Mr. William Stern, Vice-Chairman
Jewish Labor Committee

Mr. David Ullman, Vice-Chairman
National Community Relations Advisory Council
9 East 38th Street
New York City

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Sec.Commission
on Social Action, Union of American
Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York City

Mrs. Theodore Weddell
Protistant Episcopal Church
3508 Woodley Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Exec. Secty.
NAACP

Mr. Clarence Yarrow
American Friends Service Committee
20 So. 12th St.
Phila. Pa.

9 East 38th Street, Room 801
New York 16, New York
Murray Hill 5-1606

RECEIVED SEP 27 1956

FBR
To attend

September 25, 1956

To: Participants in meeting at Willard Hotel, Sept.18,1956

From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing the names and addresses of all those who were present at the meeting last Tuesday. I shall make every effort to have a summary of the discussion available for you within the next two weeks. I am sure you will be interested to know that a number of other persons who were invited but unable to attend have since written expressing their deep interest in the purposes of our meeting and in the opportunity to participate in any future deliberations we may have.

As you will recall, it was agreed to meet again on November 20. May I suggest, therefore, that you set aside this date on your calendar. In accordance with your decision, Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean will undertake to have concrete recommendations regarding program and structure formulated and sent to you in advance of the next meeting. Any suggestions you may wish to make on these questions will be most welcome. Please send your suggestions to me no later than October 8.

I look forward to seeing you all again on November 20.

AA:RB
Enc.

RECEIVED NOV 3 1956

9 East 38th Street, New York City
Room 801
Murray Hill 5- 1606

November 1, 1956

To: Participants in September 18th Meeting

From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Re: Meeting Notice

As previously agreed upon, the next meeting will take place on Tuesday, November 20th beginning at 9:30 A.M. Luncheon will be served and adjournment will take place no later than 5 P.M. The meeting will be held in the Tower Room of the Park-Sheraton Hotel, (7th Avenue & 55th Street) in New York City.

Several subcommittees, appointed by Dr. Blake, Rabbi Feldman and Father Shean have been meeting in order to develop recommendations for cooperation in a number of areas of common concern. The reports of these subcommittees will be available for consideration at the November 20th meeting. Please make every effort to attend.

I would appreciate your filling out the attached form and returning it to me at your earliest convenience.

AA:RB
Enc.

Mailed to attached list -

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

December 11, 1956

To: Agencies Participating in the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

From: The Southern Regional Council

Participants in the New York meeting on November 20, 1956 expressed the desire for a conference of Southern field representatives. The objective is to enable Southern staff persons of the several agencies to discuss their respective programs, develop ideas for inter-agency cooperation, and advise their national offices of ways in which the newly formed CCD might facilitate field coordination. Such a meeting has been arranged for January 23-24, 1957 at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia.

This notice is being sent to all the agencies participating in CCD with the request that those which have staff members working in the Southern region notify us as follows:

(a) Whether you will be represented at the January 23-24 meeting.

(b) The name or names of the Southern staff personnel that will attend. (In order to hold the conference to a manageable size we are asking that each agency send no more than two representatives.)

(c) Any suggestions you may wish to offer for the agenda of the conference.

We will send the persons designated a further notice of the meeting, including details of time and place.

GSA:mbo

Mailed to attached list

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

December 11, 1956

To: Agencies represented at the Tuskegee Conference of October 24-25, 1956.

From: The Southern Regional Council

The attached memorandum is being sent to all agencies participating in the newly formed Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

Most of the agencies taking part in the Tuskegee conference of Fund for the Republic grantees are also participants in the CCD. Thus it is our hope that the January conference described in the attached memo can serve two purposes:

(1) As a meeting of Southern field representatives of CCD agencies, and

(2) As a follow-up of the Tuskegee meeting.

Please note that attendance is limited to two representatives per agency.

Your agency was represented at Tuskegee by _____

_____.

Please let us know if we may expect the same representatives, or others, on January 23-24, 1957.

GSA:mbo
Enc.

Agencies represented at Tuskegee Conference - October 24, 25, 1956
and names of persons in attendance.

Mr. Nelson C. Jackson, Dir. Community Services
National Urban League, Inc.
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.
Nelson Jackson
Harry Alston

Miss Barbara W. Moffett, Secy
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Fred Fuges
Tartt Bell

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 8, Ga.
Malcolm P. Calhoun

Mr. J. Oscar Lee, Exec. Dir.
Natl Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA
Div. of Christian Life and Work
Dept of Racial & Cultural Relations
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.
J. Oscar Lee
William Campbell

Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Dir & Counsel
NAACP Legal Defense & Ed. Fund
107 West 43 St
New York, N.Y.
Jack Greenberg

Mrs. Savilla M. Simons, Gen Secy
National Board WYCA
600 Lexington Ave
New York 22, N.Y.
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
(Student Division)
Miss Florence Harris, Natl Board

Mr. A. Dudley Ward, Exec Secy
Board of Social & Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois
Mrs. Clarie Collins Harvey

Mr. Lewis Deer, Natl Director
Social Education & Intercultural Relations
United Christian Missionary Society
Disciples of Christ
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana
Barton Hunter

Mr. Alexander F. Miller, Director
Community Service Division
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.
Arthur J. Levin

Mr. A. C. Miller, Exec Secy
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue North
Nashville 3, Tenn.
A. C. Miller

Rev. Maynard Catchings, Associate Secy
Natl Student Council
291 Broadway
New York 7, N.Y.
Alfred C. Payne
Paul Rilling

Mr. H. B. Sissel, Associate Secy
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the USA
830 Witherspoon Bldg
Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Mrs. Jean Russell

Mrs. Patricia Ryan
Commission on Human Rmights
Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 694
New Orleans, La.
Mrs. Patricia Ryan

Mr. Edwin Lukas, Director
Department of National Affairs
American Je wish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Seymour Samet

The Very Reverend Father Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, S. C.

Maurice V. Shean
Ed Vales

December 13, 1956

Mr. Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Arnie:

This is in reply to your memo of December 5th. Following the numbered paragraphs:

1. Our executive committee will probably meet sometime in January, at which time approval will be sought for Southern Regional Council's participation in CCD.

2. We have circularized CCD agencies re the January 23-24 conference of Southern field representatives. A copy of the memo has been mailed to you separately.

3. For the time being, continue to designate me for mass media and fact-finding.

4. The only other subcommittee on which SRC needs representation is "local community organizations." Fred Routh should be the man.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.
P. S. George Mitchell has suggested that I send you the enclosed revised list of our state affiliates.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

HCF
from
GSM

Re. this new memo from Arnie Aronson, CCD:

1. Do you wish SRC to join it?

2. They notice our Jan-23-24 mtg.

3. Arnie wants to know who is your mass media guy

4. Who's your fact-finder?

5. I hardly see that you need appoint representatives to any other of Arnie's committees than mass media and fact-finding; but see Arnie's number paragraph 4

The constitution, herewith, seems to me unexceptionable.

Suggest you write Arnie.

Also suggest that in yuur letter to Arnie you promise him, and send him, a couple (not more) copies of our revised list of affiliated State outfits

9 East 38th Street, Room 801
New York 16, New York
Murray Hill 5-1606

December 5, 1956

To: Participants in September 18 and/or November 20 Meeting

In order that we may proceed as soon as possible to carry out some of the decisions of the November 20 meeting, I would very much appreciate your cooperation on the following items:

(1) The enclosed report of the Subcommittee on Structure includes the text of the Constitution as approved. Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether your organization desires to participate in the Consultative Conference on Desegregation as set forth in the Constitution.

(2) A meeting of southern field representatives of the participating organizations will be held at Atlanta University in Atlanta on January 23-24 under the leadership of the Southern Regional Council. If your organization has a field representative working in the south whom you would like to have attend, please write to George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga., giving the name and address of the field representative to be invited. I would appreciate receiving a copy of such communication.

(3) Please send me the name and address of the person or persons in your agency responsible for work with the mass media. In accordance with the recommendation of the Subcommittee on Mass Media, we will compile and send you a master list of such persons to facilitate the distribution among the participating organizations of appropriate materials on desegregation.

The same procedure will be followed with respect to the dissemination of information of a fact-finding or investigatory nature. Please indicate whether the individuals responsible for the mass media in your agency also have responsibility for this area of activity. Where different personnel is involved, give the name and address of the person to whome fact-finding reports should be sent.

(4) The Executive Committee was charged with responsibility for the appointment of standing committees in the areas of mass media, fact-finding, community chests, interreligious activities, relief and relocation, local community organizations and liaison with uncommitted groups. Please advise on which of such committees your organization would like to be represented, giving the name of the appropriate person in each instance.

Your cooperation in furnishing the information requested at the earliest possible date will be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

AA:BSF
Encl.

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON STRUCTURE

There was unanimous agreement at the meeting of September 18 regarding the desirability of closer cooperation and inter-consultation among the many organizations committed to "the rapid and harmonious implementation of the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation." The Subcommittee on Structure took this unanimous expression as its point of departure in its search for an appropriate means of making such cooperation effective.

The Subcommittee was guided throughout its deliberations by its desire to avoid any structure suggestive of, or conducive to, a new super or supra organization. The sentiment of the September 18 meeting appeared equally clear on this. At the same time the Subcommittee is strongly of the opinion that the desired measure of cooperation cannot be achieved without some formal structure, however skeletal, to provide channels for orderly inter-communication as well as fixed responsibility for continuing inter-consultation.

The structure which the Subcommittee is proposing as outlined in the draft of By-laws which follows, is a minimal instrument designed to assure on the one hand, the complete freedom of action of the cooperating organizations, and, on the other, a continuing exchange of information, opinion, experiences and plans among the organizations.

It is assumed that the proposed Consultative Conference on Desegregation (C.C.D.) will conduct its operations for the most part through the existing resources of the participants. It seems probable that its work cannot proceed indefinitely and with the enlargement to be anticipated without the eventual employment of a paid secretary but it is not proposed that this step be taken initially.

It is also assumed that the cooperation among the participating organizations at the natioanl level will be complemented by similar inter-consultation among local units of the same organizations.

A copy of the proposed constitution follows.

****

I <u>Name</u>

The name of this association shall be The Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

II <u>Purpose and Function</u>

The purpose of the Conference shall be to facilitate cooperation among the participating organizations in relation to problems of desegregation. The Conference shall serve as a clearing house for the exchange of information, views, experiences, and plans, and for inter-consultation among the participating organizations. The Conference shall not engage in legislative or political action.

The Conference shall take no public action nor issue any public statement in its own name. Its offices may be used, however, to

facilitate the issuance of joint statements by such of the participating organizations as desire to join in such a statement. Deliberations of the Conference, or of its committees, shall be advisory only, and shall not be binding upon the participating organizations. No organization or group of organizations shall be designated as representing or speaking for the Conference.

III Participation

The Conference shall be a voluntary association of organizations which are committed to support of desegregation and which seek to facilitate the rapid and harmonious implementation of the Supreme Court decisions thereon. Participation shall be open to any organization subscribing to these purposes, upon recommendation of the Executive Committee and approval of a majority of the participating organizations. Each organization shall be entitled to one vote. Participation in the Conference shall not in any way restrict the autonomy of the participating organizations.

IV Officers

The officers shall consist of three co-chairmen, a secretary and a treasurer, who shall be elected annually by the participating organizations.

The officers, together with 12 other members, also elected annually by the participating organizations, shall constitute an Executive Committee, which shall be responsible for the administration of the Conference, and for calling meetings of the Conference.

The Co-chairmen, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may appoint such standing or ad hoc committees as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the Conference. Individuals who, by virtue of their interest, competence and experience, can make a constructive contribution to the work of the Conference or of its committees, may be appointed to such committees and invited to participate in the deliberations of the Conference, without reference to membership in any of the participating organizations.

V Finances

The Conference shall be financed by voluntary contributions and payments for materials and services by the participating organizations. Contributions from other organizations and individuals may be received on the approval of the Executive Committee.

VI Amendments

This constitution may be amended by a 2/3 vote of the participating organizations present and voting at a meeting called for that purpose.

File

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
ROOM 801, 9 EAST 38TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

TEL. MURRAY HILL 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

February 7, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

As you can see from the enclosed, I have gone ahead with plans for a meeting on the 18th.

The response from the other members of the committee made this most advisable and while I know that it is not a convenient date for you I do hope that you will be able to attend. I believe that this first meeting will set the direction for much of our future activity and your participation will be invaluable. Incidentally, It would be helpful if we could have a report of the Atlanta meeting.

Please try to come.

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

Arnie

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

AA:sd
Encl.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
ROOM 801, 9 EAST 38TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

TEL. MURRAY HILL 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

TO: Executive Committee Members

FROM: Arnold Aronson

DATE: February 7, 1957

SUBJECT: Meeting Notice

The Executive Committee will meet on Monday, February 18 at 9:15 A.M. in the office of the Congregational Christian Church, Room 83, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

As you know, this will be the first meeting of the Executive Committee. I sincerely hope, therefore, that you will make every effort to attend so that we may begin to implement the objectives for which the Consultative Conference has been organized. In order that our time may be spent as productively as possible, I would appreciate receiving your suggestions for inclusion on the agenda at your earliest convenience.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the meeting.

A. A.

PLEASE RETURN

I will____ attend the Executive Committee meeting on
will not_____

February 18.

Name_____

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
ROOM 801, 9 EAST 38TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

TEL. MURRAY HILL 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

TO: Executive Committee Members

FROM: Arnold Aronson

DATE: February 12, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 14 1957

SUBECT: Change in place of meeting

The place of the Executive Committee meeting has been changed. The meeting will take place in the office of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the Conference Room on the fourth floor, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The meeting will begin at 9:15 AM. on Monday, February 18 as previously indicated.

A.A.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
Room 801, 9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Tel. Murray Hill 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

Mr. Harold Fleming, Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I believe that the enclosed minutes of our Executive Committee meeting are self-explanatory. I assume that you have already received the minutes of the Mass Media Committee meeting together with the master mailing list which we are in the process of enlarging.

I have had a few requests for the summary of the Atlanta meeting and would appreciate receiving at least 10 additional copies if they can be made available. Can I assume that you have already send copies to everyone on the list circulated by Harry Fleishman?

Despite the dates listed in the enclosed minutes, we have not finally set any time for another Executive Committee meeting. I would very much appreciate your letting me know whether and when you plan to be in New York again so that we can take full advantage of your presence.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Arnie

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

AA:sl
Enc.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
Room 801, 9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Tel. Murray Hill 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting February 18, 1957

Present were:	Frances Cahn	- National Council of Jewish Women
	Don Hager	- American Jewish Congress
	Alex Miller	- Anti-Defamation League
	John Morsell	- NAACP
	Barbara Moffett	- American Friends Service Committe
	William Oliver	- UAW
	Savilla Simons	- YWCA
	Esther Stamats	- United Church Women
	Galen Weaver	- Congregational Christian Churches
	Arnold Aronson	- NCRAC, Secretary

Participation

Mr. Aronson reported that 26 organizations had formally voted to become participants in the CCD. He said that a few others were still awaiting action by their appropriate executive bodies. One organization, the AFL-CIO, had written expressing its desire to cooperate but stating that it could not "take organizational membership." Upon the suggestion of Mr. Oliver, it was agreed that a follow-up approach be undertaken in an effort to interpret the nature of the CCD to the AFL-CIO.

It was pointed out that invitations to the meetings that had given rise to the CCD had been extended to a limited number of organizations only. This limitation had been imposed in order to facilitate a maximum of informal discussion without, however, intending that future participation in the CCD be limited to the original invitees. It was suggested that members of the Executive Committee come to the next meeting prepared to suggest the names of additional organizations to which invitations to participate should be extended. Specifically, Miss Stamats and Dr. Weaver were asked to recommend the names of additional Protestant organizations, Father Shean and Mr. Hunton the names of Catholic organizations, and Mr. Oliver and Mr. Aronson the names of labor organizations.

Executive Committee

Mr. Aronson reported that two of the twelve members elected to the Executive Committee were from organizations that had not become participants in the CCD. These included the AFL-CIO, which had declined participation, and the National Council of Negro Women, which had failed to respond to the invitation. It was agreed that the matter of replacements on the Executive Committee be

postponed until the next meeting. In order to assure maximum attendance at Executive Committee meetings, it was agreed that each officer and Executive Committee member be asked to designate an official alternate. It was suggested that the Executive Committee meet at approximately monthly intervals with the next meeting to be held in New York either on March 22 or 26 and the following meeting April 22 or 23.

Finances

Mr. Aronson reported that a check for $50 had been received from the National Council of Jewish Women and a pledge of $50 from the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. It was agreed that the Treasurer be authorized to open an account in the name of the CCD and to sign checks for necessary expenditures without any co-signator. It was further agreed that the Co-Chairmen also be authorized to sign checks. It was suggested that the Treasurer write to the participating organizations advising them of the funds already received and pledged, and calling their attention to the section in the Constitution providing that the CCD "shall be financed by voluntary contributions and payments for materials and services by the participating organizations."

Attention was called to the decision of the preceeding meeting authorizing the Executive Committee in its discretion to issue an appropriate release announcing the formation and purposes of the CCD. It was agreed to proceed with the printing of a letterhead but to withhold other public announcements until a later date.

Committees

The following standing committees and committee chairman were approved:

Interreligious Activities	- Father Maurice Shean
Mass Media	- Alfred Bernheim
Social Welfare Agencies	- Nelson Jackson
Fact Finding	- Arnold Forster
Local Community Organization	- Harold Fleming
Liaison With Non-Participating Groups	- NCCJ

The secretary was instructed to communicate with the committee chairman and to request that they proceed with the implementation of the programs as set forth in the previos meeting. It was recommended that to the extent possible a member of the Executive Committee serve on each of the standing committees and that minutes of standing committee meetings be sent to Executive Committee members and to each of the participating organizations.

Dr. Hager reported on the conference of the southern field staffs of the participating organizations that had been convened in Atlanta by the Southern Regional Council in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on Local Community Organization at the last meeting. (A summary report of the conference has been sent under separate cover.) It was agreed that the conference had

served a constructive purpose and that the organizations participating in the CCD should encourage their Southern field personnel to attend future meetings and to cooperate fully in the coordinated program that had been recommended.

While there was complete agreement that major attention at the present time should be focussed in the south, it was suggested that the cooperative program that had been initiated for the southern region might be followed to good advantage in other regions. Accordingly, it was suggested that the Committee on Local Community Organization consider the advisability of convening other regional conferences of the field staffs of the participating organizations, similar to the Atlanta conference.

There was a discussion of the threat to freedom of association and other constitutional liberties inherent in the current attacks on the NAACP. It was suggested that support on this issue might be enlisted from groups and individuals who were not necessarily sympathetic either to desegregation or the NAACP. It was recommended that the Committee on Liaison with Non-Participating Groups undertake to formulate a program in this regard. It was further recommended that the Committee consider ways and means of impressing business and industry leaders with the adverse effects of racial tension on the economic stability and growth of the south and of enlisting their support in programs of counteraction. Both of these subjects were also referred to the Committee on Mass Media for its consideration.

National Administration

There was a discussion of the pilgrimage to Washington proposed by Dr. Martin Luther King as a result of the announced inability of President Eisenhower to schedule an address in the south to encourage the maintenance of law and order. It was reported that several of the organizations in the CCD had been in communication with the White House on this issue but that efforts to secure an appointment with the President had been unsuccessful. It was pointed out that on several occasions the President had referred to the special role and responsibility of religious leaders in relation to the problems of desegregation and it was suggested that he might, therefore, be more receptive to a request from the Cochairmen of a representive body such as the CCD for a meeting than to a similar request from any one organization. Accordingly, it was recommended that the Cochairmen seek an appointment with the President. Upon a motion by Mrs. Simons, the secretary was directed to consult with the Cochairmen regarding ways and means of effecting more affirmative action by the National Administration and of giving effective support to Dr. King. In accordance with a suggestion by Mr. Miller, it was agreed that a special subcommittee undertake to draft proposed recommendations for action by the National Administration.

March 20, 1957

Mr. Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations Advisory Council
Room 201
Nine East Thirty-Eighth Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Arnie:

Thanks for the minutes of the CCD Executive Committee meeting. I also received a copy of the Media Committee's minutes from Harry Fleischman.

I am going to be in New York next week from Tuesday afternoon probably 'til Friday. I have already written Harry that I hope to make the scheduled meeting of the Media Committee, and if there should be a meeting of the Executive Committee, I will try to make that too. I doubt, however, that you will want to try to arrange it this quickly.

In any case, I trust I will be seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
Room 801, 9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Tel. Murray Hill 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

March 21, 1957

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Meeting Notice

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will take place on Friday afternoon, April 12 at 1:45 P.M. at the offices of the National Council of Churches, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York City, in the Conference Room on the fourth floor. The change from the originally scheduled dates has been made in order to assure the presence of Dr. Blake at the meeting.

As you will recall, it was voted at the last meeting that each member of the Executive Committee be asked to designate an official alternate in order to assure full attendance at future meetings. If you will be unable to attend the meeting on April 12, I would appreciate your indicating on the form below the name of the alternate who will represent you.

I will_____ attend the Executive Committee meeting on April 12.
will not___

The name of my alternate is_____.

Signed_____

CCD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

347

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: April 5, 1957

RE: Meeting Notice

The Committee on Relief and Relocation will meet on Thursday, April 11 at 2:30 p.m. in the offices of the National Council of Churches, Room 75, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City. All participating organizations are invited to attend.

If you wish to be represented in the continuing program of the Relief Committee, please send me the name of your representative.

A.A.

CCD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

347

May 6, 1957

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Enclosed are minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee.

The next meeting will take place on June 6 at 1:45 p.m. in the offices of the National Council of Churches, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York City in the Conference Room on the 4th floor. As you will note from the minutes, organizations not holding membership on the Executive Committee will henceforth be invited to attend and participate in all future meetings. Please advise me the name of the person in your organization to whom such meeting notices should be addressed.

You have doubtlessly been receiving a number of materials on desegregation as part of the clearance process initiated by the Mass Media Committee. In the hope of facilitating the process, the Executive Committee has recommended that a more centralized method of distribution be undertaken.

Accordingly, may I ask that you send me for redistribution 100 copies of any material dealing with desegregation which you believe will be of interest to the other participating organizations. Notices of materials or programs being planned should also be included. It would be helpful if you would also include suggestions as to how the materials might best be used, as well as information regarding the availability and cost of quantity orders.

May I call your attention to the recommendation of the Executiv Committee, that participating organizations cooperate in the Prayer Pilgrimage to be held in Washington on May 17.

A.A.

Enc.

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
APRIL 12, 1957

PRESENT WERE:

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Chairman
Frances Cahn, National Council of Jewish Women
Alex Miller, Anti-Defamation League
John Morsell, NAACP
Savilla Simons, YWCA
Esther Stamats, United Church Women
Galen Weaver, National Council of Churches
Roy Wilkins, NAACP
Clarence Yarrow, American Friends Service Committee
Arnold Aronson, NCRAC, Secretary

The minutes of the preceding meeting were approved as submitted.

A resolution was adopted authorizing the treasurer to open an account in the Provident Trust Company of Philadelphia. Dr. Blake volunteered to join with the other Co-chairmen in sending a letter to all participating organizations urging them to make a financial contribution as set forth in the Constitution, to help cover the costs of stationery, postage and other operating expenses.

Participation

It was reported that two additional organizations had voted to become participants in the CCD, bringing the total to thirty. A few other organizations were reported as still awaiting approval by their appropriate executive bodies. It was recommended that the National Council of Catholic Women, the Southern Leaders Conference and the United Steel Workers of America be invited to become participants.

It was reported that four organizations, which were unable to become formal participants, had written expressing their desire to cooperate with the CCD and to be kept informed of activities and developments. In this connection, it was pointed out that the Constitution provides that "Individuals who, by virtue of their interest, competence and experience, can make a constructive contribution to the work of the Conference or of its committees, may be appointed to such committees and invited to participate in the deliberations of the Conference, without reference to membership in any of the participating organizations." Accordingly, the secretary was authorized to establish liaison with interested organizations and individuals and to add their names to the mailing list for the receipt of appropriate information and materials.

Committee Reports

Mass Media

The Mass Media Committee is currently preparing a comprehensive bibliography of available printed materials, films and kinescopes on desegregation. It is expected that the bibliography will be completed and available for distribution shortly.

A list of persons in each of the participating organizations concerned with the mass media has been prepared and distributed. Participating organizations have been urged to send copies of relevant materials to all persons on the list.

It was the consensus of the Executive Committee that the clearance procedure would be accelerated and improved if the materials were to be distributed from a central source. It was suggested that some organizations find it difficult to send materials to the entire mailing list and that changes in the list itself add to this difficulty. It was pointed out, moreover that under the existing procedure organizations have no way of knowing that materials they have recently been receiving are being made available to them as part of the CCD clearance process. Accordingly, it was recommended that the secretary write to the participating organizations urging them, as a matter of routine, to send him a bulk quantity of whatever mass media materials they produce and that he, in turn, undertake to redistribute these among the participating organizations.

Relief and Relocation

A report was received of the meeting of the Committee on Relief and Relocation that had been held the preceding day. Copies of the minutes will be made available shortly.

The Committee is undertaking to survey requests for relief coming to the attention of the participating organizations and available resources for meeting these requests. It has suggested that consideration be given to a pooling of resources and the establishment of a central fund for relief grants.

Although the Executive Committee approved the proposed survey of needs and resources, it was of the opinion that the administration of a central fund represented a functional activity requiring professional staff. It recommended that the Relief Committee limit its function to that of clearance and coordination, with referral of relief requests to appropriate agencies.

The Relief Committee is also preparing a report of recent developments in Koinonia Farm. A branch of the Farm has been established in New Jersey and a committee organized to solicit financial support. The report and recommendations for action will be distributed shortly to all of the participating organizations.

National Administration

There was a discussion of ways and means of effecting more affirmative action by the National Administration.

Mr. Miller reported on recent conversations with officials in the Justice Department. He indicated that these officials had expressed a sense of frustration and of futility at their failure to secure indictments in situations in which the Department had intervened and at their inability to enter into other situations.

There appeared to be complete agreement that the seemingly neutral attitude of the Administration with respect to intimidations and violence tended to lend encouragement to resistance forces. It was also agreed that affirmative leadership by the President could have a significant effect in changing the climate of opinion. Doubt was expressed, however, that the President was likely to make any major address on the subject or to issue the kind of statement that was to be desired. It was noted, in this connection, that during his past several press conferences, the President had failed to recognize the reporter of any Negro newspaper for a question.

Dr. Blake suggested that an appeal for Presidential action to curb lawlessness and violence was likely to be more productive than an appeal for assistance in accelerating desegregation. He said that it was his opinion that an appointment with the President could be secured and he indicated his willingness to request such an appointment, provided that a comprehensive report of instances of bombings and violence and a detailed set of recommendations for Presidential action were prepared in advance.

Mr. Miller volunteered to develop a report embodying the information suggested by Dr. Blake.

May 17 Pilgrimage

Mr. Wilkins reported on plans for a prayer pilgrimage to be held at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on May 17. It is hoped that a minimum of 50,000 persons will be in attendance. The pilgrimage is not intended as a rebuke to the Administration but as an out pouring of public expression, with the following objectives in view, (1) commemoration of the 3rd anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation (2) protest against lawlessness and violence (3) protest against legislative and administrative actions designed to curb the NAACP and other organizations supporting desegregation (4) support for pending federal civil rights legislation. It is planned that the program will begin at noon, to coincide with the convening of the Supreme Court, and will include prayers, scripture readings, speeches and appropriate music. No direct demands for Presidential action will be made. The entire program is expected to last for about three hours. The call to the pilgrimage is being issued over the signatures of Rev. Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Wilkins and invitations will be extended to all groups and organizations.

The Executive Committee recommended that organizations participating in the CCD cooperate with the pilgrimage and undertake to be represented by a top official and to encourage attendance by their constituents.

Attacks on the NAACP

Mr. Wilkins reported that the NAACP is challenging the recently enacted laws in Virginia and that hearings in the federal courts are scheduled to take place in June. Similar action is contemplated in Tennessee and other states. He emphasized the importance of obtaining statements in opposition to these restrictive laws from local affiliates of the participating organizations. Referring to recent efforts in the South to discredit the NAACP as "Communist", Mr. Wilkins reported

receipt of a recent communication from the Attorney General refuting such charges.

It was recommended that copies of the Attorney General's letter be distributed among the participating organizations and that efforts be made to give it as wide a circulation as possible (see copy attached).

Meeting Dates

The next meeting of the Executive Committee was scheduled for the afternoon of June 6 in the offices of the National Council of Churches. It was further agreed to hold a Plenary Session in Washington on September 17. At the suggestion of the Secretary, it was recommended that henceforth all organizations participating in the CCD be invited to attend and to participate in Executive Committee meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

July 22, 1957

Mr. Arnold Aronson, Secretary
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Arnie:

This is in response to the CCD memo of July 9th signed by the co-chairman. Enclosed is our check for $25.00, payable to Lew Hoskins, toward the expenses of CCD. Since the South traditionally has a low per capita, I hope this will be regarded as a proportionate indication of our interest and support.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 check for $25.00
Number 1176

CCD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606
347

Check per 7/22/57 #1116 NOB

July 9, 1957

To Organizations Participating in the
Consultative Conference on Desegregation

Dear Brethren:

As you may remember, the Constitution of the Consultative Conference provides "the Conference shall be financed by voluntary contributions and payments for materials and service by the participating organizations." So far, our Conference has been carried largely by donated services and even donated postage. There is need, however, for a small fund to take care of stationery, secretarial work, postage, etc. The Treasurer received from one of the participating organizations a check for fifty dollars some little time ago and there is promise at least of another fifty dollar check coming from another organization.

At the request of the Executive Committee, we the undersigned Co-Chairmen are writing you to ask if it is possible for you to make a check to the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, Lewis M. Hoskins, Treasurer, and send it to the Secretary, Mr. Arnold Aronson, 9 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York. This small fund, so subscribed by the participating organizations, will care for the necessary expenses unless and until at the next general meeting it is decided to implement some larger program. We should say, however, that there is no present recommendation to that effect contemplated.

Ever cordially yours,

Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman

RECEIVED JUL 26 1957

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
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Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

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July 24, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation your check for $25. Considering the south's traditional low per capita, to say nothing of the SRC's own need for funds, this is indeed a most generous and tangible evidence of support for the CCD. We are truly grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Arnie

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

AA:EB

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August 26, 1957

TO: Mass Media Mailing List

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Enclosed are the first four in a projected series of studies of desegregation in process, issued by the Anti-Defamation League. Additional studies in the series will be sent to you as they become available. Copies of these pamphlets may be obtained from the ADL, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York at 25¢ each, quantity discounts upon request.

Also enclosed is a reprint from the REPORTER Magazine regarding the Petal Paper. You will be interested to know that through the initiative of our Mass Media Committee, a number of subscriptions to the Petal Paper were obtained from among our participating organizations. A collection of editorial reprints from the Petal Paper has been put together in booklet from and is available at a cost of 50¢ each from P.D. East, Editor, Petal Paper, Petal, Mississippi.

CCD PLENARY SESSION SEPTEMBER 16-17

WILLARD HOTEL WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED AUG 29 1957

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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August 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your memo of August 22 re Anticipated Public School Desegregation in Southern and Border States, which arrived this morning, would, I am certain, be of interest to all of the organizations in the CCD. Our present mailing list is about 100, including your southern group. Could you send me a sufficient number of copies for redistribution to those organizations which did not receive the memo directly from you?

Regards.

Cordially,

Arnie

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

AA:EB

Sent 8/29/57 JC

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

September 5, 1957

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

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TO: All Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Recent developments in Little Rock, Sturgis, and elsewhere give particular timeliness to our Plenary Session, scheduled for September 16-17 at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., and reinforce the need for us to take counsel together.

Responses thus far received to my original announcement of the Session indicate that it will be well attended, with participation broadly representative of our affiliated organizations. Plans for the program are sufficiently in hand at this writing to assure an interesting and stimulating Conference.

The current situation in Arkansas will be much in our minds when we address ourselves on Monday evening to the problems of organizing local communities behind school desegregation processes.

At luncheon that same day, a spokesman for the Justice Department will outline the Department's plans for proceeding under the new civil rights law and we shall have full opportunity to discuss with him, and among ourselves, how voluntary organizations can aid Negroes in exercising their voting rights.

At the opening Session on Monday morning, the Rev. Clarence Jordan, of the Koinonia Communities, will make a presentation of Koinonia's experience since our last meeting; and we shall consider how interorganizational cooperation in behalf of this venture in interracial living can further help to sustain it in the face of continuing attack.

The program for Tuesday contemplates two or three concurrent workshops, in which small groups can focus their attention upon practical problems, such as those involved in the utilization of media of communication, the furtherance of cooperation among the religious bodies, ways and means of involving industry and unions more effectively in the desegregation process.

There will be a luncheon speaker on Tuesday and the afternoon will be devoted to a business meeting.

<u>If you have not already done so, please designate your representatives to the Plenary Session without further delay,</u> so that we may be sure of completing all the necessary arrangements in ample time.

RECEIVED AUG 26 1957

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
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August 22, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed meeting notice has gone to all of the participating organizations. I have not circulated the notice to any of the persons on the southern list and am enclosing 25 copies for that purpose.

Cordially,

Arnold A

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

AA:EB
Enc.

CCD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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August 22, 1957

TO: All Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

The CCD will meet in plenary session on September 16-17 at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C. In accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Committee, southern field personnel of the participating organizations will be in attendance so as to maximize the opportunity for interconsultation and joint planning at the national and local levels.

In order to cover the many urgent problems of common concern in the time available, it will be necessary to schedule some sessions concurrently. We are certain that each organization will wish to be represented at all sessions and we suggest, therefore, that you plan to have three or more delegates attend the meeting.

The sessions will begin at 10:30 A.M. on Monday, September 16 and will adjourn no later than 5:00 P.M. on Tuesday, the 17th. A group luncheon will be served on both days. A detailed agenda is in preparation and will be sent to you in advance of the meeting.

The Willard Hotel is reserving a number of single rooms for us beginning at $8.50 and twin-bedded rooms beginning at $13.00. Please fill out the enclosed form and return it to me at your earliest convenience indicating the names of your delegates and the type of accommodations desired.

CCD

VIA AIR MAIL

September 5, 1957

Mr. Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations Advisory Council
Room 801
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Arnie:

This may find you still on vacation, but at least it will be waiting for you on your return.

First, as to the voting panel, I can now suggest a labor participant. Emory Via, our labor consultant advises that the guy most likely to have an overall grasp of Negro suffrage from the unions' point of view is Henry Zon, research director of COPE, in Washington.

I was able to arrange with Philip Hammer to be present Tuesday the 16th for the economics workshop. SRC will cover his expenses. Hammer, you remember, is the president of Hammer & Company of Atlanta, planning consultants to business and industry. He was the research director for the Ashmore Project, former executive officer of the NPA's Committee for the South, and former director of the Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission. He is an SRC board member and conducted for us a detailed study of post-war industrialization in the South.

With apologies for dealing with so many different matters, here is another. Wilton S. Dillon, Executive Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was just here. He is developing program

for the Fund in this field and is very much interested in the September 16-17 meeting. I think he would be a useful addition and hope you will feel it proper to send him a reservation form at the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CCD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Plenary Session
September 16-17, 1957
Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
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PROGRAM

Monday, September 16

10:30 A.M. - 12:45 P.M. Congressional Room

Chairman: Dr. J. Oscar Lee; National Council of Churches; Co-Chairman CCD Committee on Relief and Relocation

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION IN BEHALF OF KOINONIA FARM - REVIEW AND EVALUATION

Report of Committee on Relief and Relocation
Fay Bennett, National Sharecroppers Fund, Committee Co-Chairman

Reports by participating organizations

Presentation: Rev. Clarence Jordan, co-founder, Koinonia Farms

Discussion and Recommendations

SOUTHERN STAFF PERSONNEL WILL MEET SEPARATELY DURING THIS PERIOD IN SUITE 401.

12:45 GROUP LUNCHEON

2:30 - 4:45 P.M.

HOW VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS CAN HELP EFFECTUATE THE PURPOSES OF THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

(a) In assisting Negroes in the exercise of their voting rights

(b) In advancing the work of the new Civil Rights Commission

Chairman: Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Americans for Democratic Action

Purposes and Provisions of the Law: Clarence Mitchell, NAACP

Panel: Patrick Murphy Malin, American Civil Liberties Union
W.C. Patton, Alabama Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting

Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council

Discussion and Recommendations

8:00 - 10:30 P.M.

ORGANIZING THE LOCAL COMMUNITY FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION - EVALUATION OF CURRENT SITUATION AND PROJECTION OF FUTURE PLANS

Chairman: Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Chairman CCD Committee on Local Community Organization

Resource Persons: Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee, North Carolina
Mrs. Moise Cahn, National Council of Jewish Women, Louisiana
Dr. Will Campbell, National Council of Churches, Arkansas
Ruby Hurley, NAACP
Arthur Levin, Anti-Defamation League, Georgia
Galen Martin, Unitarian Service Committee, Tennessee
Rev. Mose Pleasure, Southern Leaders Conference, Alabama
Mrs. Ben Russell, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., Tennessee
Seymour Samet, American Jewish Committee, Florida
Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, National Council Protestant Episcopal Church, Virginia

Discussions and Recommendations

Tuesday, September 17

9:45 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.

THREE CONCURRENT WORKSHOP SESSIONS

The workshops will focus upon practical questions and problems, seeking to establish what the facts are, what is being done, and what new or further efforts should be made, and how and by what agencies or groups.

A. Utilizing the Media of Communication - Washington Room

Discussion Leader: Alfred D. Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Chairman, CCD Committee on Mass Media

B. Interreligious Cooperation for Desegregation - Jefferson Room

Discussion Leader: Dr. Roy McCorkel, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Chairman, CCD Committee on Interreligious Cooperation

C. Desegregation and the Changing Economy of the South - Interpreting to Southern Industry Its Stake in the Maintenance of Orderly Compliance With Law - Adams Room

Discussion Leader: John Hope II, American Missionary Association

Consultant: Philip Hammer, Southern Regional Council

Tuesday, September 17 (cntd.)

12:30 P.M. Luncheon

2:00 - 4:30 P.M.

BUSINESS MEETING

Chairman: Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, President, National Council of Churches of Christ; Co-Chairman CCD

Reports of the Workshops

Treasurer's Report

Nominations

Projection of Plans for the Future

File

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Ed Rankin
Chas Sam
Cook's Oak
Raleigh, N.C.

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
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PLENARY SESSION

SUMMARY REPORT

September 16-17, 1957

Willard Hotel

Washington, D.C.

Participants

Name	Organization	City
Aronson, Arnold	Natl. Community Relations Advisory Council	New York
Barnes, Miss Lilace Reid	National Board Y.W.C.A.	New York
Bell, Tartt	Amer. Friends Service Comm.	High Point, N.C.
Bennett, Fay	National Sharecroppers Fund	New York
Bernheim, Alfred	American Jewish Committee	New York
Blake, Dr. Eugene Carson	Natl. Cncl. of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.	Philadelphia
Blue, John	American Cncl. on Human Rights	Washington
Bolz, Sanford	American Jewish Congress	Washington
Braiterman, Marvin	U.A.H.C.	Baltimore, Md.
Brown, Theodore	AFL-CIO	Washington
Brickner, Rabbi Belfour	Union of Amer. Hebrew Cong.	Washington
Calhoun, Rev. Malcolm	Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	Atlanta, Ga.
Cahn, Mrs. Frances T.	Natl. Council of Jewish Women	New York
Cahn, Mrs. Moise S.	Natl. Council of Jewish Women	New Orleans, La
Campbell, Rev. Will D.	Natl. Council of Churches of Christ in USA Dept. of Racial	Nashville, Tenn. & Cultural Rel.
Catchings, Rev. Maynard	YMCA	New York
Chernoff, Miss Lillian	National Council of Jewish Women	Atlanta
Davidson, Mrs. Edith	National Cncl. of Jewish Women	New York
Deer, Lewis H.	Dept. of Social Welfare of United Christian Missionary Society	Indianapolis
Dillon, Wilton	Phelps-Stokes Fund	New York
Flack, Miss Helen	National Board, Y.W.C.A.	New York
Fleming, Harold C.	Southern Regional Council	Atlanta, Ga.
Fleischman, Harry	National Labor Service	New York
Foley, Father Albert	Spring Hill College	Mobile, Ala.
Friedman, Murray	Anti-Defamation League	Virginia
Gaba, Morton, Mr. & Mrs.	Natl. Community Relations Advisory Council	Norfolk, Va.
Greenberg, Jack	N.A.A.C.P.	New York
Guinn, Dorothy C.	Natl. Council of Negro Women	Washington
Gunther, John J.	Americans for Democratic Action	Washington
Hamilton, Mrs. G.T.	Southern Regional Council	Atlanta, Ga.
Hammer, Philip	Southern Regional Council	Atlanta, Ga.
Harris, Miss Florence C.	Y.W.C.A.	Atlanta, Ga.
Harris, Mrs. Patricia R.	Natl. Council of Negro Women	Washington
Hollander, Sidney	Natl. Community Relations Advisory Council	Baltimore, Md.
Hope, John	American Missionary Ass'n.	Nashville, Tenn.
Hoskins, Lewis M.	American Friends Service Com.	Philadelphia
Hunton, George	Catholic Interracial Cncl.	New York
Hurly, Mrs. Ruby	N.A.A.C.P.	Atlanta, Ga.
Jackson, Mrs. Marion H.	Natl. Council of Negro Women	Washington
Jones, Mrs. John Bayley	Women's Div. of Christian Service of the Methodist Church	Washington
Jordan, Rev. Clarence	Koinonia Farms	Augusta, Ga.
Lee, Dr. J. Oscar	Natl. Cncl. of Churches of Christ in USA, Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations	New York

Name	Organization	City
Levin, Arthur J.	Anti-Defamation League	Atlanta, Ga.
Levison, Stanley	In Friendship	New York
Lewis, Dr. Hylan	Unitarian Service Committee	Boston, Mass.
Lovejoy, Dr. Gordon W.	Natl. Conf. of Christians & Jews	New York
Lubin, Samuel	American Jewish Committee	Atlanta, Ga.
Lukas, Edwin J.	American Jewish Committee	New York
Malin, Patrick	ACLU	New York
Manis, Mr. Francis		Knoxville, Tenn.
Marcus, Dr. Chester	United Church of Christ	Cleveland, Ohio
Martin, Galen	Unitarian Service Committee	Knoxville, Tenn
McCorckle, Roy	Natl. Conf. of Christians and Jews	New York
Meserve, H.C.	Rockefeller Brothers Fund	New York
Miller, Alex	Anti-Defamation League	New York
Moffett, Barbara	Amer. Friends Service Committee	Philadelphia
Moore, Mrs. Dudley	Unitarian Service Committee	Boston, Mass.
Morisy, Alex	Amer. Friends Service Comm.	Philadelphia
Morsell, Dr. John	N.A.A.C.P.	New York
Muravchik, Emanuel	Jewish Labor Committee	New York
Oliver, William H.	U.A.W.	Detroit
Osborne, Irene	Amer. Friends Service Comm.	Philadelphia
Patton, W.C.	Alabama Coordinating Assn. for Registration & Voting	Birmingham, Ala.
Parrish, C. H.	Southern Regional Council	Louisville, Ky
Pfeffer, Leo	American Jewish Congress	New York
Pleasure, Rev. Mose	Southern Leaders Conf.	Montgomery, Ala
Puryear, Mrs. Thomas L.	United Cncl. for Christian Social Action	New York
Rabinoff, George W.	Natl. Social Welfare Assem.	New York
Rauh, Joseph L.	A.D.A.	Washington
Reitman, Alan	Amer. Civil Liberties Union	New York
Reuther, Roy	U.A.W.	Detroit
Rilling, Paul M.	Y.M.C.A.	Atlanta
Routh, Frederick B.	Southern Regional Council	Atlanta
Russell, Mrs. Ben	Presbyterian, U.S.A.	Greenville, Tenn
Samet, Seymour	American Jewish Committee	Miami, Fla.
Segal, Benjamin D.	Fund for the Republic	Washington
Shishkin, Boris	AFL-CIO	Washington
Sissel, Rev. H. B.	Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.	Philadelphia
Stamats, Miss Esther	United Church Women	New York
Toubin, Isaac	American Jewish Congress	New York
Turner, Rev. Herman	Presbyterian Church in USA	Atlanta
Tarplee, Rev. Corneluis	Natl. Cncl of the Protestant Episcopal Church	Lynchburg, Va.
Tucker, Sterling	National Urban League	Washington
Vorspan, Albert	U.A.H.C.	New York
Ware, Miss Margery	Urban League	Washington
Wilcox, Mrs. Robert L.	Women's Div. of Christian Service of the Methodist Church	New York
Wilmore, Rev. Gayrand	Presbyterian Church in USA	Philadelphia
Yarrow, Clarence	American Friends Service Com	Philadelphia

Interorganizational Cooperation in Behalf of Koinonia Farm

Discussion Leader: Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of the Churches of Christ, Co-Chairman CCD Committee on Relief and Relocation.

Consultant: Rev. Clarence Jordan, Co-founder Koinonia Farms

Rapporteur: Fay Bennett, National Sharecroppers Fund, Co-Chairman CCD Committee.

Miss Bennett reported that four meetings of the Committee had been held and a number of specific requests for economic aid handled. She pointed out that the overall problem of direct relief was not great but that the real need is for low-cost credit. She observed that this has always been a problem in the South and accounts for the fact that sharecroppers and tenant farmers have been tied to the land and unable to strike out for themselves. The chronic lack of low-cost credit has been aggravated in certain situations because of the stand taken for civil rights. In these latter cases, a number of organizations cooperating through the Committee on Relief have given direct help. Among these are American Friends Service Committee - Rights of Conscience Program, National Council of Churches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and National Sharecroppers Fund. Miss Bennett reported that there had been no defaults on any of these loans. In addition, a number of the denominations have set aside certain funds which have been drawn upon for such cases by the denomination itself. Further, several organizations have been of help by having funds deposited with several of the banks where loans to sharecroppers and others have been carried through.

Miss Bennett emphasized that in several cases of urgent need involving fairly large sums, the amount of work entailed in raising the necessary sum has been very great and the funds have been raised with much difficulty. It was suggested that if an overall fund could be set up to be drawn upon in such cases it would be of immense value. An alternative would be for the various interested organizations to set aside funds which could be drawn upon immediately in cases of proven need.

Rev. Jordan spoke on the past and present problems facing the Koinonia communities. There are now two Koinonia farms, the second one having been recently established in New Jersey.

He described the recent events which have caused great hardship to the Koinonia community. First came legal pressure against their summer camp, the economic pressure, the refusal to buy their products, or to sell their goods, and finally, physical violence -- fire, gunshot and dynamite -- 18 attacks in all.

Rev. Jordan indicated that the physical violence seems to have been stopped but that the economic pressure has been increased. He said that no action had been taken to prevent violence until the bombing of a feed store which sold to Koinonia resulted in shattering the windows of the local courthouse and bank. Because of the increasing economic pressure, which made it impossible to purchase supplies or services within a 100 mile radius. Koinonia has had to

give up its poultry and its farming operation, which depended on irrigation, and has decided to concentrate on the pecan shelling business, which can function without need of local services. To carry on an efficient pecan shelling business, $50,000 in new capital is needed by Koinonia. To raise this sum they are asking 2,000 people who wish to participate in this effort to invest $25 each at 4% interest. Funds are coming in for this purpose and Koinonia is proceeding with installing the necessary machinery in order to be prepared for the fall pecan crop.

Rev. Jordan reported that the campaign to raise $100,000 in voluntary insurance pledges had brought in $115,000. He expressed appreciation for the assistance received from CCD organizations in this effort and declared that without such assistance Koinonia could have been unable to survive.

In response to a question, he estimated that perhaps 20% of the financial help was comingfrom individuals in Southern states. He said that a basic need of the community was for persons dedicated to its principles to join the community as permanent members. Of the original 60 members, 35 remain in Americus and 20, including all the negro children, are in the newly established New Jersey farm.

As a result of the discussion following Rev. Jordan's presentation, the following recommendations were referred to the Committee for its consideration.

1. That information regarding relief needs and recommendations for action in specific situations be distributed more widely among the organizations participating in the CCD.

2. That the Committee undertake to develop procedures for more effective clearance of information regarding pressures on or by community chests against beneficiary agencies because of positions taken by such agencies in support of desegregation.

3. That CCD organizations assume responsibility for notifying the Committee of situations arising out of the desegregation issue in which there is a need for economic assistance.

4. That the Committee seek to compile information regarding the policies and practices of CCD organizations with respect to such relief problems.

How Voluntary Organizations Can Help Effectuate the Purposes of the New Civil Rights Law

Discussion Leader: Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Americans for Democratic Action

Consultants: Patrick Murphy Malin, American Civil Liberties Union
W. C. Patton, Alabama Coordinating Council for Registration and Voting
Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council

Rapporteur: Dr. John Morsell, NAACP

Mr. Rauh outlined the provisions of the recently enacted federal civil rights law and the steps leading to its enactment. He expressed the opinion that the close vote at the opening of the Congress on the effort to adopt new Senate rules assumed the passage of some civil rights measure, while leaving the kind of bill undetermined. Although the bill as finally enacted fell short of what civil rights advocates had urged, it was, he said, better than might have been expected and represented a significant forward step. Credit for this result, he added, was due in large measure to effective cooperation among the many organizations associated in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. He expressed the opinion that that material improvement in the ability of Negroes to vote in the South could be expected if the law is intelligently and earnestly applied. The development of an alert, informed and sizeable Negro electorate, he concluded, would compel Southern political leadership at the state and community level to become responsive to Negro demands and could thus be of major significance in helping to resolve current problems.

Mr. Malin said that he was less sanguine about the bill than Mr. Rauh. While agreeing that it was "better than no bill at all," he voiced doubt that it would result in any significant improvement in voting opportunities for southern Negroes. Nevertheless, he joined with Mr. Rauh in urging concerted pressure on the Administration and the Justice Department for prompt and vigorous enforcement in order to realize the maximum potential from the new law.

Mr. Fred Routh described the survey of Negro registration and voting undertaken by the Southern Regional Council. He felt there was no reason to mistrust the data even in cases where there were no official figures and they had to rely on estimates.

The studies have shown a slow but steady rise in the number of Negro voters in the South over the last ten years. At the same time, however, there is some indication that the rate of increase has decreased. So far as generalizations are concerned the figures suggest that the percentage of Negroes registered and voting varies in proportion to (a) their degree of urbanization, and (b) the extent to which they are economically independent of whites.

Routh feels that the term "apathy" is all too frequently misused when it is applied to the apparent indifference to voting exhibited by many southern Negroes. He noted, for example, that the Negro voter is

generally faced with an almost total lack of choices when he does go to the polls, since opposing candidates are generally vying with each other in the expression of extreme white supremacy sentiments. This, of course, points to the need for organization within the Negro community for the purpose of making careful evaluations and setting forth some kind of choice which the Negro voter can make.

It was also pointed out in the discussion that initially, under the circumstances, it is not too important which candidate Negro voters choose; the important thing is that they do vote and that they thus demonstrate the potential strength which they possess. Politics being what it is, it is unlikely that this potential will long remain neglected by vote-seekers.

Mr. W. C. Patton of the Alabama Coordinating Counil for Registration and Voting discussed in some detail the varied kinds of informal and official pressure employed against Negroes in Alabama in the effort, largely successful thus far, to hold their voting to a mimimum. He also discussed the efforts which have been made to organize the Negro community and to campaign for increased qualification of Negro voters. Some indication of the success of these efforts was given in the fact that a 1951 survey showed between fifteen and twenty-five thousand qualified Negro voters in Alabama, whereas the figure last year is believed to have been between fifty and seventy-five thousand.

Particularly in urban areas such methods as block organization, door-to-door canvassing, public meetings, widespread distribution of posters, stickers and leaflets have been very effective. Effective also have been the voter clinics which the Council has held. According to Patton, at least ninety percent of the "graduates" of these clinics have qualified at their first registration attempt.

Following extensive discussion, the following recommendations were advanced:

1. That the President be called upon to proceed promptly to appoint the members of the Civil Rights Commission and to designate unqualified supporters of civil rights to these positions. Similar action was recommended with respect to the Director of the Commission and the new Assistant Attorney General.

It was emphasized that the Commission expires two years from the date the law was signed and that each day's delay in the appointment of the Commission represents a corresponding cut in the time available for its work. It was further pointed out that whereas recess appointments would enable the Commission to begin its work at once, appointees named after Congress reconvenes will be unable to take office until they have been confirmed by the Senate, thus resulting in an additional delay of several months.

2. That the Commission be urged to interpret its mandate as broadly as possible. It was pointed out that the powers and duties of the Commission are not too clearly defined. A liberal interpretation of the provision calling for "study of legal developments affecting equal protection of the laws", for example, would enable the Commission to investigate a wide variety of situations and issues over and beyond problems of voting.

3. That CCD organizations undertake to accumulate data regarding voting and other civil rights violations and be prepared to present testimony at hearings of the Commission.

4. That appropriate materials be prepared and disseminated designed to create greater public understanding of the purposes and provisions of the law. It was suggested that knowledge of the broad powers given to the federal courts under the law might have a salutary effect.

5. That a comprehensive educational campaign be undertaken aimed at increasing Negro registration and voting in the South.

It was pointed out that in some areas prospective Negro registrants must be vouched for and accompanied by a white voter. It was suggested that CCD organizations might be helpful in enabling Negroes to meet this requirement.

Organizing the Local Community for School Desegregation

Discussion Leader: Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Chairman, CCD Committee on Local Community Organization

Consultants: Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee
Dr. Will Campbell, National Council of Churches
John Hope, American Missionary Association

Rapporteur: Frederick B. Routh, Southern Regional Council

Tartt Bell reported on school desegregation in North Carolina. He said that although consultations looking toward integration had taken place among the school boards of six communities, only three, Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Charlotte, had moved forward and then on a token basis only involving a total of twelve children.

Under the State's plan the burden and initiative is placed fully on the shoulders of the Negro parent. One of the problems in North Carolina is that the public - white and Negro - does not seem to understand the concept of public schools. The white community thinks of the white schools as "our schools" and the Negro community of the Negro schools as "our schools", but the white people see the Negro children as attending "their school" rather than a public school.

Among the positive factors in the North Carolina situation was the willingness of the state to permit local school boards to proceed with their own plans, firm statements against violence by the governor, and his pledge to maintain law and order.

Mr. Bell emphasized the importance of effective police action. He reported a genuine fear on the part of a number of North Carolinians that local police protection would be inadequate in some of the remoter rural areas. This fear is one of the potent deterrents to the consideration of wider desegregation in North Carolina.

On the employment side the experience in North Carolina has been that the new Northern-owned plants, rather than following policies of their Northern counterparts, are accepting the discriminatory patterns of the South.

Dr. Campbell observed that in his opinion Little Rock is potentially more dangerous than even Birmingham, Alabama. The reason is that in the latter attitudes are so stringent and the disparity in strength so overwhelming that non-violence is the only feasible strategy for the minority. In Little Rock, on the other hand, the situation admits of more than this single alternative.

At the same time the consensus of the opinion which he had encountered in Little Rock during his stay was that there was no evidence that the governor's alleged fears were well-founded. No one shared his apprehensions, and there were, as a matter of fact, so many positive elements in the situation that it was believed that a simple and clear show of firmness would have sufficed to stem any attempts at violence. Most of the people to whom he talked were completely at a loss to account for the governor's action and felt that there was no rational explanation for it.

Dr. Campbell reported that several ministers in Little Rock had been ready to go down to the school area and to assist the Negro children in entering the school. He observed that the willingness of the clergy to act publicly was an encouraging sign that had not been manifested in other communities.

John Hope reviewed the activities of the voluntary groups and community organizations in Nashville, Tennessee, where they made consistent and resonably effective efforts through consultation and publicity to develop a sound community atmosphere for the impending desegregation.

The Nashville Conference on Community Relations was started in September of 1956. It is headed by an industrialist, and it took over the official contacts with public officials in the community. The Conference had 300 members by September 1, 1957. The Conference's first act was to get a petition signed by key prestige people of the community calling for law and order. However, the Conference rebuffed all offers of cooperation, help or assistance from local University human relations experts. In spite of their obvious good intentions and their recognition of the need for advance planning, he felt that their actual operation lacked the necessary speed and flexibility.

According to Dr. Hope, city officials did and said the right things, but their lack of knowledge and understanding of human relations conflict made for bad timing. The local police attitude was, "You can't get rough until the situation is bad enough to carry public opinion with you." Thus, the mobs were permitted to gather and the rabble rousers to run free until they blew up the Hatte Cotton Schools. Only then did the local police really crack down. Dr. Hope emphasized the dangers in attempting to delay vigorous police action until violence occurs.

Mr. Fleming reported that the Committee on Local Community Organization had held four meetings, involving southern staff members of the participating organizations, and had made considerable progress toward effective interagency cooperation. He reported that the southern staff members had held a separate session that morning and had formulated a number of recommendations for presentation to the total group. He read the following eight recommendations:

1. All CCD meetings, including Executive Committee meetings, should be scheduled at least three months in advance so that Southern members might plan to attend.

2. Each national agency should try to bring one Southern staff member to at least one CCD meeting per year.

3. That some national agency with a high degree of legal skill should attempt to organize a chain of sympathetic and well qualified lawyers across the South to assist intergroup agencies who are beset with legal problems growing out of legislative action or executive order by State Governments.

4. There is need for an inter-agency cooperative effort in fact finding. This should not be research for the sake of research, but

fact finding which is action oriented. For example: there is a crying need to document discrimination in registration practices to present to the new Commission on Civil Rights.

5. There is a need for inter-agency cooperative effort to strengthen and improve law enforcement practices in the South. This would have particular reference to mob control and the prevention of violence.

6. Southern representatives of national agencies should pool their insights and experiences for use by communities which face desegregation.

7. Thechurches and church groups have a special responsibility to reinforce the children and the parents who are going through desegregation experiences.

8. It is recommended that CCD's structure and constitution be reconsidered now that we have completed one year's effort. There is need to reexamine the various committees to see whether or not they are functioning as now defined.

During the discussion which followed several points were brought out:

Pat Malin of the ACLU described the growth of cooperating attorneys in the nine southeastern states from only twelve a year ago to more than one hundred at the present time.

Isaac Toubin of the American Jewish Congress stated that he would present the request for legal assistance before the governing body of his organization. He expressed the opinion that the request would receive favorable consideration and that the Congress might be able to make a staff person available for this purpose.

A member of the fact finding committee reported that it had not been operative and that there was a need to reactivate it immediately. It was pointed out that there was need to document discrimination in a) the area of voting rights, b) the area of equal employment opportunities, and c) the area of school desegregation. It was also pointed out that there was a need for a coordinated plan to develop what type of facts we need to cover.

A need was expressed for a listing of sympathetic key people in the various communities of the South. It was recommended that such a list be pulled together and that those who are listed be briefed on what is happening and what is expected of them. It was hoped that in this manner an indiginous leadership group could contribute their thinking to the inter-agency cooperative effort. Two measures of caution were expressed: a) great care must be taken in the distribution of such lists, and b) it must be insisted that local constituents are indeed local and that all agencies may not have such constituents in every key community.

UTILIZING THE MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

Discussion Leader: Alfred L. Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Chairman, CCD Mass Media Committee.

Rapporteur: Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

Mr. Bernheim delineated the main purpose of the workshop as an opportunity for interchange of ideas and of information between national and Southern field staffs of CCD organizations. The Mass Media Committee, he pointed out, deals with all materials used to educate people, written or audio-visual and operates through voluntary acceptances of assignments by the participating organizations.

After its scope and functions had been approved by the Executive Committee, Mr. Bernheim said, the MMC held six meetings, at monthly intervals. Attendance represented six to nine organizations at each session.

Among actions taken, omitting details, were the following:

Caused to be prepared and distributed lists of persons designated by agencies to receive mass media material.

Caused to be prepared a bibliography of material on desegregation, which brought up to date the bibliography of the University of Florida.

Caused to be prepared a catalogue of films, transcriptions and kinescopes dealing with desegregation (not quite completed).

Established clearence procedures through which materials bearing on desegregation are circulated among all the participating organizations.

Initiated series of conferences with outside public relations experts, for the purpose of getting their advice and help. The first conference was held with Edward Bernays in June. It is hoped that a meeting will be arranged with Elmo Roper in October.

Stimulated subscriptions from among the participating organizations to the Petal Paper, thus helping to assure its continued publication.

Exchanged information about the mass media activities, in the works or planned for near future by the organizations represented at the meetings. This information was transmitted to the other participating agencies through the minutes.

Problems were discussed among the agencies represented, and suggestions were made as to what might be done in respect to them. Conclusions and decisions transmitted to the other member agencies through the minutes.

Among the questions considered by the Workshop were the following:

1. Can we use the mass media to stress the economic costs of racial tension in the South to secure support for law and order by business, legal and other groups with status in the community?

2. Can we promote the use in Southern and national mass media of successful cases of school and other integration?

3. How can we counter the efforts by segregationists to use as weapons against integration the educational disparities disclosed when schools integrate -- as in Washington, D.C.?

4. Can we use the new Voting Rights law and school integration cases to spur Southern liberals and moderates to speak up for decency?

5. How can we use the mass media to create opportunities to stress support for law and order?

6. How can the mass media counter the trend by Southern segregationists to join the Klan and use violence (because of their disillusionment over alleged failure of legal methods to stop desegregation)?

It was reported that Business Week is planning a major story on the economic problems arising in the South from integration difficulties. It will probably appear in its October 19th issue and will deal with such questions as: Have race difficulties affected the sale of new school bonds; Are Negroes finding it any harder to get bank loans, credit or insurance; are Negro banks showing local growth?

Other questions it will consider include: Have race difficulties been reflected in real estate transactions, and is fear of eventual integration of public schools leading to a growth of enrollment in white private schools?

It will report examples of racial difficulties slowing down influx of new businesses and industry, due to reluctance of employers, with government contracts that require fair employment guarantees, to locate in pro-segregation states. The article will deal with boycotts aimed at either white or Negro groups; apprehension among businessmen over lost business due to race tension; activity by local Chambers of Commerce in this field and the present situation in Southern unions.

It will also inquire into whether or not there is fear that loss of Negro labor may hamper future Southern economic expansion; and whether plant personnel officers have noticed any racial tension among their work forces?

CCD people are helping to provide answers to some of these questions.

Workshop participants suggested that it might be possible to contact the Louisville Courier-Journal, or one of the TV or radio stations

which have done a good job in reporting the success story of integration in its area for a report on how the mass media job was done. This might be used in connection with a manual prepared for use by local people on how to deal with local mass media. Alex Morisey of the American Friends Service Committee agreed to work with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council on this project.

It was suggested that it might be useful to have an article printed in a popular magazine analyzing how the nation's press, including the Southern papers, handle the desegregation issue. The Society of Newspaper Editors and the Association of Southern Nieman Fellows were two prospects mentioned for doing the job. Publications to carry such a story might include Time's press section; New York Times Sunday Magazine; Life.

It was also suggested that it would be helpful if an important paper - like the Louisville Courier-Journal - should ask Associated Press to do a series on successful cases of school integration.

Since the South reacts to national opinion, it was felt that stronger support in national mass media for desegregation would help bolster law and order and pro-integration forces in the South. We were also warned to be on guard to counteract a forthcoming well-financed Southern segregationist propaganda drive.

Bill of Rights Day comes on December 15th, with October 29th serving as the 10th anniversary of the Report of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee, TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. It was suggested that members of that committee (all but two are still alive) might be secured for local and national radio and television appearances celebrating progress since the report was first issued.

Segregationists from the South frequently send letters to Northern papers defending their viewpoint. It was suggested that a reverse twist might be useful -- that of having transplanted former Southerners write to their former home-town papers telling them how well integration works.

It was felt that the work of the Mass Media Committee would be greatly bolstered if CCD had better fact-finding machinery. One suggestion was for more organizations to participate in the work of the Mass Media Committee, and for all CCD agencies to report their mass media plans and programs promptly to the secretary of CCD's Mass Media Committee.

Workshop B

Interreligious Cooperation for Desegregation

Discussion Leader: Dr. Roy McCorkel, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Chairman CCD Committee on Interreligious Cooperation

Rapporteur: Paul N. Rilling, Southern Area Council, YMCA

Dr. McCorkel reviewed the recommendations for action previously adopted by the Committee on Interreligious Cooperation.

It was the sense of the meeting that interreligious co-operation for better intergroup relations is essential, that not enough of it exists, that the CCD channels should be used to foster more such co-operation, and that such cooperation can be achieved most effectively at the local level. The group took notice of the difference in structure and organization of the various religious groups, a situation which makes it possible for some groups to move faster and further than others in the same situation. It was emphasized that interreligious co-operation can sometimes take place most effectively in a non-religious framework, such as the success that religious groups have found co-operating through the councils on human relations in Alabama and elsewhere.

The workshop came up with eleven specific recommendations, as follows:

1. That the channels of C.C.D. organizations be used to stimulate local community meetings of representatives of the organizations involved. It was suggested that perhaps during the coming year such efforts could be made in ten selected cities of the South.

2. That the Committee on Interreligious Cooperation should be a more active and continuing body than has been true in the past, that it should serve as a national coordinating clearing house for interreligious co-operation in this field.

3. That church groups co-operate in local situations by involving youth within the various religious groups. This might be done by co-operation with schools, by special workshops and instruction in churches, through church schools and young people's groups, etc. It was pointed out that youth are caught in the middle when school desegregation tensions arise, and that some preparation is needed in this area. It was felt, however, that youth should not be pushed out in front, but that this orientation should involve other church age groups as well.

4. That churches could be of value in working out strategy by which the soon to be created Civil Rights Commission could be used as a forum on problems in this area. It was particularly emphasized that churches should make use of local hearings of the Commission when and as these develop.

5. That church groups go much further in the sharing of experiences and case studies concerning desegregation of churches and experience of religious groups dealing with matters of human relations. Members of the group felt that many churches could profit from the experience that some had moved through.

6. That the possibility of a South-wide interfaith meeting on human relations be explored. The success of the recent Protestant meeting of churchmen in Nashville was noted, and it was felt that such a meeting involving Catholic and Jewish groups would be most effective.

7. That religious and moral pressure on the President through religious groups be continued in the hope that it will lead to stronger moral leadership on the part of the President.

8. The value of a unified religious statement cutting across interfaith lines and dealing with the subject of desegregation was considered. It was felt that such a statement would provide important moral leverage by presenting a unified front of all religious groups. It was realized, however, that it would be quite difficult because of differing church structures to develop such a unified statement. It was therefore recommended that perhaps Protestant, Catholic and Jewish statements be published side by side in a brief form which would be given wide circulation.

9. All religious groups in the South were urged to encourage and extend interfaith work among women relating to the area of racial tensions. It was noted that some such work had gone forward under the leadership of Mrs. Tilley of the Southern Regional Council, and members of the group felt that more of this sort of co-operation would be highly useful.

10. Several members of the group felt that the churches and religious groups should co-operate on questions of basic civil liberties and in protection of persecuted groups such as the N.A.A.C.P. as well as on broader questions of law and order, ethics and morals

11. It was emphasized that there is a need for local government officials in the South in areas of tensions to be aware and informed concerning modern police methods of dealing with such tension situations. In some situations interfaith delegations have been able to exert influence in this direction. It was felt that local religious officials should be alert to such opportunities.

Workshop C

Desegregation and the Changing Economy of the South

Discussion Leader: John Hope II, American Missionary Association

Consultant: Philip Hammer, Southern Regional Council

Rapporteur: Benjamin D. Segal

Mr. Hammer pointed out that revolutionary changes had taken place in the southern economy in the last twenty years. Among some of the more significant developments to which he referred were the following:

1. In 11 southern states covered in a survey which his organization conducted for the Southern Regional Council, 4,105 new manufacturing plants were established between January 1946 and December 1955.

2. Four out of ten of the new plants were in what might be classified as "traditional" industries, such as textiles, apparel, lumber and furniture -- all of these being relatively low-paying industries.

3. Only four industries -- textiles, apparel and lumber -- of the "traditional" group, and food, of the "service" group -- accounted for nearly one-half of the new postwar plants.

4. Three out of ten of the new plants were in "new type" industries -- paper, chemicals, primary and fabricated metals, machinery and transportation equipment. The remaining three were in "service" and miscellaneous industries -- food, printing and stone, clay, glass.

5. More than half of the South's new postwar plants went into counties which were classified in the 1950 Census as 50% or more rural.

Although Negro employment has not been directly or immediately affected by the new industrialization Dr. Hammer said, as white workers have moved to more skilled and desirable jobs in the new plants, Negro workers, in turn, have moved into the jobs formerly held by whites. These "secondary" jobs into which Negroes have moved for the first time have resulted in a large increase in their income. and have established Negroes as an important new cash market.

Mr. Hammer called attention to the fact that the migration of whites in the South from the rural to the urban areas exceeded the migration of Negroes from rural to urban areas with the result that there is as yet no shortage of white labor in the South.

Mr. Hammer observed that unionization has not kept pace with the industrialization of the South and that in fact, opposition to unionism has, become more intensified. He noted that the unions are weakest in the traditional industries, and that opposition to unionism is most determined in these same industries. The various state "right-to-work laws," the multiplying ordinances being passed against unions, plus the increasing use of the race issue by employers were cited as some of the reasons for the failure of labor's organizing efforts in the South.

Mr. Hammer concluded his remarks by suggesting that the industrial revolution in the South is really just beginning, that it will move much faster in the South than it ever did in the North, and that the political and social implications for the future are extremely great.

The Workshop advanced a number of recommendations for future programming. Among these were:

1. The importance of improving the training and training opportunities of Negroes so that they can be in position to take advantage of new job opportunities which may open up as a result of the developing industrialization.

2. The importance of making full use of the President's Committee on Government Contracts -- especially the review provisions of the Committee - to extend equal job opportunities for Negroes.

3. The importance of pointing up the loss to the southern community when the educated Negro has to move away to find job opportunities.

4. Efforts to assure that the Government's anti-discrimination policy is fully carried out wherever Federal Government funds are involved (for instance, at atomic energy projects).

5. That southern staffs of CCD organizations should contact leaders of industry and labor unions in their localities to get them to provide more job opportunities for Negro workers -- in other words, to get them to change their practices. If no satisfaction is obtained at the local level, the national headquarters of these groups should be contacted.

6. There was considerable support for the suggestion that CCD initiate a top level off-the-record conference of a select group of major industry and union leaders to discuss the over-all implications of the southern situation. Among the areas suggested for consideration at such a conference were: the implications of the attempts at school desegregation on economic well-being, the effect of violence, industrial stability and growth, and the use of race hate by some managements against unions. A special effort should be made to include in such a conference representatives of northern-owned plants operating in the South.

Business Session

Presiding: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, National Council of the Churches of Christ, Co-Chairman, CCD

Treasurer's Report. The secretary read the report which had been prepared by the treasurer, Lewis Hoskins. He recalled that the CCD has no fixed dues and that under the terms of the constitution was to be financed by voluntary contributions from the participating organizations. To date, a total of $435 has been received, representing contributions from 9 of the 35 participating organizations. No funds have been expended and the only obligation outstanding is a bill for $114.25 to cover the cost of stationery. It was estimated that the cost of the meetings would be approximately $100. Hope was expressed that each participating organization would make some contribution towards the cost of CCD operations.

Nominations. The chairman pointed out that the officers and members of the Executive Committee had been elected for one year terms. Since it was not expected that another Plenary Session would be held before the completion of the term in November, he suggested that a Nominating Committee be appointed to prepare a slate of officers and executive committee members and that elections be held by mail ballot. Following the adoption of this suggestion, the chairman designated the following Nominating Committee: Dr. J. O. Lee, National Council of Churches, Chairman; George Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Edwin Lukas, American Jewish Committee; Mrs. Savilla Simons, YWCA; Roy Wilkins, NAACP.

Reports of the morning workshops on Utilizing the Mass Media, Interreligious Cooperation, and Desegregation and the Changing Economy of the South were presented by Harry Fleischman, Paul Rilling and Ben Segal respectively. (Reports attached) The reports were received with appreciation and the recommendations referred to the appropriate committees.

Mr. Gunther recalled that the Executive Committee had been authorized to issue a release at an appropriate time regarding the nature and purposes of the CCD. This authorization had not been exercised. He reported that representatives of the wire services and of the Washington press had learned of the meetings from the hotel bulletin board and had expressed interest in doing a story on the CCD. After considerable discussion, the secretary was authorized to release information regarding the officers of the CCD and the general nature of the Plenary Session program, with the understanding that the names of individual participants on the program or of the participating organizations would not be released without their prior consent.

Several of the recommendations advanced by the Committee on Local Community Organization at the meeting the previous evening (recommendations attached) were considered and the following decisions reached:

1. That the Executive Committee take steps, including the holding of Committee meetings in the South, to develop closer liaison between northern and southern representatives and to facilitate the participation of southern staff members in all CCD activities.

2. That the Executive Committee be instructed to call together representatives of the appropriate agencies in order to consider ways and means of extending legal services to the South.

3. That the Fact-finding Committee be activated and be asked to consider the pooling of resources for coordinated research and fact-finding.

4. That the Constitution and structure of the CCD be reviewed in the light of ten months experience and that recommended modifications designed to facilitate the accomplishment of CCD objectives be made.

Dr. Morsell reminded the delegates that the CCD is a voluntary association of autonomous organization with no staff of its own. The recommendations that had been adopted, he said, were in large measure recommendations for action by the participating organizations themselves.

The extent to which these recommendations would be implemented therefore would be determined by the extent to which each organization in the light of its own structure, program and resources assumed responsibility for acting upon them.

Mr. Malin commended the work that had been accomplished on a volunteer basis. He suggested, however, that much more could be accomplished with paid staff and he recommended that consideration be given to the advisability of seeking foundation support for this purpose.

Upon a motion by Dr. Blake, a resolution was adopted expressing appreciation to the National Community Relations Advisory Council for making available a member of its staff to serve as secretary of the CCD.

FILE COPY

October 4, 1957

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Arnie:

Thank you for your letter of October 2 gently jogging me to get out the report of the Monday evening CCD session in Washington. It is enclosed herewith.

You are right. Washington has been quite a distance from my mind as of late. We have been terrifically busy in the current crisis situations and most of our thought and energy has been directed towards finding solutions to the problems which face the people in the crisis areas. These may not be pleasant times but they certainly are exciting. It is good to be alive and to play even a small role in the mass of social change now being wrought in the south and the nation.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

REPORT OF MONDAY EVENING - September 16, 1957 - CCD SESSION

Harold Fleming, who presided, opened the session by explaining that the contents of the evening's meeting came from a meeting of Southern staff members earlier in the day. He explained that the Southern representatives felt it more important to lay before the national agencies certain organizational problems than to entertain them with hair-raising reports of recent events in the Southern region. The Southern staff members wished the following recommendations to be made to the CCD:

1. All CCD meetings, including Executive Committee meetings, should be scheduled at least three months in advance so that Southern members might plan to attend.

2. Each national agency should try to bring one Southern staff member to at least one CCD meeting per year.

3. That some national agency with a high degree of legal savvy should attempt to organize a chain of sympathetic and well qualified lawyers across the South to assist intergroup agencies who are beset with legal problems growing out of legislative action or executive order by State Governments.

4. There is need for an inter-agency cooperative effort in fact finding. This should not be research for the sake of research, but fact finding which is action oriented. For example: there is a crying need to document discrimination in registration practices to present to the new Commission on Civil Rights.

5. There is a need for inter-agency cooperative effort to strenghten and improve law enforcement practices in the South. This would have particular reference to mob control and the prevention of violence.

6. Southern representatives of national agencies should pool their in~~terests~~ sights and experiences for use by communities which face desegregation.

7. The churches and church groups have a special responsibility to reinforce the children and the parents who are going through desegregation experiences.

8. It is recommended that CCD's structure and constitution be reconsidered now that we have completed one year's effort. There is need to reexamine the various committees to see whether or not they are functioning as now defined.

During the discussion which followed several points were brought out:

Pat Malin of the ACLU described the growth of cooperating attorneys in the nine south eastern states from only twelve a year ago to more than one hundred at the present time.

Isaac Robin of the American Jewish Congress reminded the group that his organization had a legal arm that might be of help in assisting Southern agencies.

A member of the fact-finding committee reported that it had not been operative and that there was a need to reactivate it immediately. It was pointed

out that there was need to dodument discrimination in a) the area of voting rights, b) the area of equal employment opportunities, and c) the area of school desegregation. It was also pointed out that there was a need for a coordinated plan to develop what type of facts we need to cover.

It was pointed out that the role of the church is somewhat confused because of the activities and pronouncements of dissident ministers and that this was compounded by the press handling of the situation. A representative of one of the church groups said that much more work must be done through the youth groups so that white school-age children could behave in a Christian manner and welcome Negro newcomers to the schools. It was also pointed out that ministers should establish working relationships with law enforcement agencies before violence occurs.

A need was expressed for a listing of sympathetic kew people in the various communities of the South. It was recommended that such a list be pulled together and that those who are listed be briefed on what is happening and what is expected of them. It was hoped that in this manner an indiginous leadership group could contribute their thinking to the inter-agency cooperative effort. Two measures of caution were expressed: a) great care must be taken in the distribution of such lists, and b) it must be insisted that local constituents are indeed local and that all agencies may not have such constituents in every key community.

After a brief discussion of the points previously raised the meeting adjourned.

FBR:fcl

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

347

October 2, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am certain that with things popping as they have been the last few weeks, CCD has been far removed from your mind. However, I would like to get out a summary report of our Washington meeting before the material getstoo cold, and I do hope, therefore, that you will be able to find time to write up the minutes of the Sunday evening session.

Best regards to you, Harold, John, et. al.

Cordially,

Arnie

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

AA:SL

October 14, 1957

Mr. Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations Advisory Council
Room 801
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Aronson:

Enclosed is our latest copy of NEW SOUTH which is our final report on "The Negro Voter in the South."

We wonder if you would be interested in sending copies of this publication to your inter-agency contacts. If so, would you please send me a list of the persons to whom you wish copies to go. We will mail you enough copies for these people, but we would like a list in order that the ones we mail out from this office will not go to the same persons.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

November 6, 1957

Mr. Arnold Aronson
~~National Community Relations Advisory Council~~ Consultative Conf. on Desegregation
Room 801
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Aronson:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, one hundred copies of the pamphlet The Negro Voter in the South. A single copy of this pamphlet is twenty-five cents as listed on the back. Orders of fifty or more may be filled for twenty cents per copy.

If possible we would appreciate a list of persons to whom this pamphlet is mailed.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Did we distribute
Voting pamphlet
thru CCD?

If not, let's do
with statement
of quantity price

100 [illegible]
to:
[illegible]
[illegible]

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

RE DEC 27 1957

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

347

Ballot returned 12/26/57

December 24, 1957

TO: All Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Election of Officers and Executive Committee

As you will recall, it was voted at the Plenary Session in Washington "that a Nominating Committee be appointed to prepare a slate of officers and Executive Committee members and that the elections be held by mail ballot." In accordance with this decision, the Chairman designated the following Nominating Committee: Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches, Chairman; George Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Edwin Lukas, American Jewish Committee; Mrs. Savilla Simons, YWCA: Roy Wilkins, NAACP.

The Nominating Committee, having met, unanimously submits the following slate for your consideration.

Co-Chairmen:
Dr. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman
Father Maurice V. Shean

Treasurer:
Lewis M. Hoskins, American Friends Service Committee

Secretary:
Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council

Executive Committee:
Mrs. Moise Cahn, National Council of Jewish Women
Mr. Will D. Campbell, National Council of Churches
Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Dumont Kenny, National Conference of Christians and Jews
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Leaders Conference
Father John La Farge, Catholic Interracial Council
Mr. Alexander Miller, Anti-Defamation League
Mr. William H. Oliver, United Automobile Workers
Mr. Shad Polier, American Jewish Congress
Mrs. Caroline K. Simon, American Jewish Committee
Mrs. Esther C. Stamats, United Church Women
Mr. Roy Wilkins, NAACP

Each of the above nominees has expressed a willingness to serve, if elected. In order that we may be able to proceed with the business of the CCD without delay, I would very much appreciate your returning the attached ballot no later than Monday, January 5. If we do not receive your ballot by that time, we shall assume you approve the slate as presented.

With every good wish for the New Year.

A.A.

February 6, 1958

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
9 East 38th Street, Room 201
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Arnie:

It was good to see you at the Governor's and Steel Workers' Conference in Philadephia. Thanks for the invitation to come up to the NCRAC evaluation session - even if I could come for only one day.

Unfortunately, my itinerary is such that it would be impossible for me to be there for more than a very brief period of time -- roughly four hours -- and I don't believe this is worth the expense it would incur to your organization. So, with regrets I bow out and ask for a rain check for next year's meeting.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Rec'd 2/26/58

Return to H CF

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

347

TO: Mass Media Mailing List

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: February 19, 1958

Enclosed are two items published by the United Automobile Workers which may be of interest to you. Organizations wishing to be placed on the mailing list for the UAW Fact Sheet, which is published bi-monthly, may do so by writing to William Oliver, Co-Director UAW Fair Practices Department, 8000 East Jefferson Street, Detroit, Michigan.

Is this any good? H.T.

Also enclosed is a pre-publication copy of The Tender Warriors, a pictorial review with running commentary of the impact of the Supreme Court decision on the school children of the South, Negro and white. The book, which will be published on March 3, will retail for $1.50 in the paperbound edition and $2.50 in cloth. Organizations interested in additional copies, or in quantity prices, should communicate with Mr. Arthur Wang, c/o Hill & Wang, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

A.A.

Encs.

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
XXXXXXXXXX Y.
XXXXXXXXXXXX606
XXXXXXXXXXXX

55 W. 42 St.
New York 36

Change address

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: March 10, 1958

RE: Meeting Notice

There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee on Wednesday, March 26, 1958 at 2:00 P.M. in the offices of the National Council of Churches, Room 95, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

This will be the first meeting of the newly elected Executive Committee. In view of the many significant developments since the last meeting, and the urgent problems confronting us, I earnestly hope you will make every effort to attend.

TO: Arnold Aronson, Consultative Conference on Desegregation,
55 West 42nd Street, New York 36, New York

I will _____ attend the CCD Executive Committee meeting on Wednesday, March 26, 1958 at 2:00 P.M.

Name _____
(please print)

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606
347

NEW ADDRESS
55 WEST 42ND ST.
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
LO 4-3450

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, March 26, 1958

PRESENT WERE:

Eugene Carson Blake Rabbi Abraham Feldman	Co-Chairmen
Dr. Will Campbell	National Council of Churches
Harry Fleischman	National Labor Service
Harold Fleming	Southern Regional Council
Rabbi Arthur Gilbert	Anti-Defamation League
George Hunton	Catholic Interracial Council
Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham	YWCA
Dr. Arthur Jacobs	Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Dumont Kenny	National Conference of Christians and Jews
Rev. Martin Luther King	Southern Leader Conference
Dr. J. Oscar Lee	National Council of Churches
Edwin Lukas	American Jewish Committee
Roy McCorkel	National Conference of Christians and Jews
Dr. John Morsell	NAACP
Emmanuel Muravchik	Jewish Labor Committee
William Oliver	United Automobile Workers
Joseph Robison	American Jewish Congress
Francis Shane	United Steelworkers of America
Dr. Alexander Sharpe	Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Roy Wilkins	NAACP
Clarence Yarrow	American Friends Service Committee
Arnold Aronson	NCRAC, Secretary

Report of Committee on Mass Media

Harry Fleischman, Secretary of the Committee, reported on an advertisement which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on February 17 under the auspices of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of Louisiana. The full page ad, which was headed "The Position of the South on Race Relations," not only defended segregation in the South but suggested that its extension and practice elsewhere "will enable our Northern friends to adjust themselves to the more than one-half of the Negroes in this country who will live in the North by 1980." An article in the Shreveport News of February 18, quoted Senator W.M. Rainach, Chairman of the

Joint Legislative Committee (also chairman of the Associated White Citizens Councils of Louisiana) as saying that the New York Times had expressed interest in carrying a similar advertisement.

Mr. Fleischman reported that discussions in the Mass Media Committee had resulted in the following recommendations:

(1) That no attempt be made to prevent press acceptance of such advertisements.

(2) That affiliates of the organizations participating in the CCD be alerted to the possible appearance of such advertisements is their communities and requested to urge that newspapers or magazines accepting such advertisements include editorials expressing opposition to the position taken in the ad, as well as news articles quoting opponents of segregation. (It was pointed out that neither of these steps had been taken by the New York Herald Tribune.)

In the discussion that followed, it was suggested that the advertisement in the Herald Tribune was likely to be the forerunner of an expanded and intensified propaganda effort in the North by segregationist forces. Doubt was expressed regarding the efficacy of a taxpayer's suit on the ground that the state courts involved could not be expected to take action while federal courts would in all likelihood be unwilling to assume jurisdiction. The Executive Committee endorsed the recommendations of the Mass Media Committee and further recommended:

(1) That the Mass Media Committee be advised promptly of the appearance of such advertisements in other areas.

(2) That material be assembled that would be helpful in exposing the backgrounds of the individuals sponsoring the ad.

(3) That community leaders be stimulated to write Letters to the Editor immediately following the appearance of such advertisements.

Mr. Fleischman reported on explorations by the Mass Media Committee with Elmo Roper and Dean Barrett and Professor Baker of the Columbia School of Journalism regarding a conference of "moderate" southern editors and publishers and national leaders in the mass media. He said that the present focus of the proposed conference was "what can we do through the mass media in preparation for the school year beginning next September so as to prevent new Little Rocks and promote new Louisvilles?"

It was the consensus in the Executive Committee that CCD financing of the proposed conference would be interpreted as an attempt by outside sources to influence the press and would thus be self-defeating. Accordingly, it was recommended that the possibility of sponsorship and financing of the conference, either by a Foundation or by a southern school of journalism be explored. Some members of the Committee expressed doubt that southern editors would participate in such a conference, regardless of its sponsorship. Others expressed the fear that such a conference might result

in a more cautious and conciliatory treatment of desegregation problems by northern media rather than in a more positive treatment by southern publicists. It was noted that the southern editors would be attending meetings of the ANPA and the ASNE in April and it was suggested that efforts be made to utilize these opportunities for informal approaches and discussions.

Report of Committee on Interreligious Relations

Mr. Roy McCorkel, Chairman of the Committee, reported on developments regarding the proposed interreligious conference. He reminded the Committee that the original proposal had called for a south-wide conference and that a southern committee had been appointed to carry this proposal forward. One of the suggestions emanating from the southern committee, he said, was that a northern conference of religious leaders also be held. Upon further consideration, the Committee on Interreligious Relations recommended that a single national conference be held, in lieu of separate regional conferences. The Committee suggested that the proposed conference be held in a southern or border city early in September so as to coincide with school openings.

There was considerable discussion around this question in which virtually all members of the Executive Committee participated. A substantial majority of the members appeared to favor a national conference. In their view, such a conference was desirable in order to emphasize the national and moral character of the issue. Separate southern and northern conferences, they suggested, would play into the hands of the segregationists by implying acceptance of their thesis that segregation was a southern problem to be handled by southerners. Continued national concern, pressure, and participation was essential, they maintained, in order to strengthen the position of southern moderates.

Those who favored separate northern and southern conferences suggested that southern religious leaders might be reluctant to attend a national conference. Moreover, they expressed the fear, that on the one hand, a national conference might appear to point the finger exclusively at the south, and on the other, to equate the problems in the north with those in the south.

The Committee on Interreligious Relations was instructed to convene a meeting as soon as possible, which would include the participation of southern members, in order to ascertain whether agreement could be reached regarding the holding of a national interreligious conference. The Committee was authorized, in the event of such agreement, to proceed with plans for a national conference in September. Should the proposal for a national conference prove unacceptable to the southern members, the Committee was instructed to ascertain the kind of assistance expected of the national organizations for a southern conference.

Committee on Local Community Organization

Harold Fleming, Chairman of the Committee, reported on the initiation of a cooperative fact finding project aimed at developing a comprehensive report of incidents of violence, intimidation, and reprisals. The cost of the project, which is estimated at between $3000 and $5000, is to be shared equally among the cooperating organizations. To date, he said, seven organizations have agreed to participate in the financing and it is hoped that other CCD organizations will lend their support. A staff director has been hired and will work under the supervision of a committee, made up of staff members of the American Jewish Committee, American Friends Service Committee, Anti-Defamation League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Southern Regional Council. The data to be collected will be based on materials in agency files and published news reports.

Mr. Fleming recalled the request from southern agency staff members for supplementary legal services over and beyond existing resources. He said that the southern agency group had recommended that an experienced attorney with adequate secretarial help be stationed in Atlanta in order to provide counsel to agencies in the region on various legal and legislative developments. The work would be carried out under the direction of an inter-agency committee at an estimated cost of from $30,000 to $35,000 per year.

It was pointed out in the course of the discussion on Mr. Fleming's report that the American Civil Liberties Union now has approximately 150 lawyers in the south available for advice and guidance. Several members of Committee observed that the proposed project tended to oversimplify the legal issues involved. They emphasized that laws are subject to varying interpretations and that the strategy to be employed in a particular situation likewise involved differences in judgment. It was recommended instead that a committee of lawyers, comprising representatives of CCD agencies, be established to serve as a panel for legal counsel and advice to southern agencies.

Committee on Structure

Dr. John Morsell, Chairman of the Committee, suggested that more frequent meetings of the Executive Committee were necessary in order to advance the purposes of the CCD. He observed that while it was desirable that the co-chairmen of the CCD attend such meetings, it was unrealistic, in view of their already heavy schedules, to expect them to undertake the additional responsibilities involved. He recommended that meetings of the Executive Committee be scheduled at approximately 6 week intervals and that a committee chairman, and possibly a vice-chairman, be designated to preside at Executive Committee meetings. He urged that the policy of inviting each of the participating organizations to be represented at Executive Committee meetings be continued. Dr. Morsell's report was accepted.

School Desegregation

The Committee reviewed developments in communities in which it was expected that desegregation might be initiated next fall. It was noted that only one school during the past five months had taken steps to desegregate and considerable concern was expressed at what appeared to be a slowdown in the entire process.

Based on the discussion, it appeared to be the sense of the meeting that Dallas, Texas and Prince Edward County, Virginia were likely to be the two focal areas next September.

Although it was reported that community discussions were progressing in Dallas, it was suggested that there was not a sufficient involvement of Negroes in the process. Reports from Prince Edward County suggested that the situation has hardened during the past year and that the community appears prepared to close the public schools in the event of a court order to desegregate. It was the feeling of the Committee that such an eventuality might be used constructively in helping to focus attention on the threat to the public schools inherent in the massive resistance policy.

Reports of several committee members who had spent time in Little Rock seemed to be in agreement regarding the increasing demoralization among liberal forces. The total inaction of the federal government and lack of success in enlisting support from among the leadership elements in the community appeared to be major factors contributing to the sense of frustration. Considerable concern was expressed regarding reported plans for a demonstration during graduation period aimed at the one senior Negro student. The reports seemed to be in accord that a substantial number of white students were willing to accept the Negroes in Central High School but were intimidated by threats from a small but vocal minority of extremists among their classmates. It was recommended that local church bodies attempt to bring together such students in an effort to reassure them and to help overcome their fears. The Committee was in complete agreement that should the technique of harrassment now being pursued within Central High School prove successful, it would set a pattern that would be followed widely in other situation It was recommended that this question be reviewed at the next meeting

Respectfully submitted,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606
347

Rcd 4/28/58

MEETING NOTICE

Enclosed are the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee. The next meeting will take place on Wednesday, May 7 at 2:30 p.m. in the offices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue (corner of 65th St.) in New York City.

This date has been selected in order to take advantage of the presence of a number of southern agency representatives who will be in New York at that time. Please make every effort to attend.

Cordially yours,
Arnold Aronson

PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN TO:

Suite 1530
55 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

I will / will not attend the meeting of the CCD Executive Committee on May 7, 1958.

Signature_____

File

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
55 W. 42 St.
New York 36
LO 4-3450
New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606
347

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: June 11, 1958

RE: Congressional Hearings

Enclosed are the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee.

As you will note, the Executive Committee recommended that the participating organizations support the Loser Bill to facilitate FBI investigation of the recent bombings in the South. Hearings on the Loser Bill (H.R. 11806) will be held on June 18, before Subcommittee #3 of the House Judiciary Committee. Organizations wishing to testify should write to Congressman Emanuel Celler, Chairman, House Judiciary Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., requesting an opportunity to be heard. Organizations which are unable to present oral testimony, should submit statements in support of the bill to Congressman Celler, with the request that they be incorporated into the record of the hearings. If sufficient expressions of support for the bill are forthcoming, there is a good possibility that it can be enacted into law in the present session of the Congress. Hearings on the Civil Rights Act of 1958 (see minutes) and on other civil rights measures will take place before the House Judiciary Committee on June 25-26-27 and July 9-10-11. Organizations wishing to present testimony should follow the same procedures outlined above.

I would very much appreciate receiving a copy of any statement or testimony you may submit.

A.A.

Enc.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, May 7, 1958

PRESENT WERE:

Mrs. Frances Cahn	National Council of Jewish Women
Dr. Will Campbell	National Council of Churches
George Hunton	Catholic Interracial Council
Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham	YWCA
Dr. Arthur Jacobs	Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Roy McCorkle	NCCJ
Will Maslow	American Jewish Congress
Alex Miller	Anti-Defamation League
Dr. John Morsell	NAACP
Emanuel Muravchik	Jewish Labor Committee
Mrs. Ben Russel)	
Rev. Ben Sissell)	Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Rev. Alexander E. Sharpe)	
Rev. Ralph Smeltzer	Church of the Brethren
Albert Vorspan	Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Roland Watts	American Civil Liberties Union
Rev. Galen Weaver	Congregational Christian Church
Clarence Yarrow	American Friends Service Committee
Arnold Aronson	NCRAC, Secretary

Report of Committee on Interreligious Relations

Mr. Roy McCorkle, Chairman of the Committee, recalled that the Committee had been instructed by the Executive to explore with Southern members the feasibility of convening a national conference of religious leaders. He reported that the Committee had met two days earlier and had recommended that a Consultation of from 100 to 200 religious leaders, at least one-half of whom should be from the south, be held sometime in the fall. The proposed meeting would extend over two days, beginning in the afternoon and running until noon of the second day. Sites suggested for the meeting included Williamsburg or Old Point Comfort, Virginia, or Gatlinburg, Tennessee, each of which, it was reported, has facilities for unsegregated meetings. Mr. McCorkle pointed out that the proposed Consultation envisaged selective rather than mass participation and that its success was therefore dependent upon our ability to secure the participation of prestige figures from the different faiths and denominations. It was hoped that one by-product of the meeting would be a statement signed by the participants. Such a statement, he observed, would provide a basis for effective follow-up actions in the communities.

In the discussion that followed Mr. McCorkle's report, several members emphasized the desirability of holding the Consultation in Virginia in view of the developing situation there, and, if possible, at the opening of the school year. It was also suggested that, in addition to the issuance of a statement of principles, the conference undertake to consider methods and techniques for cooperative interreligious activity in specific situations. Upon a motion by Dr. Morsell, it was agreed to accept the recommendations of the Committee

with an expressed preference for Williamsburg as the first choice for the proposed meeting. Mr. McCorkle indicated that he would appoint sub-committees on organization, program and finance to carry forward the necessary plans.

Commission on Civil Rights

Mr. Aronson introduced Gordon Tiffany, Staff Director of the newly established Commission on Civil Rights, and Henry Shine, Consultant to the Commission. Mr. Tiffany outlined the duties of the Commission as follows:

1) To investigate complaints of denials of voting rights.
2) To study legal developments affecting denials of equal protection of the laws.
3) To appraise the policies and practices of the federal government.
4) To make a report and recommendations.

He noted that the Commission was authorized to consult with private and public agencies and to establish citizens advisory councils in the several states. He reported that the Commission was concentrating on this latter authorization and planned to appoint advisory councils of from 5 to 9 members in each state. It was hoped, he said, that the appointment of councils, comprising persons of prestige and stature from religious, labor, civic and academic circles would help overcome the resistance to federal civil rights activity which obtains in some areas and would foster understanding and receptivity to the Commission's program. He asked Mr. Henry Shine, who is responsible for organizing the Citizens Councils, to suplement his remarks.

Mr. Shine emphasized that neither the Councils nor the Commission itself were enforcement agencies. The role of the Councils, he said, was to submit information to the Commission regarding denials of voting rights or of equal protection of the laws, to participate as observors in such hearings as the Commission might hold, to review and make recommendations on the interim and final reports of the Commission, to consult with citizen's groups in their respective states, and to recommend whatever actions they believed the Commission should undertake. Council members, including the chairman, Mr. Shine reported, will be named by the Commission but each Council will elect its own vice-chairman. He said that an effort will be made to appoint "hidden moderates" rather than "known protagonists" as council members. However, he gave assurances that all southern councils will be biracial. The initial councils will be established in the home states of the members of the Commission and of the Staff Director. These include: Florida, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, New Hampshire, Texas and Virginia. Mr. Shine urged the organizations participating in the CCD to recommend persons for appointment to the advisory councils in the various states. The names of such persons should be sent to:

Gordon M. Tiffany, Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Recent Bombings in the South

Alex Miller reported that 57 bombings had taken place in the past 15 months, with relatively few arrests having been made and even fewer convictions. He said that although many organizations, including a number in the South, had called for an FBI investigation (see attached statement by Dr. Edwin Dahlberg, President of the National Council of Churches), the Justice Department maintains that there is no jurisdictional basis for federal intervention. Mr. Miller suggested that announcement of an FBI investigation would serve as a deterent to future bombings and would at the same time provide necessary reassurance to community leaders. He said that there was ample basis and precedent for FBI action and he strongly urged public pressure for such an investigation. He pointed out, however, that federal investigations are frequently stymied by the refusal of local police officials to cooperate. He therefore recommended that efforts be made to motivate local police to cooperate with the federal authorities.

Mr. Maslow observed that the threat upon the life of a federal judge (i.e. Judge Miller in Nashville) constituted a sufficient basis for federal investigation of the recent bombings. He pointed out that several southern political leaders including six Senators (i.e. Hill, Sparkman, Holland, Smathers, Gore and Kefauver) had urged such an investigation. He reported that a bill (H.R. 11806) had been introduced by Congressman J. Carlton Loser of Tennessee that would clearly establish the authority of the federal government to intervene. Passage of this bill, he said, would provide the "jurisdictional basis" which the Justice Department says that it needs. (The Loser bill would make it a federal crime to transport in interstate commerce or to possess any explosives so transported with "knowledge or intent that the explosive will be used in violation of law." It provides further that the possession of any explosive transported in interstate commerce in violation of the law of any state or territory shall be a federal crime. The bill establishes the presumption, which the accused would be under the necessity of rebutting, that anyone found to have had in his possession or to have used an explosive in violation of state law had transported the explosive in interstate commerce and thus violated the federal statute.)

It was recommended that the participating organizations go on record in support of the Loser Bill. To this end, the organizations were urged to call for public hearings on the bill and to seek to enlist support for the measure from the press and from political leaders, especially southern Governors and members of Congress.

Civil Rights Act of 1958

Copies of the legislation introduced by Senator Douglas and a number of other Senators of both parties were distributed and reviewed. The proposed bill seeks to provide federal assistance to communities seeking to comply with the Supreme Court decisions through the conduct of studies, the holding of conferences, the provision of consultative and technical services, teacher training, grants in aid, etc. In addition, the bill would extend the authority which the Attorney General now has in voting cases (i.e.

to initiate civil suits) to all civil rights violations.

It was reported that planned hearings on the bill had been tabled by a 3-2 vote in the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights. (Voting for hearing were Senators Hennings D-Mo. and O'Mahaney D-Wyo.; opposed Senators Ervin D-N.C., Hruska R-Neb. and Watkins R-Utah.) It was suggested that the participating organizations write to Congressman Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, requesting that hearings on the bill be held in the House.

Respectfully submitted,
Arnold Aronson, Secretary

April 29, 1958

TELEGRAM

TO: Attorney General William P. Rogers
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

The National Council of Churches has noted reports of the bombings of a Negro school and a Jewish Center at Jacksonville and the attempted bombing of Temple Beth-El at Birmingham, Ala. When the recent bombings at Miami, Florida and Nashville, Tennessee are also considered, these events suggest that there may be concerted action involving people in several states to commit violence against religious institutions. We feel that this situation warrants a thorough investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The General Board of the National Council of Churches has repeatedly spoken out against the use of violence to intimidate people and thereby to deny them the use of their basic rights. Among the threatened rights are the freedom of speech, the free exercise of religion, the right of people to peaceably assemble and the equal protection of the law.

We now believe that those responsible for these acts of violence, who are unapprehended, are increasingly extending their vicious activities to include religious institutions in many states. Thus we urge strong action by the Attorney General's office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to apprehend the perpetrators of these outrageous crimes.

Edwin T. Dahlberg
President, National
Council of Churches

July 16, 1958

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Secretary, CCD
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Arnie:

Dr. Gilbert Porter of the Florida State Teachers Association has recently brought to our attention a pamphlet containing an excellent speech of Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, Department of History, University of Florida. The Florida State Teachers Association has published this speech.

I have asked Dr. Porter, as you will note on the enclosed copy of my letter to him, to send you one hundred (100) copies of this pamphlet for distribution through CCD's channels. A memo from you to key people in the various agencies who participate in CCD should accompany the pamphlet when you distribute it.

Dr. Porter's approach is historically accurate, shows real insight into the southern situation, and provides a framework in which thoughtful southerners may move ahead. I hope you will give it a real boost.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
c.c. Dr. Gilbert Porter

August 11, 1958

Mr. Arnold Aronson, Secretary
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Arnie:

Thanks for your letter of August 6th with the enclosed memo to the mass media mailing list. I think this is a worthwhile program item.

You are right in assuming that we sent it to the state human relations councils in the South.

We will bend an elbow in Chicago.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

NEW ADDRESS
55 WEST 42ND ST.
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
LO 4-3450

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
XXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXX
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August 6, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

In accordance with your suggestion, I have sent copies of Rembert Patrick's speech, together with the enclosed notice, to the members of our mass media mailing list. Since that list now exceeds the hundred copies I received, I have omitted the directors of the various Southern state human relations councils on the assumption that they probably have received copies directly from you. If this assumption is incorrect, please let me know and I will ask Dr. Porter for the necessary additional copies.

See you in Chicago at the end of the month.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Arnie

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

AA/pm
Enc.

CCD

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NEW ADDRESS
55 WEST 42ND ST.
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
LO 4-3450

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
[illegible] Street
[illegible] N. Y.
[illegible] 1606
347

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mass Media Mailing List

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: August 7, 1958

The enclosed pamphlet contains the transcript of an address given by Professor Rembert W. Patrick at the last Annual Convention of the Florida State Teachers Association.

Dr. Patrick, who is a native South Carolinian, has taught in the South for over twenty years and is currently professor of history at the University of Florida. In view of his long and active identification with the South, his analysis of the current situation may have receptivity among thoughtful Southerners and may be helpful in influencing them to a more positive attitude.

Additional copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from the Florida State Teachers Association, P.O. Box 1211, Tallahassee, Fla., at 25¢ per copy or $18.75 per hundred.

A.A.

Enc.

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

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Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

55 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

~~*Secretary:* Arnold Aronson~~
~~7 East 38th Street~~
~~New York 16, N.Y.~~
~~Tel. Murray Hill 5-1606~~

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TO: Members of Executive Committee

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: September 8, 1958

SUBJECT: Meeting Notice

The Executive Committee will hold its first meeting of the fall season on September 17, at 2:15 P.M. in the office of the NCRAC, 55 West 42nd Street, (corner of 6th Avenue) Room 1530.

The focus of the meeting will be on developments regarding school openings, especially in Virginia and Arkansas. It would be very helpful, therefore, if you could come to the meeting prepared to report on the activities undertaken and being planned by your organization in these areas.

I hope you will make every effort to attend.

A.A.

November 3, 1958

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Arnie:

It was a real pleasure to be with the Jewish Community Relations group in Richmond. Aaron Goldman did a superb job of chairing the meeting and of getting all the participants heard.

Both Paul Rilling and I spoke briefly to the group; I outlined conditions in the region, and Paul within the state.

The expenses for my trip are being divided among several organizations. NCRAC's share is $62.50. I hope you feel my contribution was worth that much.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

December 22, 1958

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Secretary
Consultative Conference on
Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Aronson:

At your convenience would you please add to the CCD mailing list the following:

Miss Anna Holden
Research Associate
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Miss Holden has become the representative of the Race Relations Department to the Southern Interagency Conference.

All good wishes of the Season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
cc: Miss Anna Holden

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

PA

December 9, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I would like to be put on the CCD mailing list.

If a request to SRC, as secretariat for the Southern Interagency wing is not sufficient, please inform me of the proper channel.

Thanks a lot.

Sincerely,

Anna

Anna Holden
Research Associate

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
9 East [illegible] Street
New York [illegible], N. Y.
Tel. [illegible] 347

New Address: 55 W. 42 St.
New York 36
LO 4-3450

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: January 15, 1959

RE: Meeting Notice

There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee on Wednesday, February 4 at 2:00 P.M. in the office of the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York City.

I hope you will make every effort to attend this important meeting.

TO: Arnold Aronson, Rm. 1530, 55 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N.Y

I will_____ attend the Executive Committee meeting of the CCD
will not_____

on February 4, 1959 at 2:00 PM. at the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York City.

NAME_____
(Please Print)

ORGANIZATION_____

Blind copies to:
Will D. Campbell
Art Levin
Alexander F. Miller
Jean Fairfax
Tartt Bell

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

March 6, 1959

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Secretary
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Arnie:

This is in response to your memorandum received today.

As you know, I have reservations about releasing the CCD list. I recognize the strong arguments for it. But I am also conscious of the way in which this information will be used to harrass and intimidate people in exposed Southern situations. In many deep South communities, people identified with the YWCA, Churchwomen, human relations councils, and possibly the Jewish agencies are going to be hounded from now on with the distorted use of the CCD list.

I do hope that you and the other executive committee members there will consider this liability, as against the advantages of releasing the list.

If the dominant sentiment is that the list should be made public, SRC may be included with two provisos: (1) That the list include all of the agencies; if some agencies do not agree, we would want an opportunity to review the partial list and consider our decision anew. (2) That the release include a very clear characterization of CCD and the nature of participation in it, possibly quoting the language of the constitution we adopted.

If I seem unduly difficult, it is only because all of us operating in the South are going to have to live with the consequences of this decision from now on. And, obviously, anything that is going to further intimidate or inhibit people in identifying with our several organizations is something to worry about.

I will probably try to reach you by telephone Monday morning so that I can discuss these questions with you in the light of the reactions from the other agencies.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

March 24, 1959

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Secretary
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Arnie:

You asked us to keep you posted on any publicity accorded the CCD "expose'" in our areas. Roy Harris's Augusta (Ga.) Courier hardly rates as a newspaper, in the usual sense of the word. But I thought you would want to know that the Courier's issue of March 23 carries the Mass Media Committee minutes of February 4 in full, with the following headlines and introductory text:

"40 National Organizations Form Consultative Conference on Desegregation to Force Race Mixing on People of U.S.; Protestant Minister, Rabbi, Catholic Priest Are Directors of War on Southern Whites

"The wild-eyed radical race mixers are using every conceivable method to ram race mixing down the throats of decent people.

"A new one jumps up now. The Associated Press has discovered that a group of approximately forty national organizations over two years ago quietly established in New York City the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

"This aggregation has three co-chairmen. They are: Dr. Eugene C. Blake, of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Abraham Feldman, Synagogue Council of America; and Father Maurice Sheehan (sic) of the

Catholic Committee of the South.

"The executive director is Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, and Lewis Hoskins, of the American Friends Service Committee, is treasurer.

"This Consultative Conference has established what they call the 'Mass Media Committee'. The CCD's Mass Media Committee met in New York on February 4, 1959.

"Believing that a copy of the minutes of this Mass Media Committee would be of interest to our readers to show how these wild-eyed radicals operate and the names and organizations which some of them represent, we submit below a verbatim copy of the minutes of this Mass Media Committee meeting:...."

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Harry Fleischman

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
Protestant Episcopal Church
CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
April 2, 1959

Mr. Arnold Aronson
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Arnold,

Arthur Walmsley passed on to me the material sent out on March 18 in regard to the Southern editorial attack on the CCD. I jotted down several notes as I read it over. My main reaction seems to be borne out somewhat by the memorandum which came directly to me and arrived this morning. Knowledge of what organizations comprise the CCD, and its purpose, would manifest enough stature so that reasonable people could not effectively use smear tactics of the type we are so used to in the South. The unreasonable extremists, of whom we must admit there are a great number, would use smear tactics against any group large or small, but particularly delight in trying to make charges of secrecy and sneaky dealings stick. I would have hoped that we were already well known enough to the AP and other responsible journalistic agencies so that our purpose and composition would have been a matter of record. Since this was evidently not the situation, I would certainly agree that such a statement as you were authorized to send out was the most effective action we could take. Coming at this time, however, we cannot escape the hint of apologetics and defensiveness in any statement that we make.

The latest Richmond Times Dispatch editorial is as amusing to me as it probably is to you, in that it points to CCD as evidence of a great well planned and monolithic system crushing the disorganized and defenseless South. I am sure that the editor's tongue was in his cheek and that he was using the CCD in order to spur Southern resistance on to greater unity and greater effort.

The only thing that causes me any concern is the indication in two or three instances that either the CCD or some of its committees had taken some substantive action. I was not aware that this was so. I hope that this, too, was an erroneous assumption on the part of the CCD's attackers. All of this brings to mind that I do not recall ever having seen a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the CCD. Could you send me a copy?

Hoping to see you sometime in the near future, I am,

Sincerely,

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Executive Secretary
Division of Christian Citizenship

Encl. Lynchburg Daily Advance, April 1, 1959.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen

Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer

Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
55 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

TO: Mass Media Mailing List

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: July 27, 1959

Enclosed is a copy of the following, which may be helpful in your own programming:

Race and Conscience in America - a report on where Americans stand in the matter of race relations, with an appraisal of the actual situation in comparison with our goals, and with some suggestions for means of bridging the gap. Copies are available from the Community Relations Program, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa. at 50¢ each; 100 or more at 25¢; 1000 or more at 20¢.

A.A.

7/c

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

June 8, 1960

TO ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH CIVIL RIGHTS

Enclosed is a copy of a civil rights platform plank drafted by the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference for submission to the platform committees of the forthcoming Republican and Democratic national conventions. We believe the plank reflects the needs and temper of the times with respect to the role of government in fulfilling the national promise of equality of citizenship.

The plank will enlist maximum support from the leaders and delegates at the conventions if it is shown to have the support of the largest possible number of national organizations committed to forward movement in this field. We believe you will find it in full accord with the principles expressed on many occasions by your own organization.

If this is the case, you will be doing our cause a great service by so indicating in the space provided at the foot of this message. If we are to have time to print and distribute final copy, we should have your reply no later than ~~Wednesday~~ THURSDAY, June ~~16~~ 16th. Thank you for expediting a reply.

PLEASE MAIL COMPLETED BALLOT AT ONCE TO: Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations
Advisory Council
55 West 42 Street
New York, N.Y.

( ) We wish to be listed among the organizations endorsing the proposed plank.

( ) We cannot be included among the endorsing organizations.

COMMENTS: _____

_____

_____

Name of Organization _____

_____

Name and Title of Person Signing _____

_____

P R E A M B L E

In 1960, the spirit of the times is unmistakable from one end of the world to the other: the days of infringement upon human freedom everywhere are clearly numbered. The United States of America, in pronouncement and deed from its earliest days, has cherished the freedom principle and has inspired other peoples to invoke it. It has recognized that its own performance in this respect is still far from perfect, but it has sought to demonstrate good faith by steady movement in the right direction.

The chief enemy of steady movement toward equal justice under law is the theory that the passage of time will ensure continued progress. We reject this theory and, as the party which we believe will hold the reins of government after next November, we are firmly committed to continuous positive employment of the powers of government in the interest of equal opportunity and justice for all Americans, in every aspect of American life.

The courts of the United States, in a long series of decisions culminating in the public schools decision of May 17, 1954, have made it clear that governmentally-enforced racial segregation and other forms of discrimination are prohibited by the Constitution. These decisions have banned segregation in public schools, in publicly-supported colleges and universities, in interstate and intrastate transportation, in governmentally-aided airports and terminals, in public parks and recreational facilities, and in private facilities and accommodations in the District of Columbia. They have enjoined governmental participation in the enforcement of private discrimination in housing and education.

The judicial indictment of segregation has been unequivocal and has expressed the universal condemnation of the affront to personal dignity which segregation represents.

The responsibilities of government in these matters are comprehensive: they are not the province of the judiciary alone, nor of the executive alone, nor of the legislature alone. The protection of the constitutional rights of citizens cannot be relegated to chance, nor to the uncertainty of private resources. The public interest is poorly served if private citizens and organizations are required to vindicate constitutional rights of national significance through litigation in the federal courts. The development of public law should not be left primarily to private litigation. In sum, the legislative power of enactment and the purse must join with the administrative and enforcement power of the executive in thoroughgoing support of the constitutional interpretations of the judiciary.

There are three broad lines of attack along which this responsibility of government should be exercised.

First, government as protector must act continuously to prevent or eliminate infringements of the civil rights of its citizens, whether these infringements arise from private or from governmental sources.

Second, government must cease subsidizing racial segregation and other kinds of discrimination. Federal funds should not finance segregated schools or segregated housing, or in any other way aid the continuation or expansion of racial discrimination.

Third, in addition to its protective and preventive actions, government has a positive function to perform through the active promotion and stimulation of progress toward equality.

Only by the fullest exercise of the powers of government, united in service to the highest aspirations of its people, can all Americans be given the equal opportunity to be educated to the full extent of their human talents; equal opportunity to work to the fullness of their potential contribution to our society; equal access to housing and neighborhoods as befits their means and social development; and equal opportunity to participate in the body politic through the free and universal exercise of the franchise. Only thus can the promise of American democracy achieve genuine fruition.

VOTING

The right to vote is a fundamental right of every citizen in a democracy. Upon this right, perhaps more than any other, all other constitutional rights depend for their effective protection.

The 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution were intended to protect that right against discrimination on grounds of race or color. Yet today, more than 90 years later, only one Negro in four of voting age in the South is registered to vote; and in 65 counties where Negroes constitute a majority of the voting age population, none or only a handful are registered.

No one openly defends this discrimination against our Negro citizens. No one openly denies that the 14th and 15th Amendments forbid this discrimination. Yet all steps by the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of our government to eliminate this indefensible and undefended discrimination have been continually sabotaged, through the creation of legal impediments, administrative obstacles, intimidation, economic reprisals and physical harm.

The wholesale denial of the right to vote in our own country, so shockingly documented in the report of the Commission on Civil Rights, makes a mockery of our advocacy of free and unfettered elections in other parts of the globe. We can no longer permit this intolerable blot upon our democratic system. Accordingly, we pledge:

1. Vigorous Enforcement of Existing Statutes

Twice during the past three years the Congress has enacted legislation designed to safeguard the right to vote. A vigorous program of enforcement utilizing the powers for self-initiated action conferred upon the Justice Department is needed to test the efficacy of these statutes for the accomplishment of their stated purpose and to give evidence of the federal government's determination to enforce the Constitution.

2. Needed New Legislation to Guarantee the Right to Vote

The Congress, by its action in establishing a system of voting referees under the Civil Rights Act of 1960, has explicitly recognized the right of the federal government to intervene in the conduct of elections in order to guarantee the right to vote to all qualified citizens. Should existing laws prove inadequate for the accomplishment of this purpose, the full resources of the federal government should be utilized including, if necessary, direct federal control and operation of registration and elections.

3. A Constitutional Amendment to Establish Universal Suffrage

Discriminatory application and administration of voter qualification laws, including tests of literacy, education and "interpretation" continue to afford a ready means of arbitrarily denying the right to vote to qualified citizens. Illiteracy is close to being eliminated in our country. Only 19 states still require a literacy test. Adoption of a Constitutional Amendment, as proposed by the Commission on Civil Rights, giving the right to vote to every citizen who meets his State age and residence requirements would establish simple and objective standards which could easily be enforced.

4. A Campaign Designed to Educate Citizens in Their Voting Rights and Encourage Them to Exercise Those Rights

The responsibility of the federal government in the enfranchisement of our

Voting

Negro citizens goes beyond the mere enforcement of the law. Government should undertake a positive educational campaign to familiarize Negroes with their rights under the Constitution and existing statutes and with the procedures available to them for the protection of these rights. This should include the posting of notices on court houses, post offices, and other federal buildings, and utilization of all the media of communication. Above all, Negro citizens should be given such assurances as will overcome the fears bred of terror, reprisal and violence. If necessary, we will press for new legislation designed to implement these assurances.

Nothing would be more conducive to this end than a declaration by the President that their government desires all citizens to vote and guarantees to protect them in their exercise of their right to do so.

5. Home Rule for the District of Columbia

The disfranchisement of residents of the District of Columbia besmirches the symbol of democracy which our nation's capital should portray. It is essential that residents of the District be granted suffrage and the same measure of self-government possessed by other communities throughout the country.

EDUCATION

It is more than six years since the Supreme Court, in the proper exercise of its role as interpreter of the Constitution, declared racial segregation in public education to be unconstitutional. Commendable progress in implementing the decision has been made by most of the border states affected, thus demonstrating that given good faith, the transition can be effected in an orderly and harmonious manner.

Unfortunately, in many other states, the Negro children seeking access to that equal educational opportunity to which they are constitutionally entitled, have encountered not occasional denial of their rights by individual schools and school districts, but a massive rebuff by those very governments, state and local, whose constitutional duty it is to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights.

In these circumstances it is not the rights of individuals alone that are impaired or denied; the very processes of orderly government are challenged and flouted. The government of the United States cannot assume a posture of neutrality toward compliance with its Constitution. It cannot continue to view the nullification of law recalcitrant States, the evasion of court orders, the closing of public schools, and the enactment of obstructive State legislation as matters to be left to private litigation.

Accordingly, we pledge the full resources of the federal government to secure the constitutional right of all children to equality of educational opportunity, including action to:

1. Empower the Attorney General to File Civil Injunction Suits in Cases Involving Denials of the Right to Equal Educational Opportunity

Negro children denied their rights are indeed injured parties, but to require them to bear the whole burden of seeking redress of their injury through costly and prolonged litigation, to compete against the massive weight of official state opposition, is to deny justice. Recourse to injunctive relief is provided for in many statutes, including those protecting the right to vote. Similar authority should be provided in the case of all civil rights, including the right to equal educational opportunity.

2. Require Every School District Affected by the Supreme Court's School Desegregation Decision to Submit a Plan for Compliance No Later Than the Close of the 1961-62 School Term

In five states, not a single Negro child is as yet receiving the kind of education to which the Constitution entitles him; in five others, the total numbers but a handful. After six years, even under the most liberal interpretation, this can hardly be deemed to meet the test of "deliberate speed." To require school districts after eight full years to submit a plan for desegregation would seem to represent a minimum evidence of the "prompt," "reasonable" and "good faith" start towards compliance demanded by the Court's ruling. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be authorized to promulgate a desegregation plan, which shall be enforceable in the Courts for any school district which fails to submit its own plan within the time proscribed by the Congress.

3. Deny Federal Funds and Subsidies to Any School Which Refuses to Admit Students Because of Their Race, Religion, Color or National Origin

More than two billion dollars a year of federal funds go for educational purposes and to educational institutions. No proof of non-discrimination is required in the administration of any of these programs. The federal government cannot in good conscience continue to grant public funds for the perpetuation of discriminatory and unconstitutional practices. All departments and agencies administering

federal educational assistance programs should be directed to make federal grants conditional upon proof of compliance with the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

Tax exemption represents a form of government subsidy. State or municipal bonds designed to raise funds for the construction, maintenance or operation of a segregated school system in defiance of a court order should not be subsidized by a grant of federal tax exempt status.

4. Grant Technical and Financial Assistance to Facilitate Orderly Compliance

The public interest in orderly compliance places a responsibility upon the government to lend assistance to those communities that seek to fulfill their constitutional obligations so as to enable them to make the transition as easy, as harmonious, and as rapid as possible.

The compilation and dissemination of information, the making of surveys, the arrangement of conferences, the provision of specialists' services, grants for the employment of additional teachers and for teacher training courses all can contribute significantly toward this objective. The United States Office of Education should be given authority and sufficient funds to provide such services.

5. Authorize the Commissioner of Education to Operate Schools for Children of Federal Personnel, Where Local Schools are Shut Down Because of Failure to Comply With a Court Desegregation Order, Such Schools to be Open on a Non-Discriminatory Basis to All Children in the Area

Hundreds of millions of dollars of federal funds have been appropriated for school construction under the impacted areas program. Any such school which is closed in order to evade compliance with the law should be repossessed and operated by the federal government for the benefit of all children in the area. Education is the foundation of good citizenship and our system of free public education the mainstay of our democracy. The government of the United States can neither permit that system to be impaired nor allow any child to be deprived of its benefits.

EMPLOYMENT

Every American is entitled to an equal chance to obtain, to hold and to advance on a job in accordance with his ability. For in our economic order, the opportunity to make a living is basic to making a life; without it many other rights and opportunities become impossible of realization. Discrimination in employment breeds poverty, disease, slums and crime. It depresses wages, curtails purchasing power, limits production and retards economic growth. The United States can no longer afford this wasteful drain on our human and economic resources.

Equality of economic opportunity is the declared public policy of the United States. To further that policy we pledge:

1. Equal job opportunity on all employment in the federal establishment.

The federal government is the largest single employer in the country. Its employment policies should serve as a model to other employers. To advance the attainment of non-discrimination in federal employment requires an increase in the staff of the Committee on Government Employment Policy, systematic and intensive in-service training for supervisory personnel in all federal agencies, and vigorous administration of existing executive orders and laws.

2. Equal job opportunity on all employment performed under government contract.

More than one fourth of all goods produced in the country are produced under contract with the federal government. Employers who are privileged to receive government contracts have a responsibility to comply with the non-discrimination policy ordered by three successive Presidents. To this end, the Committee on Government Contracts should be given statutory status, including authority to require proof of non-discrimination as a precondition to contract awards. It should be empowered to enforce compliance through contract termination, injunction and disqualification from future contract awards.

3. Equal job opportunity on all employment resulting from federal grant in aid and loan programs.

Employment resulting from federal funds paid for by all taxpayers should be equally available to all citizens. Federal funds expended as loans or grants for construction, vocational education, apprenticeship and public employment services should be conditioned upon assurance that they will be utilized in accordance with the national policy of non-discrimination.

4. Equal job opportunity in all employment in interstate commerce.

Seventeen states and approximately fifty municipalities have enacted legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment. More than fifteen years of experience have demonstrated the efficacy of such legislation. Unfortunately, the areas in which discrimination is most widespread are those in which no such legislation exists. We favor the enactment of a federal fair employment practice law establishing a commission with authority to receive and investigate complaints, to attempt to eliminate discrimination by conference, conciliation and persuasion and, if unsuccessful, to issue cease and desist orders which shall be reviewable and enforceable in the courts.

HOUSING

It is the public policy of the United States, declared by the Congress and the President, and in accord with the declared purposes of the Constitution, that every American family shall have equal opportunity to secure a decent home in a good neighborhood. Genuine equality of opportunity in housing means that a family should not be restricted by considerations of race or creed when it seeks to find a home. Only personal choice, availability and the free exchange of the market place should prevail.

In spite of this, it is accurate to say that housing is the one commodity in the American market that is not freely available on equal terms to everyone who can afford to pay. Minority group Americans everywhere find their opportunity curtailed and hindered, if it exists at all, for artificial reasons based upon racial, religious or nationality prejudice. Restriction of choice leads to crowding of available housing beyond endurance, with the concomitants of high rates of disease, fire, delinquency and crime, and inevitably spurs the growth of frustration and community demoralization. A nation dedicated to respect for the human dignity of every individual should not permit such conditions to continue.

The federal government has become the single most important factor in the national housing picture. It is encouraging and financing the rebuilding and redevelopment of vast areas of our cities and the construction of tremendous new suburban communities. Federal housing programs are made possible by federal funds drawn from taxes imposed on all Americans alike. Segregation or other forms of racial discrimination in any of them makes government a partner in the extension and perpetuation of segregated housing, thus negating the nation's basic principles of freedom and equality. The federal government should act now to eliminate discrimination from all aspects of its own housing programs.

Equal access to decent housing without restriction as to race or creed is basic to the enjoyment of full citizenship. We therefore pledge the issuance of:

<u>An Executive Order forbidding segregation or other forms of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin in all federal or federally-aided housing programs</u>. The order should include slum clearance, urban renewal, relocation, public housing, and the insuring and lending functions related to housing. It should provide for the establishment of an executive commission to implement this order.

PERMANENT COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

We pledge to establish the Commission on Civil Rights on a permanent basis, to clothe it with sufficient authority to investigate all areas of civil rights and intergroup tension, and to provide it with sufficient funds and staff to become a central clearing house for information, for research and for technical assistance to federal, state, municipal and private organizations concerned with advancing the national policy of full equality.

PRESERVING THE INTEGRITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

The protection of the rights of United States citizens to travel, to pursue lawful trade, and to engage in other activities abroad without distinction as to race or religion is a cardinal function of United States sovereignty. Nevertheless, American citizens are being excluded from service in military, diplomatic and civilian capacities abroad solely because of their race or religion. Certain foreign governments, which receive United States economic aid, are maintaining a boycott against Americans and refuse to honor United States passports carried by United States citizens solely because of the religious faith of such citizens. These practices are incompatible with the constitutional principle of equality of citizenship. Accordingly, we pledge to:

1. IMPLEMENT THE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED OPPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS TO THE IMPOSITION BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS OF DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST UNITED STATES CITIZENS ON GROUNDS OF RELIGION OR RACE.

2. OPPOSE ANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT OR TREATY WHICH BY ITS TERMS OR PRACTICES DEPRIVES AMERICAN CITIZENS OF THE RIGHTS GUARANTEED THEM BY THE CONSTITUTION.

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES

At a time when free institutions are exposed to world wide attack from without, the operations of our governmental machinery must be made as efficient and as effective as possible. This is essential not only to meet the awesome foreign and domestic problems that confront us but also to demonstrate the efficacy of responsible representative government.

Under the Constitution, legislative power has been vested in the Congress. The purpose of Congressional rules and procedures is to facilitate the wise and judicious exercise of that power. Three rules in particular, however, appear to frustrate that purpose.

Through the restrictions imposed by Senate Rule 22, filibusters, or the threat of filibusters, have time and again been used to prevent legislation from being brought to a vote in the Senate. The House Rules Committee, which was designed to facilitate the orderly flow of legislation in that body, has instead too often become a vehicle for preventing legislation from reaching the floor. Committee chairmen in both the House and Senate, assured of their position through the operations of the automatic seniority rule, have frequently used their power to pigeonhole legislation in disregard of party commitments.

As a result of these rules and procedures, essential measures are delayed again and again; others are watered down to meet minority interests at the expense of the national popular majority; still others are shelved or wholly cast aside. There is a considerable and increasing danger that perpetuation of these inefficient and undemocratic procedures will lead to public cynicism and apathy towards the Congress and our governmental processes.

Accordingly, in order that the policies and programs set forth in this platform may be realized, we pledge to take action at the beginning of the 87th Congress to:

IMPROVE CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES SO THAT THE MAJORITY WILL MAY PREVAIL, AT EACH STAGE OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND THE CONGRESS THUS MAY BE A MORE EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE INSTRUMENT OF OUR NATIONAL PURPOSES.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

TO: Mass Media Mailing List

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Enclosed are two items which may be helpful in your own programming.

The first is a summary report of a community audit which was carried out by a group of organizations in Miami under the leadership of the United Church Women in connection with United Nations Human Rights Day. Information regarding the methods used in conducting the audit, as well as additional copies of the folder, may be obtained from:

Mr. William K. Williams
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N.E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

"Action Patterns in School Desegregation" - A Guidebook, has been published by Phi Delta Kappa, a teachers' fraternity, as an aid to school officials faced with the task of drafting and implementing a desegregation program. The book was prepared by two educators Herbert Wey and John Corey and is based upon personal visits and studies in communities throughout the nation. Additional copies of the book, which should be useful to civic leaders, as well as school officials, are available from:

Phi Delta Kappa
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

at $1.50 per copy.

A.A.

Enc.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Suggested title: "Common Values and Cultural Pluralism: the Leveling Influence of a Democratic Society."

Fred Routh

Additional **Agencies participating in the Consultative Conference on Desegregation**

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Exec Secretary
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Miss Edith Lowry, Exec. Secy
Divisional Home Mission
Natl Council of Churches
257 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

Mrs. Frances Cahn, Executive Director
National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
1 West 47th Street
New York, N.Y.

Miss Esther C. Stamats, Director
Christian Social Relations
General Department of United Church Women
175 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Mr. Sterling W. Brown, Exec. Vice President
Natl Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik, Director
Field Service
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York, N.Y.

Discuss w/ JC
List for PA

~~List of State Offs~~
~~Send Kaiser~~
~~dupe to Fleischman~~

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

See attached lists

received 15th & thereafter

March 12, 1957

Dear Friend:

Enclosed are the minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation which met in New York City on March 1st.

The next meeting of the committee will be on Thursday, March 28, 1957 at 9:30 a.m. at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The committee plans to meet on the last Thursday of each month.

We intend to issue a list of names and addresses of persons in all CCD agencies responsible for work with the mass media, plus a list of Southern regional offices and field representatives of the participating agencies. Would you please send us the names of your agency's Southern field personnel for this list and, if you have not yet told us who in your agency should receive mass media material, will you please do so now?

Enclosed is a partial list of organizations participating formally in CCD. Persons who have been designated by their organizations to receive mass media materials are identified with an asterisk. Please put them on your mailing list to receive any materials sent out by your agency.

Sincerely yours

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Secretary, Mass Media Committee
Consultative Conference on
Desegregation

HF/ht
Encs. 2

Meeting of Mass Media Committee, Consultative Conference on Desegregation, March 1, 1957, New York, N.Y.

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Herb Jaffe, Anti-Defamation League; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Sam Silver and Al Vorspan, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Mrs. Ida Snyder, Young Women's Christian Association; Arnold Aronson, Secretary CCD, NCRAC: Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

Fleming reported on Atlanta conference of agencies working in the South. It urged mass media committee:

1. To stimulate agencies to get positive aspects of desegregation featured in the Southern press and in national media.

2. To push economic implications of racial tension. (Distribute Birmingham Post-Herald article and editorial on industry by-passing plant sites there because of race tension and hoodlumism.)

3. Interpret in mass media dangers of attacks on NAACP and Urban League through restrictive Southern laws and administrative action. Alert the public to the civil liberties threats posed by intolerant pro-segregation activity in the South.

It was agreed that the committee would issue a list of names and addresses of persons responsible for work with the mass media in all CCD agencies, plus a list of Southern regional offices and field representatives of participating agencies. Copies of material or notices of programs already available or planned by any agency should be sent by that agency to the entire Mass Media and Southern Staff lists.

The committee agreed to prepare a bibliography of material on school desegregation. One agency agreed to update the University of Florida bibliography of books and pamphlets (which goes up to Jan. 1956).

Another agency will prepare a bibliography of radio transcriptions, TV kinescopes, films and tape recordings.

It was agreed to consider possibilities of getting articles by lawyers in major professional and popular journals on the civil liberties implications of attacks on NAACP.

It was agreed that each month the committee would discuss one of the major problems in order to develop mass media lines of approach towards it.

The committee will meet on the last Thursday of each month. The next meeting will be on Thursday, March 28, 1957 at 9:30 a.m. at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Respectfully submitted
Harry Fleischman

HF/ht

Mass Media list - Consultative Conference on Desegregation

American Baptist Convention
Department of Christian Friendliness
164 5th Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.
* Miss Bernice Cofer

American Civil Liberties Union
170 5th Avenue, N.Y. 10, N.Y.
* Allan Reitman (Patrick Murphy Malin)

Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.
* Page Daugherty (Joseph L. Rauh Jr.)

American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.
* Alex Morisey (Lewis Hoskins - Barbara Moffett)

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
NYC
* Alfred Bernheim (Harry Fleischman - Edwin Lukas)

American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street, N.Y.C.
* Julius Schatz (Shad Polier - Don Hager)

Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue, NYC
* Oscar Cohen (Alex Miller - Arnold Forster)

Catholic Committee of the South
Rock Hill, S.C.
* Father Maurice Shean

Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
NYC
* George Hunton (Father John LaFarge)

Congregational Christian Churches
Council for Social Action and Race Relations Dept.
287 Fourth Avenue, NYC
Dr. Galen Weaver

Department of Social Education and Action
Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church
in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
* Dr. Clifford Earle (Dr. H.B. Sissel)

Evangelical & Reformed Church, Commission on
Christian Social Action
2969 W. 25th Street
Cleveland, Ohio
Rev. Chester L. Marcus

Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York
* Jacob Schlitt (Emanuel Muravchik)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
NYC
* Henry Moon - John Morsell - Roy Wilkins - Ruby Hurley

National Community Relations Advisory Council
9 East 38th Street, N.Y. 16, N.Y.
Arnold Aronson

National Conference of Christians & Jews
43 West 57th Street, NYC
* Vernon Hoyt (Dumont Kenny - Gordon Lovejoy)

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
Department of Racial & Cultural Relations
297 4th Avenue, NYC
Dr. J. Oscar Lee

National Council of the Churches of Christ
510 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake

National Council of Jewish Women
1 West 47th Street, NYC
* Miss Bernice Solomon (Mrs. Frances Cahn - Mrs. Moise Cahn)

National Council Protestant Episcopal Church
Division of Christian Citizenship
281 4th Avenue NY 10, NY
* Douglas Bushy
* Rev. Dana Kennedy (Rev. Cornelius Tarplee)

National Social Welfare Assembly
345 East 46th Street NYC
* George Rabinoff

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street, NYC
* Guichard Parris (Nelson Jackson)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga.
* Harold Fleming

Synagogue Council of America
110 W. 42nd Street, NYC
* Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum

Synagogue Council of America
701 Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Conn.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman

Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church
150 5th Avenue NY 11, NY
* Thelma Stevens

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Commission on Social Action
838 5th Avenue NYC
* Rabbi Sam Silver, Albert Vorspan

United Automobile Workers of America
8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan
* William Oliver (Roy Reuther)

United Church Women
297 Fourth Avenue, NYC
~~Esther Stamats~~

Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
600 Lexington Avenue, N.Y. 22, N.Y.
*Mrs. Louisa Hager (Mrs. Savilla Simons - Miss Lilace Reid)

Al Hamilton — 1126-16th St. N.W. Wash, DC
UAW - Washn DC (MF has address).

Mr. Sidney Hollander
2513 Talbot Rd
Baltimore 16, Md.

Mass Media list - Consultative Conference on Desegregation
(Additional names - April 1957)

(To receive all mass media material

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Rm. 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. Robert E. Hughes

American Civil Liberties Union
619 Upland Rd.
Louisville 6, Kentucky
Mr. Patrick S. Kirwan

American Civil Liberties Union
1214 Lisbon St.
Coral Gables, Florida
Professor Richard C. Royce

American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.
Mr. Elmer Henderson

American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, North Carolina
Mr. John Alexander, Mr. B. Tartt Bell, Mr. Charles Davis

American Friends Service Committee
8 Quaker Hill Drive
Richmond, Indiana
Mr. Robert G. Godsey

American Friends Service Committee
2106 Nueces Street
Austin 5, Texas
Mr. F. E. Hutchens

American Friends Service Committee
20 S. Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Irene Osborne

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
Mr. Nat Griswold

Commission on Human Rights
1530 Benneham Street
Raleigh, North Carolina
Miss Dorothy Hampton

Commission on Human Rights
P. O. Box 694
New Orleans, Louisiana
Mrs. Patricia Ryan

Congregational Christian Church
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York
Mr. Murray Friedman

Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N.E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida
Mr. William K. Williams

Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Guy H. Wells

Kentucky Council on Human Relations
208 W. Main St.
Frankfort, Kentucky
Mr. Hugh A. Brimm

Louisiana Civil Liberties Union
1609 National Bank of Commerce Bldg.
New Orleans, Louisiana
Mr. George A. Dreyfous

The Methodist Chruch
1001 19th Avenue
Nashville 2, Tennessee
Mr. Leo M. Adkins

Mississippi State Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 9096
Jackson 3, Mississippi
Mrs. R. S. Lyells

National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Vivian Mason

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. 3rd St. Rm. 209
Charlotte, N. C.
Mr. Harry C. Jones

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Bldg.
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Mr. H. B. Sissel

Southern Baptist Convention
161 8th Ave., N.
Nashville, Tennessee
Mr. A. C. Miller

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2005 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Texas Commission on Race Relations
504 W. 24th Street
Austin, Texas
Mr. Edwin G. Kloppe

~~Union of American Hebrew Congregations~~
~~250 Auburn Ave.,~~ N.E.
~~Atlanta, Georgia~~
~~Mr. Harry L. Alston~~

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
1202 Tacoma Street
Atlanta, Georgia
Rabbi Israel J. Gerber

Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 E. Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia
Mr. John H. Marion

COPY

File - Media Committee of C.C.D.

May 3, 1957

Miss Elizabeth Herring
National Council On Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N. St.
Washington 6, D. C.

RECEIVED MAY 6 1957

Dear Elizabeth:

The Georgia Board of Education recently passed a resolution barring public school students from participation in regional or national bi-racial meetings. When the newspapers indicated that this would boomerang against Georgia students, statements were carried in local papers indicating that the 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America and Future Homemakers of America would not be affected. National 4-H Clubs hold separate national meetings for whites and Negroes. The FFA and FHA chapters in Georgia are for white students only but similar organizations exist for colored students.

Would it be possible for you to get any action by farm organizations to counteract -- in Georgia -- the harmful publicity created by these segregated farm institutions? Would it be possible to get any of the groups dealing with rural life, church and similar groups to issue statements on this subject? Shirley Greene might help you on this if you get in touch with him. I am enclosing some clippings from the Atlantic Constitution which I would appreciate your returning after you have used them.

Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga., can give you more details if they should be required.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

HF/ht
Encs. e

Harry Fleischman

RECEIVED MAY 31 1957

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

MUrray Hill 5-0181

May 29, 1957

Dear Member:

The June 12, 1957 meeting of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference On Desegregation will start, as previously scheduled, at 9:30 a.m.

However, we have been fortunate enough to arrange for the noted publicist, Mr. Edward L. Bernays to come to our meeting at 11 a.m. to stay with us through lunch.

Mr. Bernays will discuss with us how we might best overcome current resistance in the South to school desegregation.

The meeting will be held at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (corner 53rd St.), New York, New York.

Since we must plan for luncheons, please let me know whether or not you plan to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ht
MMCCD

I shall ( ) attend the meeting of the
shall not ( )

RECEIVED MAY 31 1957

Mass Media Committee

Wednesday, June 12, 1957
on _____, at 9:30 ~~P.M.~~ A.M.
(Date) (Time)

Anti-Defamation League
at 515 Madison Avenue, New York City
(Place)

_____

113-6-56

RECEIVED MAY 31 1957

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference On Desegregation, May 22, 1957, New York, N.Y.

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Louise Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Henry Lee Moon, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People; Oscar Cohen, Anti-Defamation League; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; and Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, June 12, 1957 from 9:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (corner 53rd Street) New York, New York. Please notify Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, as to whether or not you plan to attend.

The American Broadcasting Company's "Open Hearing" will carry an hour long documentary on "Segregation and the South" on Sunday, June 16, 1957. The documentary, prepared by the Fund For The Republic, examines the effects of the Supreme Court ruling on school integration during the past three years.

AN IMPORTANT NOTE

The Executive Committee of CCD is centralizing our distribution of materials. In the future, please send 100 copies of any material dealing with desegregation, plus notices of materials or programs, in addition to suggestions as to how the materials might best be used which you believe will be of interest to other participating agencies to Arnold Aronson, Secretary CCD, 9 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York. Also please include information regarding the availability and cost of quantity orders. Aronson will then distribute these materials to all CCD agencies.

The American Jewish Committee is considering possibilities of reprinting as a pamphlet the New York Times Benjamin Fine series on school desegregation in six border and Southern cities.

It was suggested that the Southern Regional Council might discuss with editors of daily papers in cities under court orders to desegregate their school system, or taking voluntary action to desegregate school systems, to arrange for those editors to publish articles similar to the Benjamin Fine series. They might either send their reporters to cover stories of successful integration or ask editors or reporters in the cities where integration has been accomplished successfully to write special

articles dealing with their respective cities. For instance, Miami papers might be induced to carry a series on school integration in other Southern cities to help it prepare for integration in Miami.

Chet Huntley's half hour NBC OUTLOOK program on Sunday, May 19, 1957 presented one youngster connected with each of the five original desegregation cases which came to the Supreme Court. Kinescopes may be available from NBC.

It was agreed to try to arrange for a women's magazine to carry an article on progress of desegregation, to be printed just prior to school opening in the Fall.

It was agreed to attempt to arrange a series of off-the-record luncheon meetings with individual top public relations people to help prepare a broad outline for a campaign to overcome current resistance to school desegregation. Henry Lee Moon will make arrangements for this project.

Projected materials for the films and film strips catalog will be turned over to Robert Disraeli of the AJCommittee for final revision. The catalog should include information on where films could be secured, cost of rental or purchase, plus information as to whether or not the films are cleared for use on T.V.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ht
5/27/57

CCD, MMCCD

RECEIVED OCT 4 1957

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

CCD

October 4, 1957

Dear Member:

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation will be held on Tuesday, October 22, 1957 at 10:30 a.m. in the Board Room of the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York City. The meeting will last until 12:30.

Following our recent session with Mr. Edward L. Bernays, we have been fortunate to arrange for Mr. Elmo Roper to come to our meeting at 11 a.m. for an informal exchange of views as to how we might best overcome current resistance in the south to school desegregation.

Please let us know on the enclosed post card whether or not you plan to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ht
Encl. 1

MMCCD

VIA AIR MAIL

October 29, 1957

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

I haven't had a chance to draw up a careful list of Southern "moderates" who might be considered for the Confederate-Union parley in New York. But here are a few names off-the-top, to supplement those of Ashmore, McGill, and Mr. Roper's Memphis friend, Birch (sp?).

Hodding Carter, Greenville, Mississippi; Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor, The Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Buford Boone, Editor, The News, Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Irving Carlyle, Attorney and civic leader, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Professor James Silver, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Mississippi; Francis Pickens Miller, leading anti-Byrd figure, writer and churchman, Charlottesville, Virginia.

If the conference is to be bi-racial - and I don't see why it shouldn't be - an appropriate Negro editor from the South would be Thomas W. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. Also, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University, might be a good choice. It occurs to me that to balance Young, an invitation might be issued to Claude Barnett, head of the Associated Negro Press in Chicago.

All of the people I have named would, I think, make a reasonable and constructive contribution to the discussion.

I haven't yet had a chance to discuss this with McGill, but I hope to next week when I get back from a trip I'm about to start. I will also give further thought to possible participants who might be more appropriate than some of those in the off-the-top list above.

Keep me posted.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Encl. 1 - Atl. Const. Oct. 28, 1957
"Racial Issues Fail To Harm Business."

CCD

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

RECEIVED NOV 18 1957

November 15, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We have the back files of "The Firing Line" in our library. I will go through them on Monday to see what may be found, but I have been informed that they have attacked many a respectable group. Details later.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht

RECEIVED NOV 21 1957

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

ccd

November 20, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are working on the Firing Line material and will send you a report on it by the end of the week. I hope that this delay does not inconvenience you but we are unable to get it done any sooner.

The Mass Media Committee yesterday, decided that we should go ahead with attempting to arrange the conference but with a subcommittee of Henry Moon, Alan Reitman and myself to attempt to enlarge it to include more of the people whose presence would be really useful at such a conference. More on this later.

Cordially yours,

Harry

HF/ht

Harry Fleischman

File CCD
(Mass Media)

RECEIVED NOV 22 1957

November 21, 1957

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Roper:

Alan Reitman of the American Civil Liberties Union and I met with Dean Ed Barrett and Professor Baker of the Columbia School of Journalism last week to discuss the suggested conference of southern liberals and moderates and national publicists. Enclosed is a copy of the letter I sent to Dean Barrett in advance of our session.

Both Dean Barrett and Professor Baker expressed keen interest in the idea of a conference but were concerned about its nature. People like Harry Ashmore, Ralph McGill and Hodding Carter, they said, are in frequent touch with leading national publicists. A conference composed largely of such people, they felt, would be bringing "coals to Newcastle." They suggested that a somewhat larger conference, with more of the people who are not likely to be in touch with leading national publicists, might be of more value.

Various members of our Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation have come up with names of persons whom they felt would meet Dr. Barrett's requirements. Here are the names thus far mentioned:

Harry Ashmore
Ralph McGill
Hodding Carter
Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor, The Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Buford Boone, Editor, The News, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
Irving Carlyle, Attorney and Civic leader, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Professor James Silver, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.
Francis Pickens Miller, writer and churchman, Charlottesville, Virginia.
Thomas W. Young, Editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide.
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University.
Wilson Wyatt, Louisville, Kentucky.
Charles Farnsley, Louisville, Kentucky.
Lillian Smith, Georgia.
John B. Orr, Jr., State Senator, Miami, Florida.

J. M. Dabbs, Rip Rap Plantation, Mayesville, S. C.
Mrs. M. E. Tilley, Atlanta, Georgia,
J. H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Sarah Patton Boyle, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
Reverend Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Alabama.
Dr. Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.
Jonathann Daniels.

Among those suggested as participants from the North were yourself, Frank Stanton of CBS, Henry Luce, Gardner Cowles, David Sarnoff of NBC, Turner Catledge or Charles Merz of the New York Times, Whitelaw Reid of the Herald Tribune, someone from the American Broadcasting Company, representatives of the wire services, Seymour Bergson of the Journal American, someone from Readers Digest and someone from the Scripps-Howard chain.

Dean Barrett mentioned that Associated Press was holding a meeting of managing editors last weekend in Dallas and that the issue of national treatment of the race problem by the mass media would undoubtedly be one of themajor topics discussed, whether or not it was on the agenda. He also mentioned that a number of Southern journalists would be in New York in the Spring to serve on Pulitzer Prize Award juries and that our conference might conceivably be held then. But he wanted to be sure that a conference would serve a really useful function.

One suggestion was that such a conference might lead to a survey of the treatment of race news by both Southern and Northern mass media. One point that might well be considered in connection with such a conference are the findings by Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton University. His report in Public Opinion Quarterly revealed that those white southerners who are exposed to national hook-ups on radio or TV or who read national magazines, are more sympathetic to the desegregation point of view than persons who live in isolation.

If these findings are accurate for the entire South, the importance of getting together Southern and national opinion molders to try to develop a climate of opinion which will support law and order cannot be overstressed.

However, we still face the problem of where do we go from here in developing such a meeting. We would be very happy if our CCD committee -- Alan Reitman, Henry Lee Moon and I -- could have a chance to meet with you on this as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

HF/ht
Encl.

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

cc: Harold Fleming
Alan Reitman
Henry Lee Moon

COPY

October 28, 1957

Mr. Edward W. Barrett
Dean, School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Barrett:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr. Elmo Roper. I am the secretary of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, a clearing house of more than forty national organizations concerned with school desegregation. Among the cooperating agencies are the National Council of Churches, the Southern Regional Council, the Catholic Committee on the South, the National Urban League, the NAACP, the American Jewish Committee, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and a host of others.

Mr. Roper suggested that it would be extremely helpful to the cause of desegregation if some eight or ten top Southern liberals and moderates could meet with a like number of leading national publicists to consider how the national mass media might contribute toward a more favorable climate of opinion on law and order and desegregation.

Among those who might be invited to participate are Henry Luce, Frank Stanton, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Whitelaw Reid, Harry Ashmore, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, Wilson Wyatt, etc.

Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and I met with Mr. Roper to discuss how such a conference might be arranged and Mr. Roper suggested that perhaps one of the most appropriate agencies to sponsor such an off-the-record conference might well be Columbia University's School of Jourhalism.

He added that he would be willing to co-sponsor it with you if you felt that was necessary, and that in any event he would be extremely happy to assist you on such a project both in terms of recruiting top national mass media people and some of the Southerners.

If this project finds any favor in your eyes I wonder if it might be possible for me to meet with you on this.

I shall take the liberty of phoning you about this matter on Wednesday.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

cc

November 27, 1957

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

Thanks so much for the run down on issues of the Firing Line. I may want to photostats of two or three of the articles later on, but for immediate purpose you have given me just the information I needed, and we are indebted to you.

I thought your last letter to Roper was good. Ashmore was just here, but though I had some time with him, it was under very hectic circumstances and I was never able to discuss the idea with him. I have talked with a few other people about it, including John Popham, the Southern correspondent for the New York Times. The reactions I have had from him and the others add up to a feeling that a conference involving second echelon newspapermen and community leaders from the South would serve a useful purpose. Popham himself showed no great eagerness to be included, but I think he would be a good choice. Other names that have occured to me are Martin Ochs of the Chattanooga Times, Wallace Westerfeldt of the Nashville, Tennessean, and Bill Baggs, the new editor of the Miami Daily News. The more I have thought about it, the more I have felt that the group should be restricted to newspaper people and a few others perhaps who mix well with newspaper people. If the range gets too broad, I am afraid there won't be enough rapport or a community of interest in the group to make meaningful communication possible within any reasonable brief time. Understand, I don't mean saneness of viewpoint, but enough similarity of background for them to understand each other.

I only wish I could be up there at times when I could help advance the project. It now looks as though I will be in New York again on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 17 and 18. This is not likely to be a very productive period but perhaps you and I will be able to get caught up.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

November 22, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a list of organizations which have been mentioned unfavorably in the issues of The Firing Line, from March 15, 1955 to October 15, 1957.

How would you like to proceed from here on out? Would you want to have these articles photostated or what? Do let me know.

Also, please send me your reactions to my letter of November 21, 1957 to Elmo Roper.

Thanks.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht
Encl.

American Association For The United Nations	March 15, 1955
The Fund For The Republic, Inc.	November 15, 1955
United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization	December 15, 1955
United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization	March 15, 1955
University of Wisconsin	June 1, 1956
Fund For The Republic	July 15, 1956
" " " "	August 15, 1956
N.A.A.C.P.	September 15, 1956
U.N.E.S.C.O.	September 15, 1956
American Civil Liberties Union	October 15, 1956
" " " "	November 1, 1956
" " " "	December 15, 1956
U.N.E.S.C.O.	January 1, 1957
Fund For The Republic	March 1, 1957
N.A.A.C.P.	March 1, 1957
American Civil Liberties Union	March 1, 1957
U.N.E.S.C.O.	April 15, 1957
Fund For The Republic	April 15, 1957
General Council of Congregational Christian Churches	May 1, 1957
Koinonia Farm	May 1, 1957
Southern Regional Council	May 15, 1957
Attacks Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church - U.S.A. for defending A.C.L.U.	October 15, 1957

File

December 19, 1957

Dean Edward W. Barrett
School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dear Dean Barrett:

This note will confirm our telephone conversation today about our projected conference on the mass media and desegregation.

Our purpose would be to have ten to fifteen important but relatively unpublicized Southern editors and civic leaders meet with the same number of leaders of important national and Northern publications. Both groups could then consider how they might more effectively develop a climate of opinion in which respect for law and order and a smoother path to desegregation will prevail.

The conference might also consider a survey of the treatment of the desegregation problem in both Southern and Northern mass media.

Among the Southerners who might be invited to attend are:

Reed Barratt, executive editor, The Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Buford Boone, editor, The News, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Professor James Silver, Univ. of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.
Thomas W. Young, editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.
Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Weldon James, Louisville Courier Journal, Louisville, Ky.
Wilson Wyatt, Louisville, Ky.
John B. Orr, Jr., State Senator, Miami Florida.
J.M. Dabbs, Rip Rap Plantation, Mayesville, S. C.
J. H. Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala.
Dr. Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.
Harry Ashmore, editor Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Ark.
Andrew McDoud Secrest, editor Cheraw Chronicle, Cheraw, S.C.
John Popham, Southern corr. New York Times, Atlanta, Ga.
Wallace Westfeldt, Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.
Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville Times, Gainesville, Ga.
Carter Wesley, Houston Informer, Houston, Tex.
Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Fla.
C.A. Scott, Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

Among the Northerners who might be invited are:

Elmo Roper, Fund for the Republic
Ed Murrow, CBS
Ed Thompson, LIFE
Dan Mich or Bill Attwood, Look
Davidson Taylor or Ken Kirby, NBC
Turner Catledge, New York Times
Ogden Reid, N.Y. Herald Tribune
J. Russell Wiggins or Al Friendly, Washington Post
Roy Howard Jr., Scripps-Howard
Alan Gould, exec. ed. Associated Press
Frank Bartholomew or Earl Johnson, United Press
Seymour Berkson, INS and Hearst chain
John Charles Daly, ABC
Wade Nichols, Redbook
Kenneth Payne or Fritz de Schiel of Readers Digest
Lou Gillenson, Coronet
Otis Wiese, McCalls
Beatrice Blackmar Gould and Bruce Gould, Ladies Home Journal
John Denson, Newsweek
Roy Alexander, Time
Ben Hibbs, Saturday Evening Post.

As we mentioned this morning, the conference might start out with a statement of the problem and then have a period for both Southerners and Northerners to express their gripes on the way the mass media, both South and North, is currently handling the desegregation issue. It would then be the job of the chairman (either yourself or Elmo Roper) to make sure that from that point on the discussion was on a constructive level about things we could do now and in the future in respect to the mass media and desegregation.

We still have to decide whether the conference should be one, two or three days and whether it should be at Arden House or on the Columbia campus. We shall also, of course, consider means of financing such a conference since you indicated that having fifteen Southerners (and their travel expenses), and a like number of Northerners would probably require about $3,000. However, we are confident that we will be able to raise such a sum for this off-the-record conference.

After the first of the year, I will attempt to arrange for a meeting at which you, Elmo Roper and our subcommittee can meet to consider arrangements for such a conference.

With all best wishes for the season.

Sincerely yours,

HF/ht

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

cc: Elmo Roper, Harold Fleming,
Alan Reitman, Henry Lee Moon

C.C.D.

December 31, 1957

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

Will Campbell called the other day to report on a recent conversation with our needy friend P. D. East. I know that he has been in touch with all his friends concerning subscription renewals. But Will came up with another approach; it seems P. D. is now willing to go on the speaking circuit as a means of augmenting his starvation income.

This isn't exactly mass media business, but I promised Will I would pass the idea along and, if anything can be done on it, I'm sure you would know best how to do it. Is there any easy and logical way to make P. D.'s availability (for a fee) known to those who might use him?

Unfortunately, I won't be with you at the January MM meeting, but as soon as you let me know the February date, I'll start trying to arrange it. I'll also be looking for word on possible reprints of Popham's article and the Wall Street Journal material. Since we served as principal adviser to Brumley on the cost-of-segregation piece, we are particularly fond of that one. Seriously, I think it was a

very helpful job, and we would be glad to come in on a reprinting of it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl: N.Y. Times Reprint

January 20, 1958

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

Here are the names of several TV and radio people who have done constructive things on race relations and would be suitable participants in the proposed conference:

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
WHAS
Louisville, Kentucky
(A first-rate public affairs programmer, current president of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations.)

Ralph Renick
WTVJ
Miami, Florida
(Has done some outstanding special programs which facilitated resolution of interracial controversies.)

Ken Kurtz
WIS
Columbia, South Carolina
(does a fair and full job on racial matters in an area where this is the exception.)

(Mr.) Dale Clark
WAGA
Atlanta, Georgia
(A news director who consistently goes out of his way to get positive facts on racial developments before his audience.)

Nat G. Williams
(ADDRESS TO BE SUPPLIED)
Memphis, Tennessee
(A Negro programmer of great virtuosity, who does everything from disc-jockeying to public affairs programs; an important radio figure in Memphis.)

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cc d

RECEIVED JAN 29 1958

January 26, 1958

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Roper:

This will confirm the arrangements I made with Miss Griswald for a meeting on Wednesday, February 26, 1958 from 10:30 to 11:30 a.m. at your office. Dean Barrett's secretary has confirmed that this date will be suitable for him and I am getting in touch with the members of our CCD Mass Media subcommittee to invite them to attend this meeting.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht

cc: Alan Reitman
Henry Lee Moon
✓Harold Fleming

March 13, 1958

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

I finally found the "Hannah" in the February 1958 issue of Southern School News. It is in a Florida section on page 15, the first item under "What They Say." Among other things, Hannah is quoted as saying, "There has been a lot of talk from both extremes, but more from the middle. Comments from both extremes - citizens councils on one side and the NAACP on the other - have been silly." I take it you are going to call this unfortunate statement to the attention of the various mass media folks.

I hope you got the message I left at your office about my conversation with the people at TIME. I found that the man who is currently running the press section is Mike Demarest whom I knew when he was stationed in the Atlanta bureau. He said they considered doing a job on the Herald Tribune ad, but decided instead to play up Kuettner's series on the New York schools. However, he said that if there were another similar ad by the

segregationists, the press section would take it on. He also said that they would call on us for any background they might need. I am cognizant of my other assignments, dealt out at the last meeting of the Mass Media Committee, and will move on them as quickly as I can.

I suppose you know that there is going to be a CCD Executive Committee meeting on March 26. Will you be there or Ed Lukas, or who from ACJ? This timing is very awkward for me, but I do feel a powerful urge to be there and take part in the revival of the corpse. If so, perhaps I will see you.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

March 10, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been unable to find that quote by Hannah. If you can dig it up will you please send it to me?

Enclosed are copies of letters to Oscar Lee and John Hudak.

All the best.

Fraternally yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht
Encs.

March 10, 1958

Mr. John Hudak
NCCJ
43 W. 57th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear John:

Harold Fleming has agreed to talk to Father Sigur, who works with the Neuman Clubs concerning arranging for a statement on desegregation for use by Southern Catholic youngsters. Harold, however, feels he could do a better job of this if he is able to send Sigur copies of material used by other organizations.

Has the NCCJ yet put out its leaflet on desegregation for use in the south? If so, would you send several copies to Harold Fleming and one to me.

Appreciatively yours,

HF/ht
cc: Harold Fleming

Harry Fleischman

March 10, 1958

Reverend Oscar Lee
National Council of Churches
297-4th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Harold Fleming has agreed to talk to Father Sigur, who works with the Neuman Clubs concerning arranging for a statement on desegregation for use by Southern Catholic youngsters. Harold, however, feels he could do a better job of this if he is able to send Sigur copies of material used by other organizations.

Has the United Christian Youth movement yet put out its leaflet on desegregation for use in the south? If so, would you send several copies to Harold Fleming and one to me.

Appreciatively yours,

HF/ht
cc/ HaroldFleming

Harry Fleischman

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-6181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

TO MEMBERS OF THE MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE, CCD

September 5, 1958

Dear Friend:

The Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation will hold its first Fall meeting on Thursday September 18, 1958 from 10 a.m. to 12 noon. The meeting will be held at the Anti-Defamation League offices in Freedom House, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, in the 8th floor conference room.

At this meeting, Harold Fleming and I will give a full report on the meeting that was held last week with T.V. and radio network news and public affairs people and key Southern intergroup relations professionals to discuss school desegregation problems arising this Fall.

Please phone or write us to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw
MMCCD

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

VIA AIR MAIL

December 24, 1958

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

I'm perfectly agreeable to postponing the Mass Media Committee meeting. The week of January 26 is not good for me, but as far as I can tell now the chances would be good for my making a meeting most any time in February.

I suggest, however, that you work out the most convenient date with Morsell, Aronson, and the others. Then let me know, and I will make every effort to be there.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

December 19, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

John Morsell just called me to ask whether it would be possible to postpone the meeting of the Mass Media Committee of CCD until January 27th or 28th or, any later date that would still enable you to attend. He asks this because he would like to have Roy Wilkins attend the next CCD Executive Committee Meeting which will be held in the afternoon following our morning Mass Media Committee session.

Arnold Aronson has suggested the possibility of a national evaluation conference, possibly in May, to examine where five years of school desegregation have brought us and to plan for future steps. Such a conference would be on the agenda of the next CCD Executive Committee meeting.

Would you please let me know immediately what dates would be good for you so that I can make arrangements in switching the Mass Media Committee meeting?

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw

cc: Arnold Aronson
Alfred Bernheim
Edwin J. Lukas
John Morsell

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

January 12, 1959

TO MEMBERS OF THE MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE OF THE CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Dear Friend:

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee has been shifted from Tuesday, January 20, 1959 to Tuesday, February 3, 1959 from 9:30a.m. until noon. The meeting will still be held at the National Urban League, Board Room, 14 East 48th Street, New York, New York.

We have shifted this date in order to enable the meeting to be held on the same day as the meeting of CCD's Executive Committee, which will meet in the Urban League Board Room from 2-5 p.m. Tuesday, February 3, 1959.

Please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw
MMCCD

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

P.S. Watch the Edward R. Murrow program on THE LOST CLASS OF '59 over the CBS Television Network on Wednesday, January 21 from 8-9 p.m. EST. The program is a study of Virginia's massive resistance against school desegregation, with particular emphasis on the Norfolk Scene. Frank Stanton, President of CBS, has announced that it will carry several more programs on SOUTH IN CRISIS; NORTH OF THE MASON-DIXON LINE -- a report on segregation in the North; and HATE MONGERS -- a report on the bigots who are using hate literature and bombs. Watch for these programs.

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

January 16, 1959

TO MEMBERS OF THE MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE OF THE CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Dear Friend:

Many apologies for our repeated shifts of the date of the next Mass Media Committee meeting, but we have just received word that the Federal Civil Rights Commission is holding hearings in New York City February 2-3, 1959, and these hearings will require the presence of some of our members.

Therefore, the next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, February 4, 1959 from 9:30 a.m. until noon. The meeting will still be held at the National Urban League, Board Room, 14 East 48th Street, New York, New York.

CCD's Executive Committee will also meet on Wednesday, February 4, 1959 at the Urban League, Board Room from 2-5 p.m.

Despite all these dizzying changes, please call or write to let me know whether or not you plan to attend.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

File

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

SC - I ordered 1,000 copies of this HF

January 28, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We need your response now to decide whether or not to reprint Walt Kelly's Pogo comic strip series on "Speakeasy Schools," suggested by CCD's Mass Media Committee.

The cost of the pamphlet would vary from $35 per thousand for a run of 10,000 copies to $20 per thousand for a run of 50,000 copies. (Imprint cost will probably run an additional $15.)

Please write or phone us by February 3rd, if you want to order a quantity. Also let us know whether or not you want your own imprint on the pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

Harry

HF:hw

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

January 9, 1959

Dear Harold —

At the last meeting of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, several organizations expressed interest in reprinting Walt Kelly's Pogo comic strip series on "Speakeasy Schools." The anguished howls of some Southern segregationist editors about this series indicates that it strikes hard at one of the most vulnerable spots in segregations armor -- the funnybone.

We checked with Kelly and he has given us permission to reprint the strips. Enclosed are copies of the series, which we plan to print as a 24 page pamphlet on newsprint.

The cost of the pamphlet would vary from $35 per thousand for a run of 10,000 copies to $20 per thousand for a run of 50,000 copies. (Imprint cost will probably run an additional $15.)

Please let us know if your organization would like to order a quantity, how many, and whether or not you want your own imprint on the pamphlet.

Many thanks for your prompt attention to this matter.

Cordially yours,

Harry

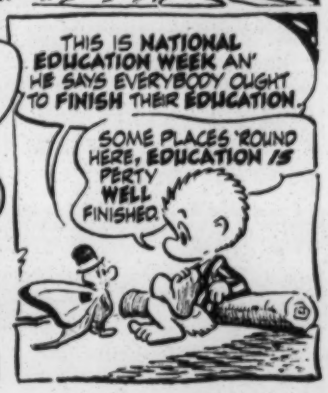
Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

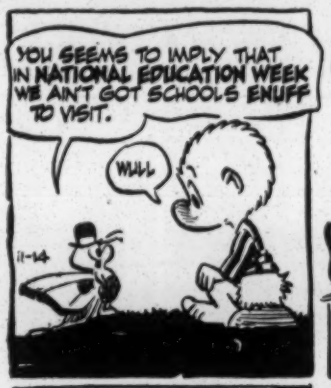
HF/hw
Encl.

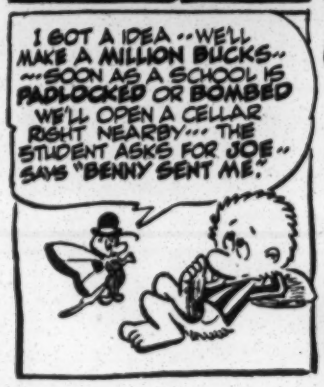
$35.00 per thousand

POGO By Walt Kelly

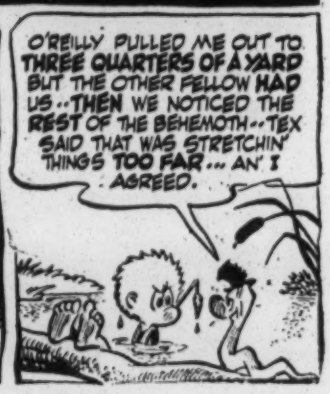
POGO By Walt Kelly

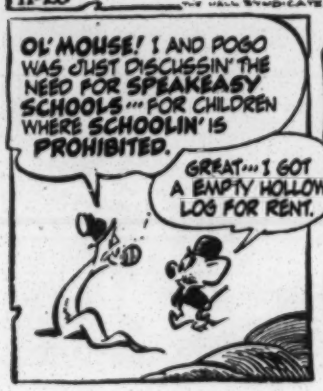


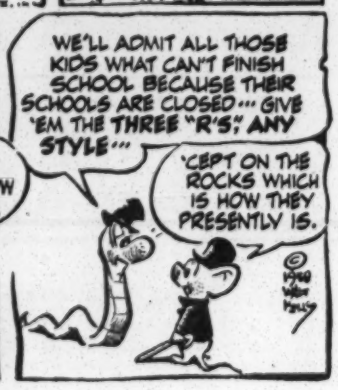


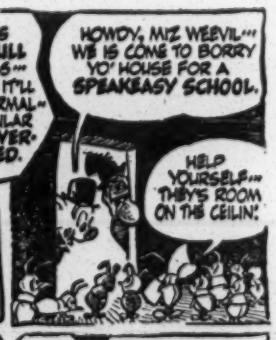


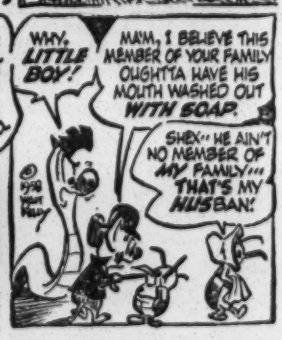
POGO By Walt Kelly



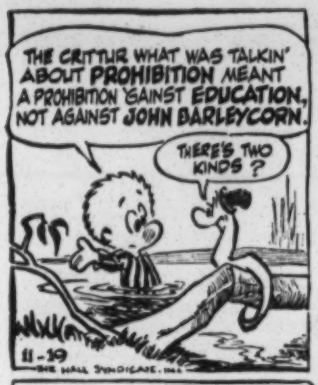


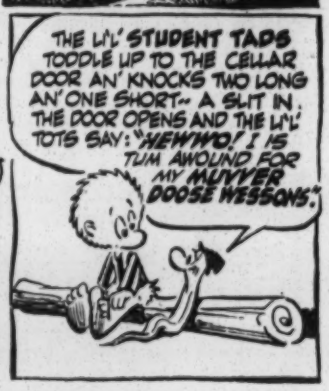


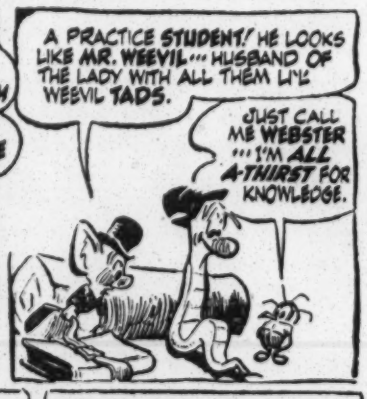


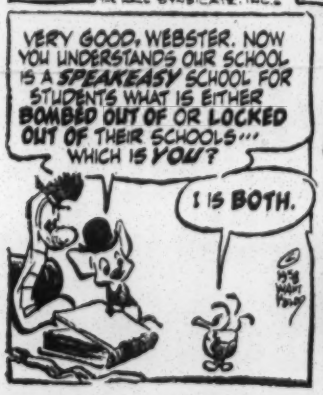


POGO By Walt Kelly

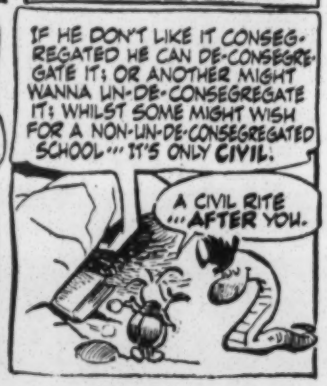








POGO By Walt Kelly



POGO By Walt Kelly

POGO **By Walt Kelly**

VIA AIR MAIL

March 16, 1959

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

As I believe you know, I had been planning to make the Mass Media Committee meeting this week. Unfortunately, I am having to cancel out. One of my little boys was taken seriously ill over the weekend, and still isn't completely out of the woods.

Sorry to miss this one. Give my regards to all the indefatigable conspirators.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Distribution of John Lofton Reprint
"Northerner Backs Segregation - A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal"
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette - Wed., March 18, 1959

CCD - MMC - 5/1/59:

Mr. Sidney Hollander
2513 Talbot Road
Baltimore 16, Md.

Mr. Al Hamilton
United Auto Workers
1126 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. William Oliver
United Auto Workers
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Guichard Parris
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Dr. J. Oscar Lee
Nat'l. Council of Churches, USA
Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations
297 - 4th Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations Advisory Council
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Mr. Jacob Schlitt
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dr. H. B. Sissel
Dept. of Soc. Educ. and Action
Board of Christian Educ.
Presby Church, USA
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Galen Weaver
Congregational Christian Churches
Race Relations Dept.
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Shad Polier
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Edwin Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Alfred Bernheim
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Alex Morisey
Amer. Friends Ser. Cttee.
20 South 12th St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Alan Reitman
Amer. Civil Liberties Union
170 - 5th Avenue
New York 10, New York

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
First Newspaper West of the Alleghanies
Gazette Established 1786. Post Established 1842. Combined 1927
PAUL BLOCK, PUBLISHER, 1927-1941

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

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THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Northerner Backs Segregation

A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

By John Lofton
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

IN TODAY'S issue of the Post-Gazette there is an advertisment consisting of a letter to President Eisenhower criticizing the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. Carleton Putnam, the writer of the letter, is presented by the ad's sponsors as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." These credentials are obviously intended to convey the impression that Mr. Putnam's segregationist views carry the weight of high, nonpartisan authority.

• • •

BY WAY of demonstrating that Mr. Putnam's preachments are something less than Olympian, we would like to quote in answer to them the comments of an observer who is much closer to the subject and who, we think, has credentials which make him a far more creditable authority. He is James McBride Dabbs, a member of a family that has lived in the South for 150 years, a native of South Carolina, owner and operator of a plantation employing Negroes, a graduate of the Uninversity of South Carolina and of Clark University, author of the recent book, *The Southern Heritage* (Knopf), from which we quote. Excerpts from Putnam and Dabbs follow:

Mr. Putnam: "It is my personal conviction that the local [Southern] customs in this case were 'hardened by time' for a very good reason, and that while they may not . . . have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Dabbs: "There's no doubt they [Negroes] are more poorly equipped than the whites. But, now, having made this probably correct observation, we conclude that nature, or God, made them so. This is a most happy conclusion. For it's perfectly clear that the inferior position of the Negro in the South is due either to God or to us; and as it's doubtful democratic and Christian doctrine for us to admit the responsibility, we are happy to pass it on to God."

Mr. Putnam: "Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court."

Mr. Dabbs: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been a part of the Constitution for that length of time [90 years] and, however adopted, are built into the conscience of the nation. True, the judges are just getting around to pinpointing their meaning, but the meaning has been there for any man to read, and as time has turned the pages the meaning has become increasingly clear."

Mr. Putnam: "In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word 'association' here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please.)"

• • •

MR. DABBS: "The Court didn't order anybody to 'integrate' anything; it merely said we should stop separating school children on the basis of race. . . . It's we who have substituted 'mixing' for 'stop separating.' . . . Negroes merely want the rights and privileges of American citizens. But desiring an equal chance with us at success isn't the same as wanting to sit with us in school and church."

Mr. Putnam: "Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization."

Mr. Dabbs: ". . . with top-flight Negroes in practically every field, it seems rather late to raise the old question of the implied inferiority of the Negro because of the lack of a modern civilization in Africa. Yet the question is raised and should be answered briefly. First, though Africa has never had an industrial civilization—a Western creation of yesterday—the native Africans of the slaving period, especially those who were brought to America, were not savages but pre-literate folk with a complex agricultural, social, and legal society, with skilled workers in iron and other metals, and with great artists, especially in sculpture and wood-carving. Indeed, the invention of iron-smelting may have been brought to Europe from Africa."

Mr. Putnam: "I would emphatically support improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress . . ."

Mr. Dabbs: "We overlooked the 'equal' that Plessy v. Ferguson said they [Negroes] should have, and thus caused them and the courts to ponder its absence until now the "separate' has been outlawed. . . . They now have the right to desegregated schools, just like other people, and let the law forget race."

• • •

MR. PUTNAM: ". . . for 94 years . . . the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have."

Mr. Dabbs: "Whatever our dreamed-of Southern society, of slavery or segregation, might have become if left alone, it was not, it could not be, left alone in the dynamic world in which it was established. It would have been changed whether anyone, inside or outside, ever thought about changing it; it would have been changed by general forces moving in the world."

So speaks James McBride Dabbs. For a full, eloquent and knowledgeable answer to Carleton Putnam, readers should give *The Southern Heritage* a complete reading.

Advice please. LWD
HCA
JC

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-4000

RECEIVED AUG 17 1959

Although I admire the article, I don't see much use for it in telling information regarding. It also does not seem quite suited for an L Report. Unless there are other uses, I think our order should be kept small.
JWD

August 14, 1959

Dear Friend:

We are planning to reprint A FATE WORSE THAN INTEGRATION by Howard Zinn, which appeared in the August 1959 issue of Harper's Magazine.

This article, by an Atlanta professor points out that white Southerners have many values which many of them may consider more precious than continued segregation. Among these are: the economic (the desire to make money); the importance Americans attach to sports; majority support for law and order; the traditional Southern qualities of hospitality, courtliness and good manners; the desire to have political power; and the maintenance of public education.

Letter
JC

The article is very well written and seems extremely effective for use both with Northerners and Southerners.

On the basis of our present printing order the price would be $18 per thousand. Of course, if you should want to place an order for 1,000 or more copies in advance of publication it would help bring the final price down still further.

We may be able to include your imprint on the publication, but that, of course, will be an additional charge.

I am sorry that I do not have copies of the article to send along with this letter but I think you will find it rewarding enough to look it up in the current Harper's.

Please let me know by Labor Day how many copies you would like.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw
MMCCD

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

P,S. Please note change of address and telephone number above.

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

RECEIVED SEP 30 1959

September 28, 1959

Dear Committee Member:

Please pardon me for being an Indian Giver, but we have been forced to change the time of the Fall meeting of our Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation to a morning meeting, in order to have Harold Fleming available to meet with us.

The meeting will be held on Friday, October 9, 1959 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. in Room 800 B at the American Jewish Committee's new headquarters, The Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, New York. It gives us great pleasure to invite you to inspect our new building.

Please note this change on your calendar and call or write to let us know if you will attend.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

RECEIVED OCT 5 1959

October 2, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You are a lucky chap, my class at the New School has such a small attendance that I wouldn't inflict it on you so you are free Thursday evening, October 8, 1959.

It looks as though we will have a record-breaking attendance at the Mass Media Committee meeting Friday morning, October 9, 1959. One of the things I would like to put on the agenda is the report on the recent Southern Interagency Conference as well as a discussion of what we can do to promote the Save Our Schools movement.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw

via air mail

November 30, 1959

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Harry:

I owe you a hefty apology for failing to turn up at the last Mass Media Committee meeting. It was very frustrating being in New York and having to miss, at the last minute.

All I can say in extenuation is that I was doing the Lord's work. An appointment had been set up for me with a foundation interested in philanthropy - worthy race relations efforts in the South. Since they're already helping SRC, I wasn't even pleading my own cause, but others that need support.

I felt sure you would approve the course I took. In any case, I hoped you would understand that nothing could keep me from the meeting - except money.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

H CF/mf

~~AHC~~

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 Harry Fleischman, Director

March 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a note to remind you that the Mass Media Committee meeting is on Wednesday, March 23rd at 11:30 A.M., at the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N.Y.. I am sending this reminder because your letter to Ed on March 14 said that you would be in New York on Thursday, March 23rd, a day which ain't, at least not this year. Incidentally, we asked Marvin Rich of CORE to be at the meeting. He tells me that four of the Negro sit-down youngsters will be in New York on Thursday, March 24th for a TV show.

Ed is anxious to see you when you are in town, so let's plan on it.

All the best!

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/ma

cc: Ed Lukas

****

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Sept. 26, 1960

To: HCF

From: PR

Subject: Mass Media Meeting

I have only obvious thoughts for agenda items for the September Mass Media Meeting.

Concerning the school situation, they might want to discuss Houston and quiet developments there, New Orleans, the new court decision there and its significance, potential for violence in that area. Also Prince Edward County. This still needs more national attention to illustrate the impossibility of successful private schools, the immorality of schooling for white only, etc.

There still needs to be interpretation of the sit-ins and particularly of the new kneel-in activities. More attention in the national media to constructive solution of lunch counter crises might be helpful to keep the momentum rolling.

PR - Advice?
H.

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

September 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Awfully sorry to hear that you won't be able to make the September Mass Media meeting. In view of the current developments relating to New Orleans, Houston, etc., what suggestions do you have for our agenda and what are some of the latest developments with which we should be concerned?

I saw Alan Reitman yesterday, and he mentioned that 3 white children from Koinania had been refused admittance to the white high school at Americus, Georgia because of "where they come from." The ACLU is handling their case.

I'll be in Atlantic City from September 18-21 for the Steelworker and Chemical Workers Conventions, and at home Thursday and Friday, September 22 and 23, since that's a Jewish holiday. If you get into New York during that time, would you give me a buzz at my home--Pershing 1-3069.

All the best,

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Director

HF:rd

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

February 21, 1961

Dear Friend:

A special meeting of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Committee on Desegregation will be held on Thursday morning, March 2, 1961 from 10 A.M. to 12 noon, at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, will be with us to report on some of the knotty desegregation problems currently erupting in the South. Please let us know whether or not you plan to attend. Phone me at Plaza 1-4000.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Director

HF:rd

PS – We may miss lunch, but the meeting will be a hot one.

Rec'd 3/9/62

The films, AUTOPSY ON OPERATION ABOLITION and CORE's FREEDOM RIDE will be shown at the next meeting of the Mass Media Committee on Wednesday, March 14, 1962 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. (Directions: 8th Avenue train to Chambers St.; BMT train to Cortland St.; Bdway-7th Avenue train to Park Place; Lexington Avenue train to Fulton Street.)

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

file

RECEIVED MAY 8 1962

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, May 15, 1962 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street (corner Third Avenue), New York City.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

MA file

MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

OCTOBER 29, 1962

AGENDA

1. Meredith Case
2. Voting Drives
3. Church Burnings
4. TV and Race
5. Integrated Primer in Detroit
6. Pro-segregation propaganda
7. Employment Discrimination
8. National Conference on Religion and Race
9. Northern Church Drive on Bias
10. Friendship House Home Meetings
11. New Materials
12. Next Meeting
13. Voice of America Series on Race

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Monday, December 3, 1962 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (53rd Street) New York City.

We have invited June Shagaloff of the NAACP to discuss with us the problem of de facto school segregation in the North.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

PA for
MI file

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

May 28, 1963

Dear Friend:

When you last received minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, we told you that meetings would only be held on call -- when particular problems emerged.

The time has come. We are holding a special meeting on Friday, June 14, 1963 at the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York City, from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M.

Among the subjects we have been asked to consider are: Black Muslims and the mass media; the reactionary push for the states' rights constitutional amendments and mass media implications; the recent Supreme Court decisions on race relations; and America's response to the new rise in Negro militancy.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call me at PL 1-4000 or write to me at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let me know whether or not you plan to attend.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee
Consultative Conference on Desegregation

P.S. For those of you who cannot attend, if you have any pertinent materials on these subjects that you would want considered at this meeting, or any questions you would like to raise for discussion there, please send them along to me.

eak

Aronson

Rec'd 9/12/63

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

File

September 10, 1963

Dear Mass Media Committee Member:

At the request of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, we are holding a joint meeting of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to discuss a national education and information program for open occupancy housing.

The meeting will be held on Tuesday, September 17, 1963 from 10:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue (43rd Street) New York City in the Fifth Floor Conference Room.

Among those who will be with us from the President's Committee are Messrs. Jack Conway, David Gerard, Staff Director Walter Giesey and Staff Consultant George Scherman.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please let us know on the enclosed form whether or not you will be able to attend.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee
Consultative Conference on Desegregation

eak
encl.
MMCCD, CCD

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~~Pat Mtg~~ Tues Nov. ~~26~~ 19 JLC 78th St.

File

UTILIZING THE MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

Discussion Leader: Alfred L. Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Chairman, CCD Mass Media Committee.

Rapporteur: Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

Mr. Bernheim delineated the main purpose of the workshop as an opportunity for interchange of ideas and of information between national and Southern field staffs of CCD organizations. The Mass Media Committee, he pointed out, deals with all materials used to educate people, written or audio-visual and operates through voluntary acceptances of assignments by the participating organizations.

After its scope and functions had been approved by the Executive Committee, Mr. Bernheim said, the MMC held six meetings, at monthly intervals. Attendance represented six to nine organizations at each session.

Among actions taken, omitting details, were the following:

Caused to be prepared and distributed lists of persons designated by agencies to receive mass media material.

Caused to be prepared a bibliography of material on desegregation, which brought up to date the bibliography of the University of Florida.

Caused to be prepared a catalogue of films, transcriptions and kinescopes dealing with desegregation (not quite completed).

Established clearence procedures through which materials bearing on desegregation are circulated among all the participating organizations.

Initiated series of conferences with outside public relations experts, for the purpose of getting their advice and help. The first conference was held with Edward Bernays in June. It is hoped that a meeting will be arranged with Elmo Roper in October.

Stimulated subscriptions from among the participating organizations to the Petal Paper, thus helping to assure its continued publication.

Exchanged information about the mass media activities, in the works or planned for near future by the organizations represented at the meetings. This information was transmitted to the other participating agencies through the minutes.

Problems were discussed among the agencies represented, and suggestions were made as to what might be done in respect to them. Conclusions and decisions transmitted to the other member agencies through the minutes.

Among the questions considered by the Workshop were the following:

1. Can we use the mass media to stress the economic costs of racial tension in the South to secure support for law and order by business, legal and other groups with status in the community?

2. Can we promote the use in Southern and national mass media of successful cases of school and other integration?

3. How can we counter the efforts by segregationists to use as weapons against integration the educational disparities disclosed when schools integrate -- as in Washington, D.C.?

4. Can we use the new Voting Rights law and school integration cases to spur Southern liberals and moderates to speak up for decency?

5. How can we use the mass media to create opportunities to stress support for law and order?

6. How can the mass media counter the trend by Southern segregationists to join the Klan and use violence (because of their disillusionment over alleged failure of legal methods to stop desegregation)?

It was reported that Business Week is planning a major story on the economic problems arising in the South from integration difficulties. It will probably appear in its October 19th issue and will deal with such questions as: Have race difficulties affected the sale of new school bonds; Are Negroes finding it any harder to get bank loans, credit or insurance; are Negro banks showing local growth?

Other questions it will consider include: Have race difficulties been reflected in real estate transactions, and is fear of eventual integration of public schools leading to a growth of enrollment in white private schools?

It will report examples of racial difficulties slowing down influx of new businesses and industry, due to reluctance of employers, with government contracts that require fair employment guarantees, to locate in pro-segregation states. The article will deal with boycotts aimed at either white or Negro groups; apprehension among businessmen over lost business due to race tension; activity by local Chambers of Commerce in this field and the present situation in Southern unions.

It will also inquire into whether or not there is fear that loss of Negro labor may hamper future Southern economic expansion; and whether plant personnel officers have noticed any racial tension among their work forces?

CCD people are helping to provide answers to some of these questions.

Workshop participants suggested that it might be possible to contact the Louisville Courier-Journal, or one of the TV or radio stations

which have done a good job in reporting the success story of integration in its area for a report on how the mass media job was done. This might be used in connection with a manual prepared for use by local people on how to deal with local mass media. Alex Morisey of the American Friends Service Committee agreed to work with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council on this project.

It was suggested that it might be useful to have an article printed in a popular magazine analyzing how the nation's press, including the Southern papers, handle the desegregation issue. The Society of Newspaper Editors and the Association of Southern Nieman Fellows were two prospects mentioned for doing the job. Publications to carry such a story might include Time's press section; New York Times Sunday Magazine; Life.

It was also suggested that it would be helpful if an important paper - like the Louisville Courier-Journal - should ask Associated Press to do a series on successful cases of school integration.

Since the South reacts to national opinion, it was felt that stronger support in national mass media for desegregation would help bolster law and order and pro-integration forces in the South. We were also warned to be on guard to counteract a forthcoming well-financed Southern segregationist propaganda drive.

Bill of Rights Day comes on December 15th, with October 29th serving as the 10th anniversary of the Report of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee, TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. It was suggested that members of that committee (all but two are still alive) might be secured for local and national radio and television appearances celebrating progress since the report was first issued.

Segregationists from the South frequently send letters to Northern papers defending their viewpoint. It was suggested that a reverse twist might be useful -- that of having transplanted former Southerners write to their former home-town papers telling them how well integration works.

It was felt that the work of the Mass Media Committee would be greatly bolstered if CCD had better fact-finding machinery. One suggestion was for more organizations to participate in the work of the Mass Media Committee, and for all CCD agencies to report their mass media plans and programs promptly to the secretary of CCD's Mass Media Committee.

Who's minding the store?

J. D.

$1500.00

4-14
Gallup
No. Ec. Ldrs.

Ed Barrett — Dean,
Sch of Journalism
Columbia Univ.

Sponsor - alone if willing
(2d. Bryson, Cole, Roper)
Luce, Stanton

8 each -
(10 invited)

1 MM guy there

H Fleischman - to see
Barrett (or get him seen)

Grayson Kirk
Wolf - } reception
talk
with
Gallagher

Dec. 3 - Gallagher -
to speak in Va.

C.C: John Constable

CCD - Mass Media Distribution List —7

Mr. Sidney Hollander Seed Voting Study
2513 Talbot Road
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Mr. Al Hamilton
United Auto Workers
1126 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. William Oliver
United Auto Workers
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Guichard Parris
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Dr. J. Oscar Lee
Nat'l. Council of Churches, USA
Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations
~~197 - 4th Avenue~~ 475 Riverside Dr.
~~New York, New York~~ N.Y.

Mr. Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations Advisory Council
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Mr. Jacob Schlitt
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Dr. H. B. Sissel
Dept. of Soc. Educ. and Action
Board of Christian Educ.
Presby Church, USA
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Galen Weaver
Congregational Christian Churches
Race Relations Dept.
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
Nww York, New York

Mr. Shad Polier
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Edwin Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Cttee.
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Alfred Bernheim
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Alex Morisey
American Friends Ser. Cttee.
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Alan Reitman
American Civil Liberties Union
170-5th Avenue
New York 10, New York

Mrs. Vivian Mason
Natl. Council Negro Women
1318 Vermont Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C. MMCCD

Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady
Natl. Conference of Catholic
Charities - 1346 Conn. Ave.
Washington 6, D. C. MMCCD

Mr. Saul Miller
AFL-CIO
815 - 16th St. N. W.
Washington 6, D. C. MMCCD

Mr. Oscar Jager
AFL-CIO - Industrial Union Dept.
815 - 16th St. N. W.
Washington 6, D. C. MMCCD

Mr. Al Hamilton
UAW
1126 - 16th St. N. W.
Washington 6, D. C. MMCCD

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
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Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman
Synagogue Council of America
701 Farmington Ave.
Hartford, Conn. MMCCD

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Rela-
220 W. Capital St. tions
Little Rock, Ark. MMCCD

Dr. Martin Luther King
Southern Leadership Conf.
454 Depper Ave.
Montgomery, Ala. MMCCD

Mr. Robert Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Rela-
1218 Comer Bldg. tions
Birmingham 3, Ala. MMCCD

Mr. Harry L. Alston
UAHC - 1800 Transportation Bldg.
608 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago 5, Ill. MMCCD

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Pl. - Room 703
Atlanta 3, Ga. MMCCD

Mr. Guy H. Wells
Georgia Council on Human Rela-
63 Auburn Ave. N.E. tions
Atlanta, Ga. MMCCD

Miss Florence Harris
YWCA
41 Exchange Pl. S. E.
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Rabbi Israel J. Gerber
UAHC
1202 Tacoma St.
Atlanta, Ga. MMCCD

Rev. Malcolm Calhoun MMCCD
Div. of Christian Rels.
Presbyterian Church -341 Ponce
De Leon St. N. E.-Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. William K. Williams
Florida Council on Human Rela-
213 N.E. 2nd Ave. tions
Miami, Fla. MMCCD

Mr. Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Bldg.
Miami, Fla. MMCCD

Mr. Al Zack
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600 Lexington Ave.
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Boston, Mass. MMCCD

Mrs. Dudley Moore
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park St.
Boston 8, Mass. MMCCD

Mr. Sidney Hollander
2513 Talbot Rd.
Baltimore, Md. MMCCD

Mrs. Patricia Ryan
Commission on Human Rights
4223 Willow St.
New Orleans 15, La. MMCCD

Mr. George A. Dreyfous
La. Civil Liberties Union
1609 Natl. Bank of Commerce Bldg
New Orleans, La. MMCCD

Mr. Hugh A. Brimm
Kentucky Council on Human Rela-
4435 Blenheim Rd. tions
Louisville, Ky. MMCCD

Dr. Walter W. Sikes
School of Religion
Butler University
Indianapolis 7, Ind. MMCCD

Rev. Lewis H. Deer
United Christian Missionary Soc.
222 S. Downey Ave.
Indianapolis 7, Ind. MMCCD

Dr. A. Dudley Ward
Bd. of Social & Economic Rels.
The Methodist Church MMCCD
740 Rush St.-Chicago 11, Ill.

Rev. Ralph E. Smeltzer
Brethren Service Commission
22 S. State St.
Elgin, Ill. MMCCD

Mrs. Lillian Chernoff
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1 W. 47th St.
New York 17, N. Y. MMCCD

Mrs. Frances Cahn
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Mr. Douglas Bushy
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Miss Lilace Reid Barnes
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Mr. William Oliver
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1 W. 47th St.
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Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vessey St.
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Mr. John Hudak
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43 W. 57th St.
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Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Ave.
New York, N. Y. MMCCD

Mr. Guichard Parris
National Urban League
14 E. 48th St.
New York, N. Y. MMCCD

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Nat'l Council Prot. Epis. Church
281 Fourth Ave.
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515 Madison Ave.
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Miss Bernice Cofer
American Babtist Convention
164-5th Ave.
New York 10, N. Y. MMCCD

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Natl. Student Council YMCA
291 Broadway
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NAIRO
152 W. 42nd St. Rm. 1508
New York 36, N. Y. MMCCD

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NAACP
20 W. 40th St.
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Mr. Roy McCorkle
NCCJ
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New York, N. Y. MMCCD

Mr. Gordon Lovejoy
NCCJ
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New York 22, N. Y. MMCCD

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Union of American Hebrew Congre-
838 - 5th Ave. gations
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Bd. of Natl. Missions MMCCD
Presbyterian Church - 156 - 5th
New York, N. Y. Ave.

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60 E. 42nd St.
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Mr. George Rabinoff
National Social Welfare Assembly
345 E. 46th St.
New York 17, N. Y. MMCCD

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car
Porters - 217 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y. MMCCD

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New York 28, N. Y. MMCCD

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Raleigh, N. C. MMCCD

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High Point, N. C. MMCCD

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170-5th Ave.
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~~Mr. Albert Vorspan~~
~~UAHC~~
~~838 5th Ave.~~
~~New York, N. Y.~~ MMCCD

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515 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y. MMCCD

Thelma Stevens - Womens Div.
Christian Service of Methodist
150 - 5th Ave. Church
New York, N. Y. MMCCD

Dr. Clifford Earle
Bd. of Christian Educ.
830 Witherspoon Bldg.
Philadelphia 7, Pa. MMCCD

Mr. Francis Shane
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh 22, Pa. MMCCD

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1201 Chestnut St.
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216 C Broad-Grace Arcade
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523 Fidelity Bldg.
Dallas, Tex. MMCCD

Mr. Herman Long
NCCC
% Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn. MMCCD

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Nashville, Tenn. MMCCD

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Box 887
Knoxvillea Tenn. MMCCD

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Blvd.
Greeneville, Tenn. MMCCD

Father Maurice Shean
Catholic Committee of the South
Rock Hill, S. C. MMCCD

Mr. Clarence Yarrow
AFSC
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia, Pa. MMCCD

File CCD

9 East 38th Street, Room 801
New York 16, NewYork
Murray Hill 5-1606

October 31, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

This will confirm our telephone conversation regarding the meetings of the Subcommittees on Mass Media and Fact Finding. The former will take place on November 7th at 2:00 P.M. in Allie Bernheim's office, Room 501, 386 Fourth Avenue, and the latter on November 8th at 10:00 A.M. in Arnold Forster's office, 515 Madison Avenue.

I have reserved a single room for you for the night of the 7th at the Commodore Hotel. I will be looking forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Arnie

Arnold Aronson

AA:RB

New File
CCD

REPORT OF MASS MEDIA SUB-COMMITTEE

The committee was charged by the Sept. 18th conference in Washington with formulating recommendations and procedures which would facilitate cooperative planning and action in the exchange, preparation and dissemination of audio-visual materials, and to formulate concrete proposals regarding program and structure in regard to the mass media to be submitted in writing prior to the November meeting.

One of the great needs made evident by the participants at the Sept. 18th meeting in Washington was the need to inform each group of materials relating to desegregation already available and materials being planned -- in the fields of the daily and weekly press, magazines, books, pamphlets, radio, television and films.

While we recognize that it might at some time be desirable to set up a full-time paid public relations staff to coordinate and expand activity relating to desegregation in the mass media, this report confines itself to the current possibilities, based on voluntary cooperation among the agencies involved.

We recommend that there be a continuing committee on mass media, based in New York, the nerve center of the mass media, but to include representation from other sections of the country, particularly from the South, on the committee. The committee should meet at least once a month, and on call when emergencies occur. Committee members should be empowered to send alternates when unable to attend meetings themselves. The committee should have a chairman and secretary.

The committee should serve primarily as a clearing house. Its function should not be to carry on program but to make program recommendations, and, insofar as possible, utilize on-going programs and personnels of the constituent agencies. The committee is not intended to ~~obviate the need for~~ supplant existing lines of interagency ~~[illegible] current intgr-agency~~ communication + cooperation

~~cooperation.~~ In fact, we hope that such relationships will increase.

We propose that a list be prepared of names, addresses and phone numbers of each ~~constituent~~ cooperating agency, together with the names of the person in each agency responsible for work with the mass media. This list should be sent to each agency. Copies or notices of materials and programs already available, or planned by any agency, should be sent by that agency to the persons responsible for work with mass media in all the ~~constituent~~ cooperating agencies.

In sending such materials or notices, the agency should also indicate how the materials can best be used. Any agency securing information about upcoming items not prepared by one of the ~~constituent~~ cooperating agencies (a TV show or magazine article, for instance) should also notify the mass media list about such matters.

The committee should attempt to arrange for a bibliography to be prepared of materials and programs currently available.

It should review media experiences of the groups, attempt to crystallize common media strategy lines, suggest what materials are needed and invite particular agencies to develop them, arrange to transmit our needs to the media and reflect their needs to our agencies.

Submitted by:

Chairman; Alfred Bernheim, American Jewish Committee
Henry Lee Moon, NAACP
Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council
Maury Glaubman, ADL
Arnold Aronson, NCRAC
Harry Fleischman, NLS

11/9/56

Wed

1. FSL
2. Media Ctee
   Bernheim, Fleischman, Moon, Aronson, Glaubman
3. Shepards

Thurs

1. LD-FSL
2. F&F Ctee
   Forster, Lukas, Morsell, Aronson
3. Cohen
4. Coombs, ~~[illegible]~~
5. Weiss
6. Cater
7. Yarmotinsky
8. LD - Herb Bernard
9. Deutsch

Fri

1. Segal
2. Ferry
3. Freeman
4. Staff session - Lytord
5. Coombs + Scanlon
6. LD - Price
7. Freeman
8. Ph - M. Stewart
9. Reed
10. Moon, Fleischman, Aronson, Current, Wilkins
11. Moon

RESOURCE

Mass Media

1. Materials - exchange info.; evaluation need for new materials, distribution. Propaganda lines Includes TV, press, magazines.

2. Not a program ctte, but one to recommend, utilizing as much as poss existing resources, activities.

→ — || — ←

Statement to Overall Cop

① Circularization of reprint plans, notification of TV programs, etc. Directory, incl respons staff person listed - ea agency's respons. Also dissemination to memberships, mailing lists. Indicate how can be used.

② Interchange of project plans

③ Info gp -
Bd from Agencies?
Exclude from rept.

④ Agencies w/ Media people -
a Continuing ctee on n. media

Two-way flow - what are interests of media?
Aronson's Committee in NYC
2 → Strategy lines
3 → Our needs to media
4 → Media's needs to us
1 → Bibliography

8 or 10 agencies w/ primary mass-media programs to be decided by overall gp. Meet frequently on call - once a mo. One person as ~~secretary~~ or chm. - ~~revolving~~ Member or alternate

received 1/24/57

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
Room 801, 9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Tel. Murray Hill 5-1606

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Maurice Shean

January 18, 1957

Enclosed, with apologies for its lateness, is a summary of the actions taken at the meeting on November 20, together with the relevant documents. This is in lieu of more formal minutes.

If you have not already done so, please send the information requested in my memorandum of December 5, as soon as possible, indicating especially whether your organization plans to participate in the Consultative Conference as set forth in the Constitution.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

AA:EB
Enc.

Meeting of November 20, 1956, Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City

Present were: Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, Pres.)
Nat'l Council of the Churches of Christ)
) Co-Chairmen
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Pres.)
Synagogue Council of America)

Miss L. R. Barnes, Pres.
Nat'l Board of YWCA

Mr. Alfred L. Bernheim
American Jewish Committee

Mr. John T. Blue, Jr., Dir.
American Council on Human Rights

Mr. Samuel Brennglass, Vice-Pres.
Union of Orthodox Jewish Cong. of America

Mrs. Frances Cahn, Exec. Dir.
Nat'l Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. Moise S. Cahn, Pres.
Nat'l Council of Jewish Women

Dr. Will D. Campbell
Nat'l Council of the Churches of Christ

Rev. Maynard Cathchings, Assoc. Secty.
Nat'l Student Council, YMCA

Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, Pres.
Union of American Hebrew Cong.

Mr. Harry Fleischman, Dir.
Nat'l Labor Service

Mr. Harold Fleming, Dir.
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Arnold Forster, Dir.
Civil Rights Dept.
Anti-Defamation League

Mr. David Freeman, Vice-Pres.
Fund for the Republic

Mr. Fred Fuges
American Friends Service Committee

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
Anti-Defamation League

Mr. Matthew Giuffrida
American Baptist Home Mission Society

Mr. John J. Gunther, Leg. Dir.
Americans for Democratic Action

Dr. Don T. Hager, Dir.
Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress

Ruth Henderson
Leadership Services
YWCA

Mr. Sidney Hollander, Pres.
Nat'l Social Welfare Assembly

Mr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Exec. Secty.
American Friends Service Comm.

Mr. Nelson Jackson, Dir.
Community Services
Nat'l Urban League

Mr. Sidney R. Katz
United Synagogue of America

Dr. Dumont F. Kenny
Nat'l Program Director
Nat'l Conference of Christians and Jews

Mr. Herman A. Klahr
Board of Nat'l Missions
Presbyterian Church

The Rev. John La Farge
Catholic Interracial Council

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Dir.
Dept. of Racial & Cultural Rel.
Nat'l Council of the Churches of Christ

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic

Mr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Nat'l Program Associate
Nat'l Conference of Christians and Jews

Mr. Edwin Lukas, Dir.
Dept. of Nat'l Affairs
American Jewish Committee

Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin, Dir.
American Civil Liberities Union

Rev. Chester L. Marcus, Dir.
Commission on Christian Social Action
Evangelical & Reformed Church

Miss Grace E. Marr
Asst. Exec. Secty.
Intergroup Relations
American Nurses Ass'n Inc.

Mr. Alexander F. Miller, Dir.
Community Services
Anti-Defamation League

Miss Barbara W. Moffett, Dir.
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Comm.

Mr. Paul W. Moritz
Sec. Committee on Public Affairs
National Council of YMCA's

Dr. John Morsell, Ass't Exec. Secty.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik, Dir.
Field Service
Jewish Labor Committee

Mr. William H. Oliver, Co-Dir.
UAW Fair Practices Committee

Mr. Shad Polier, Vice-Pres.
American Jewish Congress

Mr. George W. Rabinoff, Ass't Dir.
Nat'l Social Welfare Assembly

Mr. Roy Reuther
United Automobile Workers of America

Mr. Julius F. Rothman, Dir.
Program and Training
AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

Mr. Bert Seidman
AFL-CIO

Mrs. Savilla M. Simons, Gen. Secty.
Young Women's Christian Ass'n of the U.S.A.

Rev. H. B. Sissel, Assoc. Sec.
Dept. of Social Ed. & Action
Presbyterian Church USA

Mr. Ralph E. Smeltzer
Brethren Service Commission
Church of the Brethren

Miss Esther Stamats, Dir.
United Church Women
Nat'l Council of the Churches
of Christ in the USA

Mr. William Stern, Vice-Chmn.
Jewish Labor Committee

Miss Thelma Stevens, Exec. Secty.
Women's Division of the
Methodist Church

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, Exec. Dir.
Synagogue Council of America

Mr. Samuel Tappis
American Veterans Committee

Rabbi Lloyd Tennenbaum
United Synagogue of America

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Sec.
Comm. on Social Action
Union of American Hebrew Cong.

Rev. Galen R. Weaver
Council for Social Action & Race
Relations Dept.
Congregational Christian Churches

Muriel S. Webb
Dept. of Christian Social Rel.
Nat'l Council, Espiscopal Church

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Exec. Secty.
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

Summary of Actions

1. Adopted constitution establishing the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. (See enclosed corrected report of Subcommittee on Structure).

2. Elected the following officers and Executive Committee:

Co-Chairmen: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Abraham Feldman
Father Muarice Shean

Treasurer: Lewis Hoskins

Secretary: Arnold Aronson

Executive Committee:

Miss Lilace Reid Barnes
Mrs. Moise Cahn
Harold Fleming
George Hunton
Mrs. William Mason
Alex Miller
William Oliver
Shad Polier
Miss Esther Stamats
Rev. Galen Weaver
Roy Wilkins
Representative of AFL-CIO

3. Approved in principle the reports of the Subcommittees on Mass Media, Interreligious Activities, Fact-Finding and Community Chests and referred the reports to the Executive Committee for action. (See enclosed copies of subcommittee reports).

4. Received a report from Harold Fleming of a meeting held at Tuskegee of southern representatives of a selected number of national organizations. Recommended that a similar meeting be convened, involving the southern field staffs of all the participating organizations, in an effort to determine the communities meriting priority attention and to allocate responsibilities among the several organizations for different aspects of the planned program.

5. Listened to a report by Roy Wilkins on the current attacks against the NAACP. Referred this question to the Executive Committee for follow-up. (See enclosed summary of Mr. Wilkins' remarks).

6. Agreed that no publicity be given to the meeting. Authorized the Executive Committee in its discretion to issue an appropriate release announcing the formation and purposes of the Consultative Conference.

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON STRUCTURE

There was unanimous agreement at the meeting of September 18 regarding the desirability of closer cooperation and inter-consultation among the many organizations committed to "the rapid and harmonious implementation of the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation." The Subcommittee on Structure took this unanimous expression as its point of departure in its search for an appropriate means of making such cooperation effective.

The Subcommittee was guided throughout its deliberations by its desire to avoid any structure suggestive of, or conducive to, a new super or supra organization. The sentiment of the September 18 meeting appeared equally clear on this. At the same time the Subcommittee is strongly of the opinion that the desired measure of cooperation cannot be achieved without some formal structure, however skeletal, to provide channels for orderly inter-communication as well as fixed responsibility for continuing inter-consultation.

The structure which the Subcommittee is proposing as outlined in the draft of By-laws which follows, is a minimal instrument designed to assure on the one hand, the complete freedom of action of the cooperating organizations, and, on the other, a continuing exchange of information, opinion, experiences and plans among the organizations.

It is assumed that the proposed Consultative Conference on Desegregation (C.C.D.) will conduct its operations for the most part through the existing resources of the participants. It seems probable that its work cannot proceed indefinitely and with the enlargement to be anticipated without the eventual employment of a paid secretary but it is not proposed that this step be taken initially.

It is also assumed that the cooperation among the participating organizations at the natioanl level will be complemented by similar inter-consultation among local units of the same organizations.

A copy of the proposed constitution follows.

****

I Name

The name of this association shall be The Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

II Purpose and Function

The purpose of the Conference shall be to facilitate cooperation among the participating organizations in relation to problems of desegregation. The Conference shall serve as a clearing house for the exchange of information, views, experiences, and plans, and for inter-consultation among the participating organizations. The Conference shall not engage in legislative or political action.

The Conference shall take no public action nor issue any public statement in its own name. Its offices may be used, however, to

facilitate the issuance of joint statements by such of the participating organizations as desire to join in such a statement. Deliberations of the Conference, or of its committees, shall be advisory only, and shall not be binding upon the participating organizations. No organization or group of organizations shall be designated as representing or speaking for the Conference.

III Participation

The Conference shall be a voluntary association of organizations which are committed to support of desegregation and which seek to facilitate the rapid and harmonious implementation of the Supreme Court decisions thereon. Participation shall be open to any organization subscribing to these purposes, upon recommendation of the Executive Committee and approval of a majority of the participating organizations. Each organization shall be entitled to one vote. Participation in the Conference shall not in any way restrict the autonomy of the participating organizations.

IV Officers

The officers shall consist of three co-chairmen, a secretary and a treasurer, who shall be elected annually by the participating organizations.

The officers, together with 12 other members, also elected annually by the participating organizations, shall constitute an Executive Committee, which shall be responsible for the administration of the Conference, and for calling meetings of the Conference.

The Co-chairmen, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may appoint such standing or ad hoc committees as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the Conference. Individuals who, by virtue of their interest, competence and experience, can make a constructive contribution to the work of the Conference or of its committees, may be appointed to such committees and invited to participate in the deliberations of the Conference, without reference to membership in any of the participating organizations.

V Finances

The Conference shall be financed by voluntary contributions and payments for materials and services by the participating organizations. Contributions from other organizations and individuals may be received on the approval of the Executive Committee.

VI Amendments

This constitution may be amended by a 2/3 vote of the participating organizations present and voting at a meeting called for that purpose.

REPORT OF MASS MEDIA SUB-COMMITTEE

The committee was charged by the Sept. 18th conference in Washington with formulating recommendations and procedures which would facilitate cooperative planning and action in the exchange, preparation and dissemination of audio-visual materials, and to formulate concrete proposals regarding program and structure in regard to the mass media, to be submitted in writing prior to the November meeting.

One of the great needs made evident by the participants at the Sept. 18th meeting in Washington was the need to inform each group of materials relating to desegregation already available and materials being planned -- in the fields of the daily and weekly press, magazines, books, pamphlets, radio, television and films.

While we recognize that it might at some time be desirable to set up a full-time paid public relations staff to coordinate and expand activity relating to desegregation in the mass media, this report confines itself to the current possibilities, based on voluntary cooperation among the agencies involved.

We recommend that there be a continuing committee on mass media, based in New York, the nerve center of the mass media, but to include representation from other sections of the country, particularly from the South, on the committee. The committee should meet at least once a month, and on call when emergencies occur. Committee members should be empowered to send alternates when unable to attend meetings themselves. The committee should have a chairman and secretary.

The committee should serve primarily as a clearing house. Its

function should not be to carry on program but to make program recommendations, and, insofar as possible, utilize on-going programs and personnel of the cooperating agencies. The committee is not intended to supplant existing lines of inter-agency communication and cooperation. In fact, we hope that such relationships will increase.

We propose that a list be prepared of names, addresses and phone numbers of each cooperating agency, together with the names of the person in each agency responsible for work with the mass media. This list should be sent to each agency. Copies or notices of materials and programs already available, or planned by any agency, should be sent by that agency to the persons responsible for work with mass media in all the cooperating agencies.

In sending such materials or notices, the agency should also indicate how the materials can best be used. Any agency securing information about upcoming items not prepared by one of the cooperating agencies (a TV show or magazine article, for instance) should also notify the mass media about such matters.

The committee should attempt to arrange for a bibliography to be prepared of materials and programs currently available, review media experiences of the groups, attempt to crystallize common media strategy lines, suggest what materials are needed and invite particular agencies to develop them, arrange to transmit our needs to the media and reflect their needs to our agencies.

Submitted by:

Alfred Bernheim - American Jewish Committee, Chairman
Henry Lee Moon - NAACP
Harold Fleming - Southern Regional Council
Maury Glaubman - Anti-Defamation League
Harry Fleischman- National Labor Service
Arnold Aronson -

11/12/56

Report of Subcommittee on Interreligious Activities

Submitted by: Father Maurice Shean - Catholic Committee of the South, Chairman
Dr. Will D. Campbell - National Council of the Churches of Christ
Rabbi David Kogen - United Synagogue of America
Dr. J. Oscar Lee - National Council of Churches
Rabbi Eugene Lipman - Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Dr. A. C. Miller - Southern Baptist Convention
Mr. Arnold Aronson

The Subcommittee was charged with the task of formulating recommendations regarding programs to be carried out under interreligious auspices, on the national, regional and local level.

Among the factors considered as militating against effective interreligious cooperation were: (a) theological differences, (b) the tendency of each group to focus on the problems of its own adherents and (c) the fear of individual clergymen that their efforts in behalf of desegregation might not be supported by clergymen of other denominations. In order to overcome these obstacles, it is recommended (a) that the approach to interreligious cooperation focus on the development of effective working relationships on the specific problem of desegregation rather than on efforts to facilitate mutual understanding, (b) that efforts be concentrated on the local community level, on the assumption that such interreligious cooperation can be instrumental in giving impetus to and providing the nucleus for the organization of larger and more representative local citizens groups and (c) that emphasis be placed on the development of a positive program in support of integration, rather than on denunciation of individuals or groups opposed to desegregation.

The committee proposes the following activities:

1. That a comprehensive statement based upon the moral issues involved in desegregation be formulated and circulated by each denomination among its clergymen in the South, in an effort to secure the signatures of as many Southern clergymen as possible. Depending on the results achieved, consideration should be given to the public release and dissemination of the proposed statement.

2. That primary attention be given to the organization of community interreligious groups, consisting of ministers, priests and rabbis (plus such lay leaders from their respective churches as might be deemed advisable) and the development of appropriate local positive programs under interreligious auspices.

3. That regional meeting of the field personnel employed in the South by the several denominations be convened to discuss strategy, to determine the localities which merit priority attention and to develop procedures for continuing clearence and coordination in the field.

4. That, at a later date, a South-wide conference involving both clergymen and lay religious leaders, be convened on the problem of desegregation.

Report of Subcommittee on Fact-Finding

Submitted by: Arnold Forster - Anti-Defamation League, Chairman
Harold Fleming - Southern Regional Council
Edwin Lukas - American Jewish Committee
John Morsell - NAACP
Arnold Aronson -

The Committee was asked to recommend procedures for the continuous exchange of information among the participating organizations regarding the operations of the White Citizens Councils and other similar groups - their composition, personnel, methods, program, etc. The Committee recommends:

1. That a continuing committee on fact-finding, representative of the organizations most actively engaged in this type of activity, be appointed. The committee should have a chairman and a secretary and should meet at regular intervals in order to evaluate overall trends and developments and to recommend programs of counteraction.

2. That each participating organization indicate the person or persons in that agency responsible for work of a fact-finding or investigatory nature; that a master list of such persons be compiled and made available to each organization; and that all publications of a fact-finding nature issued by any of the participating organizations be sent routinely to all persons on the master list.

3. That each organization forward to the secretary of the committee information of a fact-finding character which comes to its attention. Wherever appropriate, the committee will undertake to duplicate such information and to circulate it among the participating organizations.

4. That upon the request of a participating organization the committee undertake to furnish information about the background, activities and organization of individuals or groups opposing desegregation.

5. While the committee was charged with developing procedures for the exchange of fact-finding information of a "negative" character, it believes that a similar exchange of information regarding positive experiences, i.e., instances where integration has been carried out successfully, etc., would be mutually helpful. Accordingly, it recommends that such information coming to the attention of any of the participati organizations likewise be sent to the secretary of the committee for duplicating and distribution among the organiza tions.

Report of Subcommittee on Community Chests

Current Problems of Social Agencies in the Integration Process

Attacks on social agencies have occurred since the May 17, 1954 Decision of the United States Supreme Court desegregating schools. They are attempts by the pro-segregationists to destroy organizations which are considered to be working for the implementation of the Supreme Court Decision.

The effects of efforts against social agencies differ from those faced by churches, for with the social agency financing is the most vulnerable point of attack and is a phase of the development of the integration process.

Scores of Community Chests and United Funds have felt the brunt of unwarranted attacks in recent years. In the main, they are attempts to have the Urban League removed from campaign participation on the charge that it seeks to foster integration of the races in its work. Other agencies in several cities have alos been targets. Some of them are: Red Cross, YWCA, Girl Scouts, Council of Social Agencies, YMCA, Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls.

It is incumbent upon the social work agencies, as well as the groups supporting these efforts, to take cognizance of and engage in programs to protect the interest of organizations established for the purpose of providing health and welfare services to communities.

The method employed has been one of intimidation, the most common of which has been the flooding of cities with pamphlets at the beginning of a Chest drive with the threat that the campaign will be boycotted unless the offending agency (in their eyesight) is removed. This action has resulted in the changed status of Urban League branches in New Orleans, La., Jacksonville, Fla., and Richmond, Va. In some cities where there is no branch of the Urban League, but financing of the National Organization endorsed by the National Budget Committee, blackmailing tactics have been used against campaigns in those cities, although the amounts are small.

Action Suggested

1. All organizations cooperating should send copies of material attacking social agencies to:

   Nelson C. Jackson
   National Urban League
   14 East 48th Street
   New York 17, New York

   Information will be shared with other national organizations to be used with their branches.

2. The problem of intergroup relations in social welfare is of primary consideration because it deals with the relationships between people and their environment. This should not be lost sight of. In this vein, national social welfare agencies might

establish a policy to guide their locals. These include, in addition to the social agencies mentioned above, United Community Funds and Councils of America.

3. Recognizing the fact that voluntary social work is dependent upon the support of strong national and local groups such as National Association of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce, and Labor, it is suggested that these and other groups which have not done so, be approached for a policy statement for the purpose of undergirding the practice of social work, nationally and locally.

   Local organizations not having a specific social welfare interest are urged to use their prestige with local board members of Community Chests and Councils to have them stand firm against the current attacks facing social agencies.

4. Labor, nationally, has issued a policy statement in this area, Regional and local labor groups are urged to implement this in communities with as many unions as is possible.

5. Communication lines between racial groups have been damaged in many communities. It is urged that local groups, participants of this conference, seek to meet and work out plans to approach their community problems. Indicate to the parent body what has been accomplished.

COMMITTEE:

Nelson C. Jackson - National Urban League, Chairman
George Rabinoff - National Social Welfare Assembly
Julius Rothman - AFL-CIO Community Service Activities
Mildred Savacool - YWCA
Arnold Aronson

November 13, 1956

Brief Resume of Roy Wilkins' Remarks Before Consultative Conference on Desegregation, November 20, 1956

Actions by state governments against the NAACP are assuming proportions and patterns which indicate a concerted attempt to put an end to NAACP activity in the South. At present NAACP is under injunctions of varying degrees of comprehensiveness in Alabama, Louisiana and Texas and is threatened in Virginia, Florida and Georgia.

The Louisiana action rested on the application of a forgotten statute requiring the filing of membership lists. NAACP, unwilling to expose its members to possible reprisals, sought to have law set aside; pending ultimate resolution in the courts, NAACP refused to file lists.

The Alabama and Texas actions were based on the general authority to police foreign corporations "doing business" in the states. In Alabama, accusations of a sweeping nature were made including opposition to the "laws and traditions" of the state; also failure to register as an out-of-state corporation. Membership lists were demanded as necessary to determination of how NAACP was doing business; injunction was instantaneous and prior to opportunity to answer. Heavy contempt judgment for failure to submit names and addresses of members. Texas action similar in intent and outcome.

In Florida, a legislative investigation is under way for the expressed purpose of arriving at proposals for anti-NAACP laws in next session of the legislature.

Georgia is acting on the pretext that NAACP is a profit-making corporation and thus subject to state income taxes. All membership records were demanded on ground that these were needed for purpose of investigation. (Note chain-reaction: Louisiana established NAACP sensitivity on the membership list question and Alabama applied this principle at once. Texas raised the "profit-making business" charge, and Georgia immediately sought to apply this.)

Virginia has proceeded by legislative enactments, culminating in a series of five laws which would effectively prevent NAACP from continuing its present activities, including aid to current and new litigation seeking to promote desegreation. In Virginia, as in Texas, the objective is seen to have broadened so as to incorporate specific attacks on the legal phases of NAACP work, as well as on the organizational phases, including meetings, solicitations, etc.

With this last development added to the unusually prompt use of the injunctive power, it becomes clear that the NAACP is the particular target of a multiple assault on the exercise of the constitutional freedoms of assembly, speech and petition by persons and groups who dissent from the majority views of the community. It does not need the lessons of the last twenty years to show how inevitable will be the extension of this attack to other groups unless it is halted in the present instance. For all organizations, and especially for those banding together in the CCD, the implications are clear.

Minutes of Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, March 28, 1957, New York, N.Y.

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PRESENT: Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Jack Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Al Vorspan, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Friday, April 26, 1957 from 9:30 - 11:30 a.m. at the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

Please notify Harry Fleischman, NLS, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York, as to whether or not you plan to attend.

Agencies are requested to send a list of names and addresses of persons responsible for work with the mass media as well as a list of their southern regional offices and field representatives. Please put the entire mass media list, sent to you with our letter of March 12, 1957, on your mailing list to receive any materials on desegregation sent out by your agency.

A bibliography on school desegregation has been prepared and will go out together with a list of films, kinescopes and filmstrips and the University of Florida's bibliography on the same subject in a future mailing.

It was agreed to send out program notes, containing an inventory of what our respective agencies are doing in the field of desegregation mass media activity. Please send the information to the Secretary so that he can include it in the next mailing.

It was reported that the Saturday Evening Post and Look Magazines are scheduled to print articles on race relations in the South in the near future.

Beltman

The NAACP will reprint an article by Stanley Rowland in THE NATION. It was suggested that Robert McKay be contacted to do an article on the civil liberties implications of the attacks by the Southern States against the NAACP for the NYU ~~Law Review~~.

Firing Line

It was reported that state legislative hearings in Louisiana are carrying on smear attacks against the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council as "pro-Communist." The same technique unfortunately is planned for other states. It was suggested that Vice President Nixon be approached to prepare a statement indicating that his African tour convinces him that racism helps Communism

internationally and those who stand for democracy and upholding the Supreme Court decision on desegregation are the most effective foes of Communism. One agency agreed to attempt to get in touch with persons close to Nixon.

Several agencies agreed to prepare and send to the Secretary material on the false attacks in the South on the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council, which will be submitted to a Senator from a border state for a speech in the Senate.

It was reported that syndicated smear editorials are being sent out to newspapers in the South. Copies of such editorials and a list of the papers carrying them for consideration on how such "canned hate" can be exposed will be sent by the NAACP to the Secretary.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ht
CCD, MMCCD

Daytona Beach Morn News -
Apr 9, 1954
"Alternative to Violence"

HLM - Presby LIFE ✓
4-H
Rutgers ✓
Firing Line (Joe Wolfson, ASC)

May Current History - race rels.

Reed Surratt
Don Shoemaker } Re: canned editorials - sources

Geo. Martin re: notifying media agencies.
"The Broken Mask"

Minutes of Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, April 26, 1957, New York, N.Y.

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Phil Pearlman, Anti-Defamation League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, May 22, 1957 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

Please notify Harry Fleischman, NLS, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. as to whether or not you plan to attend.

Attached are additions to the list of names and addresses of persons in CCD agencies responsible for work with the mass media, field representatives and Southern Regional offices. (The first list was sent to you on March 12, 1957.) Please make sure this entire list of names is on your mailing list to receive any materials or notices of forthcoming items on desegregation sent out by your agency.

Also enclosed is a bibliography on school desegregation prepared by the American Jewish Committee to supplement an earlier University of Florida bibliography. The latter will be sent to you in a future mailing.

Please send Harry Fleischman notes containing an inventory of what your agency has done and is doing in the desegregation mass media activity so that this may be included in the next mailing as well.

Look magazine had an article on the Klan in its April 30th issue. It also has in preparation an article on the NAACP and its work.

It was reported that the Saturday Evening Post will carry a five-article series, starting in June, on both the Southern resistance movement to desegregation and progress in desegregation, written by John Martin. Ballantyne will then publish this series as a paperbound book.

The May, 1957 issue of Current History magazine is devoted to desegregation.

The Anti-Defamation League is putting out a brochure on "Segregation and Desegregation -- a Digest of Current Research,"

written by Professor Melvin Tumin of Princeton. ADL will send a sample copy to the CCD Mass Media list.

The American Civil Liberties Union is preparing a statement on jury trials and civil rights legislation, answering the current drive by Southern Senators to weaken forthcoming federal civil rights legislation. Sample copies will be sent by the ACLU to the list.

The NAACP has reprinted a Nation article by Stanley Rowland on "Legal War on the NAACP" and will mail a sample copy to the list. The ACLU will follow up the possibilities of getting articles on the civil liberties implications of the attacks of the Southern states on the NAACP into law and other journals.

The United States Department of Justice has written to the NAACP repudiating the attempt by ex-Communist Manning Johnson to pose as an FBI employee while trying to link the NAACP with the Communist Party.

The American Legion's The Firing Line supports ex-Communist Manning Johnson's attack on the NAACP in its March 1st issue. Attempts will be made to reach The Firing Line with factual corrections.

Vice President Nixon issued a statement following his African tour pointing out that racism hurts America internationally and is serving as a basis to boost international Communism.

The Daytona Beach Florida Evening News carried an editorial, "Alternative to Violence," which the NAACP plans to reprint. This editorial opposes five bills introduced into the Florida legislature earlier in April. These bills could seriously affect not only the NAACP but also many other agencies concerned with the elimination of racial and religious discrimination.

Forthcoming films dealing with race relations and desegregation include a documentary now being prepared by the Fund for the Republic Newsfilm Project and a dramatic story in production by Potomac Films. The NAACP has a script for a half hour T.V. film which it hopes to have ready in the fall. The National Council of Churches' Broadcasting and Film Commission put out a film entitled "Broken Mask."

Our next committee meeting will consider what will happen when schools reopen in September and what preparation is needed, mass media wise, to meet the problems that will arise.

We will attempt to arrange an off-the-record meeting in the Fall of top public relations people, to help prepare a broad outline of a campaign to overcome current resistance to school desegregation.

Respectfully Submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ht
CCD,MMCCD

RECEIVED JUN 24 1957

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, June 12, 1957, New York, N.Y.

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Louisa Hager, Young Womens Christian Association; Herbert Poster, American Jewish Congress; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Jacob Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Galen Weaver, Congregational Christian Churches; Edward L. Bernays and Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Thursday, June 27, 1957 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York City. Please notify Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, as to whether or not you plan to attend.

The minutes of the meeting of May 22, 1957 were read and accepted.

It was suggested that it might be possible to arrange for a woman's magazine to carry an article similar to the Chet Huntley NBC "Outlook" program May 19, 1957, which presented one youngster connected with each of the five desegregation cases which came to the Supreme Court and discussed what had happened to them since.

A memo from William Peters to the Fund For The Republic was forwarded to our Committee by Adam Yarmolinsky. It contained a suggestion for a grant to enable a top free lance magazine writer to spend from three to four months over a year's time studying race relations, particularly in the South. The program might include interviews with governors of Southern states, with law enforcement officials, Negro leaders, newspaper publishers and reporters, with farmers and businessmen of both races, with professionals and house-hold servants, ministers, entertainers and laborers. It would include a long look at the leaders of Southern resistance to integration, probes in the direction of labor unions, white and Negro teachers and school administrators, and the so-called enlightened element of the white population.

While none of the agencies present felt that they were in a position to make such a grant, it was suggested that the Sidney Hillman Foundation or the Guggenheim Scholarship Fund might be approached. The American Friends Service Committee added that it was holding a Southern seminar with newspaper and magazine people and will approach Mr. Peters.

The American Jewish Committee is reprinting as a 24 page

pamphlet entitled "Integration In Action," a series of six articles by Benjamin Fine in the New York Times on school desegregation in six border and Southern cities. Sample copies will be mailed to all CCD groups.

The Anti-Defamation League is pressing 45 r.p.m. recordings of a new song "Black and White," sung by Sammy Davis Jr. The other side of the record contains "The House I Live In," also sung by Sammy Davis Jr. Individual recordings will cost about 65¢ each -- approximately 50¢ for bulk orders.

It was reported that the National Council of Churches would have a television program, "Frontiers of Faith," on Sunday, June 23, 1957 at 1:30 to 2 p.m. over the National Broadcasting Company network. This program will feature a discussion of the violance being used against the Koinonia community in Americus, Georgia. The program will include Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President, National Council of Churches; P. D. East, Editor, The Petal Paper, of Petal, Mississippi; Clarence Jordan of the Koinonia community; and Carl Rowan, author of "South of Freedom."

We will attempt to arrange with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council for a favorable date in September to hold a meeting of the Committee.

It was reported that foreign journalists are not receiving sufficient constructive material on desegregation from the wire services and that their coverage tends to play up the dramatic unfavorable situations. Fleischman and Parris will speak with Joseph Johnson of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace when he returns from his tour of duty as advisor on employment discrimination to the American delegation at the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva. We will discuss with him the possibility of getting the wire services to send more constructive material on desegregation. Alan Reitman agreed to speak about the same problem to Jim Kearny of the "Trenton Times," who is active in the International Press Institute.

It was agreed to get a listing of films on school desegregation out within a week.

Mr. Edward L. Bernays, the noted Public Relations Consultant, addressed the Mass Media Committee on the public relations approach to the problem of overcoming the current resistance in the South to school desegregation. A summary of his remarks, largely prepared by Jacob Schlitt, is attached.

HF/ht
CCD, MMCCD

Respectfully Submitted
Harry Fleischman
Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

Summary of remarks by Mr. Edward L. Bernays, to the Mass Media Committee of CCD on June 12, 1957

Bernays stressed the findings of social scientists that "information does not really modify attitudes." We are basically interested in changing attitudes toward desegregation, but people do not change willingly in response to words, and tend to rationalize in terms of preconceived attitudes. Information, then, is only a secondary tool. Attempting to change the culture pattern is the basic problem.

Our goals are three-fold: 1) To intensify favorable attitudes; 2) to convert; 3) to negate or modify negative attitudes. This is a problem of social engineering. We must try to engineer acceptance of the Supreme Court decision.

He set up a program.

1) Decide on objectives.

2) Research your publics.

3) Decide on your strategy.

4) Plan your organization.

5) Tactics - planning and timing.

Our first step is to define our objectives, both immediate and long-run. For example, are we concerned with peaceful penetration of border states, or do we want to tackle first the toughest pro-segregationist states in the deep South? The objectives must be defined in terms of attitudes and actions to be changed and place and time. He recalled the Ford Peace Ship slogan, "Out of the trenches by Christmas," as an example of an easily understood objective.

Bernays cited as a possible objective that by 19--, we insure that x number of border states are desegregated.

We are dealing with people. People get their attitudes from 1) the culture pattern; 2) childhood conditioning; 3) what they see and hear. In order to approach the problem intelligently, after deciding on objectives, our second step should be a study to find out if they are realizable, who are the people we must deal with and how their attitudes can be changed. In other words, who is for us, who is against us, who is on the fence in the South and how their attitudes can be modified. This study should be made of a sampling of opinion molders in the area, based on a variety of criteria--age groups, religious affiliation, political affiliation, business and professional leadership, etc. What is in the minds of the people who control social media in the South? What authority, what persuasion do they respond to? What media do they follow?

It is possible to isolate a sample of a few thousand of the 30 million Southerners and obtain a profile of the South and what

their group configuration is. Bernays suggests that a cross-section study can be done in two to three weeks with money for this project coming from any one of a number of foundations. Organizations that might undertake this study, suggested by Bernays, include the Institute of Groups Dynamics at the University of Michigan under Rensas Likert, or Elmo Roper. Their interest in this area may prompt them to undertake this investigation on a non-profit basis.

The third step after such research is undertaken would be to proceed with the original objectives or revise such objectives in accordance with the patterns determined by the study.

The fourth step is to decide on the strategy to be used, how to employ the manpower, mind power and mechanics at our disposal. A possible strategy might be to take a particular group in the South showing favorable attitudes and get their opposite number in other areas to contact them. For example, the Bar Association could prepare a brief on law enforcement, a syndicated paper or press group could emphasize the issue of a free press in correspondence respectively with Southern lawyers and newspaper men. The issue of desegregation could be effectively advanced through related sub-issues. This strategy could be developed for the various publics in the South.

The fifth step would be to decide on organization: undertake a study of the resources of the groups in the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. In this way, those agencies which are best equipped to work in a certain area could be utilized for work in that area.

The sixth step would be to decide on tactics to modify attitudes. Under this subhead comes media. It is possible that getting into the mass media without decision on the preliminary themes and strategies could do more harm than good. Articles on desegregation and civil rights may not be read at all in the South, even if it gets into local or national publications. Our aim might be to tackle the media of the South only after we have found the tactics embodying the correct strategy. We must stress the appeals in accordance with our research and strategy.

If our research shows that business is afraid that industry will not come to the South because of dissension over the race issue, or that they are losing their labor supply through migration from the South, we might approach a university with the suggestion that it conduct a symposium of leading economists who would discuss this issue. Such a symposium would be picked up by the press and weekly news magazines which are respected in the South and might have more effective results than a direct appeal through an article or TV show.

The same indirect approach was suggested by Bernays in obtaining space for time on radio or TV. Requests can come not from the organizations desiring the time, but from a Senator or Congressmen whom we might be close to. Bernays decried the haphazard approach to publicity, getting news items or feature stories into a paper for the sole purpose of getting names or issues

into print. Those who have no interest in the issue never are affected by it. Publicity is only effective when it is treated in terms of an integrated approach and change in the underlying societal structure. Bernays closed with the suggestion that leading businessmen interested in international affairs who realize that segregation in the South can affect their business, might be interested in footing the bill for the necessary research. Examples were John J. McCloy, Paul Hoffman, as well as the rubber and steel industries.

The members of the subcommittee agreed that Mr. Bernays' remarks were extremely valuable. Another meeting of the Committee will study it and then forward proposals based on it to the Executive Committee for its consideration.

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Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, June 27, 1957, New York, N.Y.

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Julius Schatz, American Jewish Congress; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Jacob Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; George Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Arnold Aronson, CCD Secretary, NCRAC; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The Mass Media Committee will in all likelihood hold its next meeting with the Southern field staffs of CCD agencies, in conjunction with the plenary session of CCD. This is tentatively scheduled to be held September 16th and 17, 1957. You will be notified later of the time and place of the meeting.

The minutes of the meeting of June 12, 1957 were read and accepted.

A list of films dealing with desegregation was read and discussed at the meeting. It was felt that the list should be revised before it was sent out. Robert Disraeli will meet with Julius Schatz and Joseph Kenas on this and will also discuss possibilities of preparing a brief handbook on how to use films on school desegregation and how to get such material on T.V. They will also consider possibilities of getting discussion guides available. It was suggested that Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant to the Fund for the Republic might organize a workshop on how to use films at the Fisk University Seminar on race relations.

A letter from Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, was read thanking the committee for the work it is doing. He added that the national news editor of Look magazine told him that the numerous articles on race in recent editions have sharply increased sales of Look in the South. Mr. Hughes pointed out that whereas the Montgomery White Citizens Council had 14,000 members shortly after the bus boycott began it dropped down to 2,500 since many white segregationists there felt that the legal approach was futile in trying to stop desegregation. However, he added, since December, 1956, the Klan has mushroomed and is carrying on a widespread campaign of intimidation by threats, cross-burnings and bombings.

The Committee agreed that there was urgent need to re-examine the changing developments in the field of desegregation but, to do this effectively, we must have material from the Southern field staffs periodically.

It was suggested that committee members and agencies might prepare questions which we would ask the Southern field staffs to answer at the September meeting. If you have any such questions please send them in to Harry Fleischman to send to the Southern field staffs.

Mr. Hughes remarks were considered by the committee when it discussed the excellent talk of Edward L. Bernays at the June 12, 1957 meeting. The committee requested the CCD Executive Committee to consider the potentialities of Bernay's proposals and it was recommended that the Executive Committee also consider the possibility of approaching some foundation for a research project such as was suggested by Mr. Bernays. The Executive Committee was reminded that the Mass Media Committee is planning future sessions with other public relations experts. George Hunton will approach Elmo Roper to ask him to speak at a meeting of the committee in October.

One of the agencies asked whether or not any socio-dramatic scripts on school desegregation are available. If you know of any such scripts will you please send copies to Harry Fleischman. (National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, NYC)

The American Jewish Congress has just printed two pamphlets -- "Children Together -- A Manual For Study Groups on Integration In Public Education," ($1.00) and "Assault Upon Freedom of Association," a pamphlet on the attacks against the NAACP. (50 cents)

It was agreed that George Hunton would meet with the Fund for the Republic to secure information concerning its new program and possible relationship to CCD's activity.

Respectfully Submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ht
CCD, MMCCD

CCD

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, October 22, 1957

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Reverend Will D. Campbell, National Council of Churches; Bernice Cofer, American Baptist Convention; Mrs. Page H. Dougherty, Americans For Democratic Action; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Mrs. Louisa Hager, Young Womens Christian Association; Al Hamilton, United Auto Workers; George Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Naomi Pfeiffer, National Council of Jewish Women; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; John Paul Jones, National Urban League; Mr. Jacob Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Albert Vorspan, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Wilton Dillon, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Secretary Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service;
GUEST: Elmo Roper

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, November 19, 1957 at 9:30 a.m. at the Jewish Labor Committee, 25 East 78th Street, New York City.

Please fill out the enclosed post card to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Alex Morisey reported on a proposed manual analyzing the Southern press coverage of the desegregation story. It was agreed that Harry Fleischman would talk to the Sidney-Hillman Foundation to ascertain whether or not it could help in financing such a project. The American Friends Service Committee will contact Bill Peters on the possibility of a magazine article on the same subject and Alan Reitman agreed to talk to Robert Brown, President of Editor and Publisher, on the possibility of that magazine conducting such a survey.

It was reported that the youth group of the National Council of Churches is writing a statement on law and order, fair play and morality, aimed at young people, which will be distributed through local Southern ministers. George Hunton agreed to contact the Catholic Youth Organization to find out whether it could do a similar job.

It was suggested that the National Conference of Christians and Jews might spark a non-discriminational statement on the same theme, for local Southern distribution to youth groups in tension areas.

Al Hamilton suggested that it might be possible to ask the U.S. Department of Education to prepare a general statement on law and order and desegregation for distribution through the schools in the South. It was suggested that religious leaders might request such a statement from the Department of Education.

It was also suggested that we approach Senator Javits to get in touch with President Eisenhower to propose that the President include an item on law and order and support for court decisions in the Thanksgiving Proclamation that he will make. This is to be read in schools throughout the country.

Mr. Elmo Roper, Chairman of the Fund for the Republic and nationally known public opinion analyst then discussed with the Committee the methods of helping to create a favorable climate of opinion, both in the South and North, to help speed successful school desegregation.

Mr. Roper opened the discussion by posing two questions:

1. Do we believe that work on desegregation in the North is the best way to change the climate of opinion in the South?

2. Would we join hands with those in the South who, though opposed to integration, are in favor of law and order?

Harold Fleming, speaking for the entire group, answered yes to both questions.

According to Roper, a concerted drive to eliminate pockets of segregation in the North would have a real psychological effect in the South.

Harry Fleischman pointed out that consideration had been given by the committee to a campaign to use professional and other groups in the North to communicate with their Southern counterparts in striving for law and order and to spell out Northern experiences in successful integration.

John Paul Jones emphasized that we must learn how to work with those prople in the South who, though they oppose integration, do respect law and order.

According to Roper, a viewpoint prevalent among decent people in the South is that all Northern do-gooders work quietly on the question of segregation in the North but are very noisy concerning segregation in the South. These Southerners suspect a bias against the South, since we had fought a war with Russia on our side though we were frankly opposed to Communism, but we won't join forces with Southern moderates. Therefore, those forces in the South, with which we would be able to work, feel beleaguered and are dropping out of the fight. We must realize that middle-of-the-roaders, like Gov. Collins of Florida and Gov. McKeldin of Maryland, are considered wild radicals in the South.

Harry Fleischman pointed out that, though the State AFL-CIO in Arkansas spoke out in favor of integration before the Little Rock incident, after the trouble broke out no word was heard from them. Roper suggested that the national AFL-CIO has done so much good in this area that they should not be blamed if they took it easy at some point.

In regard to Little Rock, Roper pointed out that it would be tactically bad to have an article appearing on how badly the churches behaved in that situation. Rather, he suggested, it might be effective to show how much faster the Episcopal, Catholic and Presbyterian churches came to the defense of law and order there than did the churches in Levittown, Pennsylvania.

Roper insisted that the posture of the average Northern liberal regarding integration is such that the middle-of-the-roader in the South feels shunned. The South, he insisted, has made a great deal of progress in race relations, much greater in the last 15 to 20 years than the North, considering their respective starting points.

Harold Fleming pointed out that the open polling in the South tends to undercut those who stand for something positive. Faubus put the issue squarely: "Are you for or agin' segregation?", and 85% answered that they are for segregation. Those small forces which oppose segregation become traitors to the South. Fleischman reported the Gallup Poll, which showed 36% of Southerners supported Eisenhower's use of troops in Little Rock and 53% opposed. Roper asserted that a survey with four alternative results might very well show that one-half the people in the South favor some form of desegregation. These questions must not be polarized. Instead, the South should be given a choice of alternatives which might truly represent their feelings.

Al Hamilton raised another issue which he felt was just as important as the problem of the Southern middle-of-the-roader, that is, the problem of the Southern Negro, both in the South and those who have recently migrated to the North. They are becoming more aware of the unjust treatment they have received and are now receiving. To Al, the recent pilgrimage to Washington on May 17th was a revelation. This was an emotional response on the part of the Negro which showed mass concern with the problem of segregation. It is necessary that we bridge this gap as well. Roper agreed and indicated that conditions will improve with the increasing number and effectiveness of right-minded people everywhere, especially in the South. First priority, according to Roper, must be given to making the situation safe and respectable for those Southern leaders who oppose violence and race riots.

Al Vorspan took exception to the remarks which minimized the role of the clergy. According to Al, they are the most crucial group in the community, and in the Levittown situation they were the prime movers for the acceptance of the Myers' and for the maintenance

of harmony. In fact, in the South, according to Al, the clergy is more important than the Southern intellectual. The heroes of all of us have been the Southern moderates, and we have gone out of our way to seek them out. However, a danger exists in this practice, for the pattern which develops has been for these people to insist that they handle the problem in their own way and for the national agencies which have spearheaded the drive for integration, to be kept out.

Roper felt that this diagnosis is not correct, since it was Harry Ashmore, a leading Southern moderate and editor of the Arkansas Gazette, who persuaded the Fund for the Republic to give $350,000 to the Southern Regional Council to carry on their work. The leadership for equality, stressed Roper, must pass to the South.

Harold Fleming pointed out that in the past the self-interest of the industrial leadership in the South has worked in a negative direction and that the effort must be made for industry to work for better race relations in the area. The trade unions, according to Harold, have done an effective job, but the burden of responsibility rests with the industrial leadership. Roper agreed that this group must be appealed to for leadership in the integration struggle.

Harry Fleischman cited a forthcoming article in Business Week dealing with the impact of racial tensions on the Southern economy, which we hope will have an effect for good. Among other items which might be cited are the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce statement which indicated that the tensions in the area have driven away new industry; Gov. Collins' description of good race relations in Florida, which resulted in the attraction of a new factory to Tampa; and the statement by some one hundred Southern lawyers in favor of law and order.

Roper concluded with a "concrete suggestion" for the committee. His idea was that a conference be arranged with some 6 to 10 Southern moderates of the Harry Ashmore type -- Negroes and whites -- and a like number of national publicists and editors such as Arthur Hays, Sulzberger of the N.Y. Times, Henry Luce, etc. This should be an off-the-record conference which might be aimed at helping the Southern leaders of good will and which would permit these Southern moderates to let their hair down and talk freely. Roper volunteered to help in interesting both Southern leadership and national publicists in this meeting.

In conclusion, Alan Reitman suggested that the chairman choose a subcommittee to expedite this conference.

Harry Fleischman and Harold Fleming met with Mr. Roper later in the week and will report on progress at the November 19th meeting of the Mass Media Committee.

Respectfully submitted

HF/ht
Encl.

Harry Fleischman, Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

CCD

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference On Desegregation, November 19, 1957

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Mrs. Louisa Hager, Young Womens Christian Association; Henry Lee Moon, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey. American Friends Service Committe; Jacob Schlitt and Walter Kirschenbaum, Jewish Labor Committee; Ben Sissell, Presbyterian Church in USA; Bernice Solomon, National Council of Jewish Women; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

Martin Oder
Chad Tuve
Wallace Westfeldt
Bill Boggs
Popham

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Friday, January 10, 1957 at 9:30a.m. at the Young Women's Christian Association, Seminar Room, 600 Lexington Avenue (52nd Street) New York City.

Please fill out the enclosed post card to let us know whether or not you plan to attend

Alan Reitman sent in a report of his talk with Robert Brown, editor of Editor and Publisher, on the possibility of a survey of race coverage by Southern newspapers. Brown suggested that any such survey should include northern as well as southern newspapers. While Brown felt that his magazine could not undertake such a survey, he thought that one of the journalism schools might do it and suggested several possibilities. Henry Lee Moon suggested that the University of Missouri or the Columbia School of Journalism might be interested in such a survey. It was also suggested that the Duke University Department of Sociology might be willing to do such a survey and Alex Morisey agreed to explore the possibilities.

No report has yet been received on whether the National Conference of Christians and Jews will spark a non-discrimination statement for local Southern distribution to youth groups in tension areas.

Alan Reitman and Harry Fleischman met with Dean Ed Barrett and Professor Baker of the Columbia School of Journalism to discuss the conference of Southern moderates and national publicists urged by Elmo Roper at the October 22nd meeting of the Mass Media Committee.

Both Dean Barrett and Professor Baker expressed keen interest in the idea of a conference but were concerned about its nature. People like Harry Ashmore, Ralph McGill and Hodding Carter

they said, are in frequent touch with leading national publicists. A conference composed largely of such people, they felt, would be bringing "coals to Newcastle." They suggested that a somewhat larger conference, with more of the people who are not likely to be in touch with leading national publicists, might be of more value.

Various members of our Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation have come up with names of persons whom they felt would meet Dr. Barrett's requirements. Here are the names thus far mentioned:

Harry Ashmore, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor, The Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Buford Boone, Editor The News, Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Irving Carlyle, Attorney and Civic Leader, Winston-Salem, N.C.; Professor James Silver, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.; Francis Pickens Miller, writer and churchman, Charlottesville, Va.; Thomas W. Young, Editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide; Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University; Wilson Wyatt, Louisville, Kentucky; Charles Fransley, Louisville, Kentucky; Lillian Smith, Georgia; John B. Orr, Jr., State Senator, Miami, Florida; J. M. Dabbs, Rip Rap Plantation, Mayesville, S. C.; Mrs. M. E. Tilley, Atlanta, Georgia; J. H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.; Sarah Patton Boyle, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.; Reverend Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Alabama; Dr. Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; and Jonathan Daniels.

Among those suggested as participants from the North were Elmo Roper, Frank Stanton of CBS, Henry Luce, Gardner Cowles, David Sarnoff of NBC, Turner Catledge or Charles Merz of the New York Times, Whitelaw Reid of the Herald Tribune, someone from the American Broadcasting Company, representatives of the wire services, Seymour Bergson of the Journal American, someone from Readers Digest and someone from the Scripps-Howard chain.

Dean Barrett mentioned that Associated Press was holding a meeting of managing editors last weekend in Dallas and that the issue of national treatment of the race problem by the mass media would undoubtedly be one of the major topics discussed, whether or not it was on the agenda. He also mentioned that a number of Southern journalists would be in New York in the Spring to serve on Pulitzer Prize Award Juries and that our conference might conceivably be held then. But he wanted to be sure that a conference would serve a really useful function.

One suggestion was that such a conference might lead to a survey of the treatment of race news by both Southern and Northern mass media. One point that might well be considered in connection with such a conference are the findings by Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton University. His report in Public Opinion Quarterly revealed that those white southerners who are exposed to national hook-ups on radio or TV or who read national magazines, are more sympathetic to the desegregation point of view than persons who live in isolation.

If these findings are accurate for the entire South, the importance of getting together Southern and national opinion molders to try to develop a climate of opinion which will support law and order cannot be overstressed.

Respectfully submitted,

HF/ht
Encl.

Harry Fleischman

11/23/57

I shall ( ) attend the meeting of the
shall not ( )

Mass Media Committee

on Friday, January 10, 1957, at 9:30 ~~xxxx~~ A.M. P.M.
(Date) (Time)

Young Womens Christian Association
600 Lexington Ave. (52nd St.)
Seminar Rm.
at ~~New York, New York~~
(Place)

113-6-56

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, January 10, 1958

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Mrs. Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Albert W. Hamilton, United Auto Workers; Jacob Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Alan Reitman; American Civil Liberties Union; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Friday, February 14, 1958 at 9:30 a.m. at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Building for Brotherhood, 43 West 57th Street, (Baker Room), New York, New York.

Please fill out the enclosed post card to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

It was reported that the Southern Regional Council is considering reprinting the article by John M. Popham in the December 1, 1957 issue of the New York Times Sunday Magazine, entitled "The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox." It is also interested in reprinting an article in The Wall Street Journal of December 17, 1957 by Cal Brumley entitled "Segregation Costs -- Dixie Firms Find Them More of a Burden as Racial Tension Grows." Any agencies interested in joining the Southern Regional Council on such reprints should get in touch with Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Attempts are being made to secure blocks of subscriptions to The Petal Paper of Petal, Mississippi. P. D. East, editor of The Petal Paper may be available for lectures around the country. Interested agencies may contact him at the above address.

Alex Morisey reported that Bill Peters is writing an article for McCalls Magazine. It will supplement the material by John Bartlow Martin, whose Saturday Evening Post series, "The Deep South Says Never," failed to reflect those forces in the South willing to support law and order on desegregation.

Peters has been in touch with Doubleday and Co, which firm is seeking commitments for orders of 20,000 copies in paper covers of a book expanding the McCalls' article. The committee felt that none of the agencies present were in any position to make commitments, at least until the McCalls' article was read, in which case that article might serve as a synopsis of the book. It was suggested that the Ford Fund for Advancement of Education, which put out the Ashmore book on "Schools and the South" might be

approached to do the same in regard to this projected book.

Our subcommittee met with Elmo Roper and later talked to Dean Edward W. Barrett of Columbia University's School of Journalism, concerning the projected conference of editors and national publicists.

It was agreed that our purpose would be to have ten to fifteen important but relatively unpublicized Southern editors and civic leaders meet with the same number of leaders of important national and Northern publications. Both groups could then consider how they might more effectively develop a climate of opinion in which respect for law and order and a smoother path to desegregation will prevail.

The conference might also consider a survey of the treatment of the desegregation problem in both Southern and Northern mass media.

Among the Southerners who might be invited to attend are:

Reed Sarrett, executive editor, The Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N.C.; Buford Boone, editor, The News, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Professor James Silver, Univ. of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.; Thomas W. Young, editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.; Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Weldon James, Louisville Courier Journal, Louisville, Ky.; Wilson Wyatt, Louisville, Ky.; John B. Orr, Jr., State Senator, Miami, Florida; J. M. Dabbs, Rip Rap Plantation, Mayesville, S. C.; J. H. Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.; Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala.; Dr. Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; Harry Ashmore, editor Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Ark.; Andrew McDoud Secrest, editor Cheraw Chronicle, Cheraw, S.C.; John Popham, Southern corr. New York Times, Atlanta, Ga.; Wallace Westfeldt, Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.; Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville Times, Gainesville, Ga.; Carter Wesley, Houston Informer, Houston, Tex.; Nelson Poynter, Jr., St. Petersburg, Times, St. Petersburg, Fla; C. A. Scott, Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.;

Among the Northerners who might be invited are:

Elmo Roper, Fund for the Republic; Ed Murrow, CBS; Ed Thompson, LIFE; Dan Mich or Bill Attwood, Look; Davidson Taylor or Ken Kirby, NBC; Turner Catledge, New York Times; Ogden Reid, N.Y. Herald Tribune; J. Russell Wiggins or Al Friendly, Washington Post; Roy Howard Jr., Scripps-Howard; Alan Gould, exec. ed. Associated Press; Frank Bartholomew or Earl Johnson, United Press; Seymour Berkson, INS and Hearst chain; John Charles Daly, ABC; Wade Nichols, Redbook; Kenneth Payne or Fritz de Schiel of Readers Digest; Lou Gillenson, Coronet; Otis Wiese, McCalls; Beatrice Blackmer Gould and Bruce Gould, Ladies Home Journal; John Denson, Newsweek; Roy Alexander, Time; Ben Hibbs, Saturday Evening Post.

It was suggested that the conference might start out with a statement of the problem and then have a period for both Southerners and Northerners to express their gripes on the way the mass media, bothSouth and North, are currently handling the desegregation issue. It would then be a job of the Chairman, (perhaps Mr. Barrett or Mr. Roper) to make sure that from that point on discussion was on a constructive level on what we can do now and in the future, with respect to mass media, on desegregation.

It is planned to arrange a meeting shortly with Elmo Roper, Dean Barrett, Harold Fleming, Henry Lee Moon and Harry Fleischman, to see whether such arrangements for a conference can be completed.

Other names suggested for attendance at the conference included Pete MacKnight, editor of the "Observer," Charlotte, N.C.; (MacKnight might inform us who should represent the Knight chain of papers); Cabell Phillips of the New York Times; Ed Morgan, ABC commentator; Chet Huntley, NBC commentator and Harold Fleming.

It was also suggested that John Hannah, chairman of the Federal Civil Rights Committee, might be invited to sit in with the group.

It was suggested that Dean Barrett might be able to arrange for some of his students to prepare a packet of copies of Southern and Northern editorials on either the Little Rock situation or the recent Dallas desegregation ruling and that it might be possible to get Southern press, radio and TV reactions to the recent Ed Murrow Show with Marian Anderson.

It was agreed that the subcommittee should raise, with Messrs, Roper and Barrett, the problem as to whether any non-media people should be at the conference and a detailed agenda for the conference.

It was also suggested that Harold Fleming should give us a list of people in Radio and TV in the South who should be invited to attend the conference.

Al Hamilton reported that 400 radio stations throughout the nation now carry special programs beamed to the Negro market. A list of these southern stations is being prepared to enable CCD agencies to pay greater attention to them.

It was voted to send a letter of condolence to Mr. Roper on the death of his father and a letter of sympathy to George Hunton who is undergoing an eye operation.

It was suggested that the next meeting consider the impact of recent court decisions delaying desegregation in Dallas on our mass media programs.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht
Encl.
1/16/58

Anderson - Idaho

✓ Voting materials

Legal aid ??

Joint FF Project

Tender Warrior

✓ Son Police Just.

Marie Jean Brown

CCD

Popham -

F.F. Memo - to

Henry Moon

MM Meeting -

Mar 7 9:30

ADL ?

MASSMEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION, FEBRUARY 14, 1958

AGENDA

1. Has the Dallas decision postponing desegregation changed the desegregation picture?

2. Memphis press-scimitar editorial on desegregation stands of national groups.

3. Projected editors conference.

4. Police Training Manual. — Hannsen Pph - AP Series?

5. Statements of religious groups for distribution to southern young people.

Fr. Sigur re: Publication for Calif. Youth

Voting — Carrie Chapman Catt Fn ?
Nat'l Council Negro Women
Unions
ACLU
× Church Women

Catholic Sermons (Hughes)

Press Study for Soc Group.

Minnie Jean Background Sheet (Moon)
Cull Poplar

File

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, February 14, 1958.

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; John Hudak, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Robert Kohler, Anti-Defamation League; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Wilton Dillon, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Henry Lee Moon, NAACP; James Hughes, Catholic Interracial Council; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Friday, March 7, 1958 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (53rd St.), New York, New York.

Please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Henry Lee Moon agreed to secure an analysis from Thurgood Marshall on what impact the court decision postponing desegregation in Dallas has created on the desegregation picture in the rest of the South.

It was reported that the Anti-Defamation League is printing a manual on Police Law and Minorities, written by Carl Hannson, Chief of Police of Dallas, Texas, and a former president of the International Association of Police Chiefs. It was suggested that when the manual appears attempts be made to promote mass media use of Chief Hannson and his manual, particularly in the South. It was suggested that New York University Law School's Judge Jerome Frank Memorial might be contacted for an award to Chief Hannson for his efforts in aiding due process of law.

James Hughes reported that the Catholic Interracial Council had compiled 30 sermons by priests on Interracial Justice, and will send copies to all members of the Mass Media Committee.

Harold Fleming agreed to contact Father Sigur to attempt to arrange for the Catholic Youth Organization to write and distribute a statement on desegregation for useby Southern Catholic youngsters. The National Council of Churches reported that its United Christian Youth movement is preparing a leaflet on the same subject for wide distribution in Southern states. John Hudak reported that the National Conference of Christians and Jews will be working on a non-denominational leaflet for

Christianity & Crisis

distribution to young people in the South. It was also suggested that it would be helpful if a statement on law and order and desegregation could be secured from Attorney General Rogers.

The question was raised whether or not mass media attempts can be made to stimulate registration and voting in the south. It was suggested that the Carrie Chapman Catt Fund of the League of Women Voters and the American Heritage Foundation be contacted for material on the importance of voting, which can be distributed widely throughout the South.

In connection with the projected conference of editors and national publicists, various suggestions were made for consideration by the subcommittee in its meeting with Elmo Roper and Dean Edward Barrett of Columbia University's School of Journalism.

The next meeting of the committee will consider what can be done to counteract such items as the pro-segregation ad placed in the New York Herald Tribune February 17, 1958 by the Joint Legislative Committee in the State of Louisiana and the growing trends towards widespread propaganda in the North by Southern racists.

Respectfully submitted,

HF/ht

Harry Fleischman

Joint Fact-finding NAACP, ADL, ASC, UAW, NCCC
SRC, AFSC, SCLC?, PRESBY USA, WDCS

Herald Trib ad [document ad - taken as evidence]
TIME PRESS section
Statement by Hannah

Call HSA, see FAE re: Conference.

Nxt mtg Wed, Apr. 16, 9:30 AM

Rcd 3/17/58

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, March 7, 1958

PRESENT: Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Henry Lee Moon, NAACP; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Oscar Tarcov, Anti-Defamation League; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; James Hughes, Catholic Interracial Council; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, April 16, 1958 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, (53rd St.) New York, New York.

Please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Henry Lee Moon agreed to send copies of statements on desegregation by southern clergymen (reprinted from Christianity and Crisis) to members of the Mass Media Committee. He will also attempt to secure an analysis by Thurgood Marshall of the impact of the Dallas desegregation postponement on the rest of the South.

The manual on Police Law and Minorities by Carl Hannson, Chief of Police of Dallas, Texas, is scheduled for release around May 1st. Copies will be sent by the Anti-Defamation League to Mass Media Committee members. It was reported that the Southern Police Institute plans to use the manual. Attempts may be made to arrange for the manual to be used for a series of articles, to be released by one of the wire services.

Henry Moon and Harold Fleming are checking on the possibility of arranging for mass media attempts to stimulate registration and voting in the South. The National Council of Negro Women will be contacted and asked to prepare material for wide distribution throughout the South.

In connection with the projected conference of editors and national publicists, Harold Fleming is to talk to Harry Ashmore. The focus of the conference is to be "what can we do, through the mass media, in preparation for the new school year which starts in September 1958?" What mass media actions can discourage new "Little Rocks" and promote new "Louisvilles?" Fleming agreed to talk with the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the possibilities of sponsorship of such a conference. Tarcov is to talk with Look magazine about Gardner Cowles in relation to such a conference.

The Committee considered what can be done to counteract pro-segregation ads placed in Northern newspapers by Southern state governmental units. Henry Moon reported that the NAACP had sent out a memorandum on the advertisement of the Joint Legislative Committee, State of Louisiana, published in the New York Herald Tribune, February 17, 1958. Copies of that memorandum are available from Henry Lee Moon, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

CCD member agencies were urged to alert their local units to pro-segregation ads and ask them to check with editors and publishers about the problem. It was suggested that if such ads are used by newspapers or magazines, that they be asked to include editorials rebutting them, and news articles quoting opponents of segregation.

It was reported that the United Steelworkers of America had put out a new movie, BURDEN OF TRUTH, which emphasizes the need for interracial cooperation in our country. This full-length movie will have its New York premiere around the end of April or beginning of May. Prints of the film will be made available without charge to interested organizations by the United Steelworkers of America. The Steelworkers are also preparing an elaborate discussion guide which is being written by UCLA sociologists.

Harold Fleming reported that the inter-agency group in the South had decided to set up a joint fact-finding program which would catalogue instances of violence and intimidation used in the South to discourage desegregation. Seven agencies have already agreed to participate in the joint fact-finding program and three more may join.

The March issue of the ATLANTIC MONTHLY contains an article by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP answering a "go-slow on desegregation" article by Agnes Meyer.

The February 1958 issue of Harpers magazine had an article on "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago" by Albert Votaw, which points out that Chicago's chief integration problem has nothing to do with Negroes but involves some 70,000 white migrants from the South.

It was agreed to request Arnold Aronson, CCD Secretary, to attend the next Mass Media Committee meeting to inform us of CCD plans and activities.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht

Harry Fleischman

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, April 16, 1958

PRESENT: James Hughes, Catholic Interracial Council; Oscar Tarcov, Anti Defamation League; Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Bernice Solomon, National Council of Jewish Women; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, May 20, 1958 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West 47th Street, New York, New York.

Please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

It was reported that the Bill Peters article, "New Voices from the Old South," will appear in the September 1958 issue of McCall's Magazine.

The basic theme of the article is that neither the strong segregationists nor the strong anti-segregationists represent the most significant segment of the south. A large number of white southerners, probably accounting for a majority in every state, says Peters, are "active proponents neither of segregation nor of desegregation; they are, rather, passive adherents of the status quo. In the question of segregation, as in most questions, they will acquiesce to whatever exists. What exists today is segregation, and to it, if asked, they give their passive assent. What will be tomorrow may well be desegregation. With the assurance that it is permanent, backed by law, that it squares with religious principles, moral precepts and democratic ideals, and that "the best people" seem to be going along with it, they will, in a short time, as easily acquiesce to it.

"This process is already going on in many of the places where desegregation is an accomplished fact. According to Mr. Harold I. Lief, Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Tulane University's School of Medicine and a student of racial prejudice, one of the striking psychological facts demonstrated by desegregation is that 'behavioral changes often precede changes in attitude. This explains,' he says, ' the many attitude changes to be found among teachers, school administrators and parents who have accepted desegregation against their will only to become advocates of it in the process.'"

The McCall's article will stress white Southern support for desegregation, particularly among church groups. It was suggested that it would be very valuable if a Southern church or business

Call Rilling re: marked items.

Take NYC

group could sponsor reprints of the Peters article. Peters will also expand the article into a book to be published by Doubleday. The manuscript of the book is scheduled to be completed in October, 1958 and the book to be printed in March, 1959. If sufficient CCD groups are interested it may be possible to have Doubleday put out a paper-cover edition of the book.

The manual on Police, Law and Minorities by Carl Hannson, Chief of Police of Dallas, Texas has been postponed but should be available early in the summer.

Although Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette, strongly urged the need of a conference of editors and national publicists, Dean Edward Barrett of Columbia University's School of Journalism indicated that a number of Southern editors, with whom he had talked, felt that such a conference could serve no useful purpose at this time.

It was agreed to ask Harold Fleming to consult with the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the possibility of sponsoring a conference on "What should we do through the mass media in preparation for the new school year which starts in September 1958?" Unless the Fund evinces interest in such a conference, it was agreed that we should discontinue our attempts to arrange one.

The committee agreed to ask Harold Fleming to check with the inter-agency group in the South to find out what things they think are most necessary in relation to preparing articles for the mass media in terms of helping to ease the situation in those cities that will be facing desegregation in September.

The committee considered the problem of what methods might be used to combat the smear drive that is being spread by pro-segregationists. It was suggested that it would be very useful if agencies could alert their Southern members to write letters favoring desegregation not only to their local Southern papers but also to such papers as the New York Times and Washington Post. It was also agreed that it would be helpful if the inter-agency groups in the South could develop joint local mailing lists in the various Southern cities of influential persons in that community who should receive selected literature.

On the question of local use of radio and TV time in the South to discuss desegregation, it was agreed that we need information from the Southern inter-agency group on what time is available on radio and TV stations in the South, and what kind of material would be desired from us. We might be able to prepare sample TV or radio formats for panel discussions if that would prove desirable.

Harold Fleming reported that the joint fact-finding program, cataloging instances of violence and intimidation used in the South to discourage desegregation, is already under way.

The NAACP is preparing a film on school desegregation, which will be available for TV and for meetings. The film, entitled "Once Upon A Time," deals with a classroom scene some time in the future and "looks back" to the period of the 1950s. The film is scheduled to be ready before September.

The ADL has reprinted an article on "More Southern Pastors Plead for Moderation; Many Fight Segregation," first printed in the Wall Street Journal, February 14, 1958.

The National Council of Churches is preparing, in cooperation with ADL, an interracial newsletter on success stories on desegregation. It should be ready this summer.

The Catholic Interracial Council is attempting to secure reprints of a statement on desegregation by Archbishop Cushing of Boston, which was printed in The Pilot.

Abingdon Press is bringing out a book on "Segregation and the Bible" by Everett Tilson, which will be out May 5th.

Roy Wilkins' article on desegregation in the Atlantic Monthly, answering Agnes Meyer's "Go Slow On Desegregation" article, is being reprinted by the NAACP.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw

P.S. Attached is an item from the March 10, 1958 issue of Time Magazine which I think will interest you.

TIME Magazine March 10, 1958 (page 61)

Depth from Dixie

During the wave of rapes and stabbings in New York City schools this winter, the South's segregationist dailies pounced jubilantly on the story as a Yankee-sent sermon on the evils of mixing the races in the classroom. When a Brooklyn principal killed himself during a grand jury investigation of violence at his junior high school (Time, Feb. 19), Mississippi's extremist Jackson Daily News front-paged the story with a picture of a Negro policeman guarding the school. Caption: "Mixed school violence led to this."

The facts did not support such racist conclusions, and despite pressure from Southern editors, the wire services refused to give that slant to their reports on Northern school delinquency. Many Southern editors nonetheless echoed the Montgomery Advertiser's taunt that the real story was being suppressed by "such deluded racists as the New York Times." A widely distributed series of cartoons in the Nashville Banner derided "Mixiecrats" and "Bleeding Hearts," pictured the North's "objective liberal press" as burying delinquency stories on the obituary pages. When newsmen such as the Atlanta Journal's Managing Editor William Ray tried conscientiously to dig deeper by demanding a racial breakdown of the 644 students expelled from New York schools as troublemakers, they ran afoul of school regulations that forbid such identification.

A Place in Society. Last week the Southern editors finally got firsthand coverage of the racial angle in New York's school problem from a first-rate Southern reporter. To cover the story in depth the United Press assigned able, Georgia-born Alfred G. Kuettner, the U.P.'s long-time Atlanta bureau chief. Promised the U.P.'s Executive Editor Harry Ferguson: "If there are any squawks, I'll be your lawyer."

Hard-driving Reporter Kuettner, 44, spent a week prowling the city from the cluttered streets of East Harlem to the seedy side of Brooklyn, talked to school officials and students, white and Negro members of teen-age gangs, storekeepers and social workers, judges and Mayor Robert Wagner. Result: a perceptive, carefully documented three-part series. Reporter Kuettner's conclusion: "You cannot in honesty find that actual racial conflict is causing the rampage of juvenile delinquency. You cannot but admit that Negroes, white children and Puerto Ricans get along amiably in their classes."

Al Kuettner also reported that the racial issue is "at least partly to blame," that Negro and Puerto Rican children cause "a huge percentage of the crime and violence." But, he found, "mixing of the races is not the basic cause." As a tough-minded Brooklyn principal told him: "This problem is not because Negroes are Negroes, it is because they are newcomers. They are often at the bottom of the economic scale." The school man added an observation of equal relevance to the South: *"It is a sociological truth that uhtil a person finds his place in society he is rebellious."

Footnote * Which has such serious delinquency problems as vandalism, theft and knife-carrying in some of its all-white schools. In Atlanta, of 3,700 juveniles who appeared before the courts in 1957, 50% were white.

Lost Viewpoint. Virtually every major U. P. paper in the South ran Kuettner's series; South Carolina's segregationist Greenville Piedmont gave it an eight-column top-of-the-banner headline. To most editors, Al Kuettner's byline was the story's best recommendation. He has amassed 45 file drawers on racial problems since spotting desegregation as a looming battle in 1945, roamed 3,600 miles through the South in 1956 to write a series on integration that won him Sigma Delta Chi's top award for general reporting.

Though his New York series will prompt few Southerners to trade in their prejudices, it bridged briefly a chasm that is making it increasingly difficult to report the news with any depth in the Deep South. As segregationist Atlanta Journal Editor Ray, who gave the series a big play, said last week with unconscious irony: "I don't think Kuettner presents the viewpoint of the South. I expect he has become so objective that he may have lost his viewpoint."

1C (F.Y.I.)
→ MF (files)

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, May 20, 1958.

PRESENT: Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Jack Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Bernice Solomon, National Council of Jewish Women; Al Vorspan, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; James Hughes, Catholic Interracial Council; Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Friday, June 20, 1958 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West 47th Street, New York, New York.

Please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

It was reported that Look magazine is considering an article comparing "good" and "bad" police officials in the South -- in terms of respect for law and order. William Peters is also writing an article for Look on the failure of the Federal Government to use the tools which it currently has available to promote equal opportunity in the South.

It was reported by the ACLU that apparently little coordination by anti-segregation groups is taking place in Virginia cities scheduled to come under desegregation orders this Fall. This was referred to the Southern Inter-Agency Conference for remedial proposals. It was also agreed to try to contact them to analyze the situation in key Southern areas, concerning not only community organizations but approaches to the mass media.

It was suggested that we ask the Southern Inter-Agency Conference whether or not it would be useful to arrange for attitude surveys of key elements in those Virginia communities (educators, professionals, business people) to ascertain their views on closing of public schools in Virginia, support of private schools, or re-opening -- even on a desegregated basis -- of public schools.

It was agreed to explore the idea of arranging informal conferences of CCD agencies with Southern editors coming North to Newspaper Association or other journalistic conventions.

It was agreed that a report of the executive committee of CCD and of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference would be presented at the next meeting of the Mass Media Committee on Friday, June 20, 1958.

It was agreed that it would be useful to have a pamphlet, "Southern Churches Speak," which would be a collection of statements of church groups in the South and which could be published under the imprimatur of the United

Church Women of the Southern states. CCD groups will be asked to guarantee quantity orders in advance to help cover the cost.

It was reported that the joint fact-finding project, cataloging instances of intimidation, violence and bombings in the South, is close to completion.

Respectfully submitted,

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, Friday, June 20, 1958

PRESENT: Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Louisa Hager, YWCA; Jack Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Bernice Solomon, National Council of Jewish Women; Frank Demers, Catholic Interracial Council; Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The Citizens Councils of America are distributing from Washington a filmed 13-week series of fifteen-minute television programs, called Citizens Council Forum, featuring a number of Southern Congressmen. (Enclosed is a letter and fact sheet sent out by the Citizens Council.)

It was agreed to arrange for an analysis of these programs, to find out which Southern stations carry them and to explore possibilities for promoting alternative programs which support law and order.

It was agreed to attempt to arrange a meeting of TV and radio network news executives with key professional intergroup relations persons from each of the Southern cities where a desegregation decision or other tension situation is likely to come about this Fall. This meeting would be held around the middle of August at the national YWCA, both to brief the networks on the potential for positive news on race relations in these communities, and to alert the networks to the problems that may arise. The network executives might also be able to suggest approaches by CCD agencies that would be helpful in producing positive coverage. MMCCD members will be invited to attend this meeting (when it is definitely arranged.) The Southern Regional Council will secure key people from the Southern communities and will set up the agenda and program for the meeting.

It was suggested that it would be helpful if CCD agencies would loan one of their public relations men to be available to help in each tension area in preparation for the Fall opening of schools. It was suggested that the projected interfaith Williamsburg, Va. conference of national and Southern religious leaders would provide an excellent opportunity for radio, press and TV positive coverage of the desegregation issue.

It was agreed that a brief fact sheet on the White Citizens Councils should be prepared to indicate the nature of the organization.

The Southern Regional Council is reprinting "The Untold Story Behind Little Rock" by Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette. The article, which appeared in the June 1958 issue of Harper's magazine, deals with the failure of the mass media to present the real significance of the Little Rock crisis. Quantity orders will cost from $30 to $35 per 1,000. Check with Harold Fleming at the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave.,N.E. Atlanta, Ga. if you are interested.

The Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE) has just printed a pamphlet "First Step Towards School Integration," by Anna Holden, which relates the uses of non-violent techniques to aid school desegregation in Nashville. The pamphlet is priced at 25¢, 5 for $1, $15 for 100, $100 for 1,000. On orders for 1,000 or more, CORE is willing to imprint the name and address of the distributing

organization. For details contact James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, New York.

The next regular meeting of the mass media committee will be in the Fall. Members will be notified later.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw
MMCCD

Dear Mr._____:

Here's something fresh, just in time for summer programming! We have just prepared a special series of "Citizens' Council Forum" programs from Washington, featuring a number of leading Congressmen, including several from your area.

In this series, the lawmakers discuss the dangers to individual freedoms and States' Rights growing from the mounting trend towards centralization of power in the Federal government.

This series is professionally-produced on 16 mm. film, and is of network quality. The first 13 weeks of this series is now ready for distribution.

We would be pleased to add your station to the growing number of leading TV outlets now running "Citizens' Council Forum."

We sincerely believe that by scheduling this program, you will perform an invaluable service to your viewers, by alerting them to the dangers of "big government." In addition, your station will gain in prestige, and will win acclaim from business leaders in your community, many of whom have long been aware of this dangerous trend.

The enclosed fact sheet will give you detailed information about our program. We will be happy to discuss this series with you and to answer any question you may have concerning it. Just call, wire or write us at the above address, or complete the enclosed reply card.

We certainly hope you can find a place in your station's schedule for "Citizens' Council Forum." May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely,
s/ W.J. Simmons

TV FACT SHEET CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM

-- The AMERICAN Viewpoint with a SOUTHERN Accent --

(This Fact Sheet contains information on the special series from Washington)

15-minute weekly program available on 16 mm. film free of charge to television stations.

Type: Discussion-interview between moderator and from one to three guests. Guest participants are different from week to week. During special series of 13 programs from Washington, guests will be about 30 Congressmen, discussing the need for maintaining States' Rights against the growing trend toward centralization of power in the Federal government. Program is entirely non-political. No commercial message content in program.

Moderator: Program is moderated by Dick Morphew, associate news director of WLBT television and WJ DX radio, Jackson, Mississippi.

Production: Produced by the Citizens' Councils of America, thru facilities of WLBT and WJDX, Jackson, Mississippi. Producer for Citizens' Councils is W.J. Simmons, editor of the Councils' nationally-circulated newspaper. Special series of programs from Washington filmed by professional crews in the nation's capital. Staging and direction by Al Fred Daniel, WLBT production manager. Voice and music open and close. Filmed with double-system sound track, so that both picture and sound are network quality.

History: Began in early 1957 as weekly television program on WLBT, Channel 3, Jackson, Mississippi. Continuous weekly since then. Highly-rated in all surveys. Selected programs of special interest filmed and recorded for other TV and radio stations. At urging of numerous station managers, specially-edited version for radio made available early in 1958, offered to stations through the South on no-cost basis. Currently scheduled weekly by dozens of radio stations in 11 states. Special series of programs from Washington available on film to television stations throughout the nation.

Purpose: Program is designed to present the Southern point of view on important issues of the day, and to counteract the propaganda barrage leveled at the South by most national media.

Guests: The first in a series of special programs from Washington is now ready for distribution. These programs will feature leading members of Congress from virtually every Southern state and several from the North. About 30 Congressmen will appear during the first 13 weeks, with many programs presenting interviews with two or three lawmakers from as many states. Both political parties are represented, but the programs are entirely NON-political. To list a few of the distinguished lawmakers who will appear would be to slight the others. Each of them is capable of doing an excellent job of explaining why the historic concept of States' Rights is vital to the preservation of our American freedoms. The series could well be used as a basic lesson in American government, with the "teachers" being the men chosen by the people as lawmakers.

Availability: "Citizens' Council Forum" is offered as a public service to any TV station wishing to broadcast the program. The station's only obligation is to return the film after use, and to keep the producer informed of the day and time the program is scheduled. In order to fully utilize the tremendous news and prestige value of this series, it is suggested that it be scheduled at a time likely to reach the maximum potential adult audience.

Commercial Sponsorship: This program is available for local sale. The only requirement is that commercial message must not imply endorsement by the participants on the program or its producers, and that each program be run in its entirety without interruption, including opening and closing with commercial messages preceding and following the full program. May we suggest that your local Citizens' Council or affiliated group be offered first chance to sponsor this valuable series, or to purchase tie-in announcements immediately preceding and following the programs. A number of stations report obtaining institutional-type sponsors for this program, and with the sponsors highly pleased with the show, both as to production and content. Since the Citizens' Councils are a non-political organization, we are certain you will cooperate by NOT offering this series to any political party or faction.

Action: To add "Citizens' Council Forum" to YOUR station's schedule, simply sign and return the enclosed reply card, indicating day and time you wish to begin the series. Audition prints available upon request, from address given below.

REMEMBER---"Citizens' Council Forum" is the O-N-L-Y Syndicated Public-Affairs Program Giving the SOUTHERN Point of View!

---more than that, it goes beyond sectional boundaries to present

"THE AMERICAN VIEWPOINT WITH A SOUTHERN ACCENT!"

To begin this valuable series on YOUR station, call, wire or write today! You'll be glad you did!

W.J. Simmons, Producer
CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM
Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi Phone: 2-4456

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, Thursday, September 18, 1958

PRESENT: Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Sidney Hollander; Mrs. Macy, National Urban League; John Marion, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Jack Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Bernice Solomon, National Council of Jewish Women; Esther Stamats, United Church Women; Al Vorspan, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Arnold Aronson, Secretary, CCD; Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, October 21, 1958 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

A report was presented of the meeting which was held in August with T.V. and radio network news and public affairs people and key southern intergroup relations professionals to discuss school desegregation problems arising this Fall. It was felt that the session was likely to lead to a continuing relationship of the networks with CCD agencies which should be of great value in presenting a balanced picture of desegregation problems.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is sponsoring a Youth March on Washington, Saturday, October 11th, which is intended to bring a thousand or more Negro and white children from Northern and Southern cities to parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. It is scheduled to be a silent protest against the harrassment of Negro school children striving to attend desegregated classes in the South. CCD Mass Media Committee members plan to consult with Mr. Randolph on effective public relations tactics relative to his project.

The American Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League and the National Council of Methodist Women have purchased reprints of "The Story Nobody Tells You" by William Peters, which appeared in McCalls Magazine in September. The eight-page feature article can be ordered from McCalls at 10¢ a piece.

The Virginia AFL-CIO plans to distribute 50 thousand copies of an article "As September Comes to Virginia," reprinted from the IUD Digest.

Harold Fleming and John Marion reported that segregation proponents in both Little Rock and Virginia admitted privately that "massive resistance" was doomed to failure due to intransigeance of the Federal courts. However, it was reported that official Southern state bodies similar to the Joint Legislative Committee of the state of Louisiana are planning a series of pro-segregation ads

in many Northern papers. CCD member agencies are again urged to alert their local units to the danger of such pro-segregation ads. It was suggested that if such ads are used by newspapers that their editors be asked to include editorials in the same issues rebutting the ads plus news articles which would include quotes from opponents of segregation.

A newly mimeod version of the Joint Fact-finding Project cataloging instances of intimidation, violence and bombings in the South, has been distributed to the agencies involved. The study will be published shortly.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw
MMCCD

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

OK 11-5-58

October 30, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are the minutes of the Mass Media Committee. As you will note, we summarized the points made in the article "West Virginia Press Sets Good Example" in the September "New South." Are there any chances of reprinting that article for distribution to radio, TV and newspaper people?

We seem to be having some trouble in relation to the fact-finding project. Oscar Lee called to tell us that the UAW don't want its name used on the pamphlet. When we added that the AJC didn't want its name on the pamphlet either, he was very upset. He indicated that he might have to go back to his chairman and have the matter brought up before his Race Relations Committee and that he was uncertain what would be the decision.

I have been trying to reach Roy Wilkins on this whole thing, but he has not been available. As soon as I do get his attitude I will let you know. Meanwhile I will try to talk to other people here at the AJC. I guess we will have to talk this over by phone within a few days. DONE.

Do you think you will be able to come to New York for the next Mass Media Committee meeting December 2nd or will you be in Pittsburgh for the NAIRO Conference November 19-21? We should get together and iron out some of these things.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw
Encl.

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, Tuesday, October 21, 1958

PRESENT: Al Chernin, National Community Relations Advisory Council; Wilton Dillon, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Gunther Lawrence, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Jack Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Bernice Solomon, National Council of Jewish Women; Esther Stamats, United Church Women; Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, December 2, 1958 from 9:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue (65th St.) New York, New York.

Put this on your calendar and please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Mass Media members present reported noting that TV and radio networks, with the opening of the school year in September, are now presenting a more balanced picture of desegregation problems than formerly. Committee members outside New York are urged to inform the secretary of the nature of TV and radio coverage on this issue in their areas.

The bombings of Clinton High School and of Jewish temples in Atlanta and Peoria have led many organizations to adopt resolutions protesting the bombings. Among those who have adopted such resolutions are the Georgia Council of Churches, the United Church Women, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The AFL-CIO NEWS carried an editorial on the bombings, the National Council of Churches and the YWCA sent telegrams to the President calling for a White House Conference to plan a program to prevent future bombings. Other CCD agencies may wish to issue similar statements. Most statements pointed to the importance of keeping the FBI on the job to arrest and convict the perpetrators of these outrages and stressed the necessity for arousing the moral conscience of the community against lawlessness.

It was stressed that it would be desirable to urge the mass media in the affected cities to use discretion in reporting about bomb threats. While it is important to report acts of violence, it was felt that sensationalizing threats to bomb schools or houses of worship tend to incite warped bigots in other areas to emulate the bombers.

In this connection it was suggested that an article in the September 1958 issue of The New South, entitled "West Virginia Press Sets Good Example," was an excellent statement of a useful method of promoting harmonious intergroup relations. The following four points were highlighted in the article.

1. Stop identifying individuals by their race in news stories. Race labeling

is "a subtle form of discrimination designed to segregate individuals in the mind of the public." "Negro News" columns should be dropped for the same reason.

2. Devote more space to examples of harmonious race relations and the newsworthy accomplishments of Negroes. Newspapers also should give their readers more background on the causes of racial tensions and troubles.

"Much more than it has so far, the press should report, interpret, and discuss the facts and attitudes involved in the crucial issue of race relations," said Sulzberger of The New York Times. "We need to know widely about communities that have established successful patterns of integration so that other communities can take encouragement from their success."

3. Don't hush up serious racial incidents, but report them with the greatest accuracy and factualness to avoid stirring up mob violence. Absence of news will inspire hard-to-control rumors, which inflame the public far more than responsible news coverage. Sensationalizing such incidents, however, will sharpen community tensions.

4. Replace wishy-washy editorial on the glories of brotherhood and evils of prejudice with ones that take strong stands on specific discriminatory situations. And editorializing without adequate news coverage is fruitless since your reader can't understand or respond.

A discussion of the attempts of Arkansas and Virginia to set up private segregated schools led to several suggestions. Among them were: That TV programs might well examine the private schools in operation and contrast them with successfully integrated public schools in other areas. It was suggested that it might be useful to investigate the poor chances for students in those private schools to receive vocational training as well as college accreditation. Interviews with industry leaders in the South on the dangers of inadequate high school training would be particularly helpful.

It was also suggested that the Mass Media in the South might well be alerted to the desirability of interviewing educators on the dangers of trying to supplant public schools with private schools.

The U.S. News and World Report, October 31, 1958, carried an article on "When Public School Closes, What Happens?" This on-the-scene report from four Southern cities, in this ultra-conservative magazine, shows how closing of public schools adversely affects students.

It was reported that a poll has just showed that Protestant clergymen in the South favor compliance with the Supreme Court's order on desegregation of public schools. The Pulpit Digest, a non-denominational monthly in Great Neck, L.I., sent questionnaires to 3,600 clergymen in the South. Replies came from 769. Of these 600 favored compliance; 146 favored "searching for possible legal means of avoiding the consequences of the Court's decision," and only 23 favored open disobedience.

Only 46 of the 769 ministers who replied were Negroes. They unanimously favored integration. Most of the replies, 237, came from Baptists. There were replies from 203 Methodists and 71 Presbyterians.

Civic and religious organizations throughout the United States will observe the 10th Anniversary of the United National Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1958. In Miami, Florida, a group of organizations, spearheaded by the United Church Women, are planning a community audit probing seven areas of human rights concern -- employment, education, public health, recreation, public accomodations, government and housing.

It was suggested that CCD agencies wanting to observe this event should request copies of the pamphlet, IN YOUR HANDS, from Harry Fleischman.

As a public service contribution, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee is offering radio stations a platter of one-minute spot announcements by prominent Americans to be used throughout the week of December 7-14. Included on the spots will be Marian Anderson, Leonard Bernstein, Althea Gibson, Paul Hoffman, Danny Kaye, Raymond Massey, Mark Van Doren, George Meany, Walter Reuther, and Eleanor Roosevelt.

In addition to the organizations previously reported as purchasing reprints of THE STORY NOBODY TELLS YOU ABOUT THE SOUTH by William Peters, which appeared in the September 1958 issue of McCalls, the NAACP reprinted 5,000 copies. The 8-page feature article can still be ordered from McCalls at 10¢ a copy.

Wilton Dillon reported that the Phelps-Stokes Fund plans to print a pamphlet by Philip Hammer on the economic progress of the Negro in the South and the rise of the Negro market. Organizations interested in this pamphlet should contact Mr. Dillon, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

The Mass Media Committee will check with the Protestant Episcopal Church to find out whether or not they plan to reprint the excellent pastoral letter of the Episcopal Bishops on race injustice.

It was reported that President Eisenhower may be urged to make a speech pointing to the benefits to the South and to the country as a whole that would accrue following a solution of the desegregation problem.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw
MMCCD

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation
Tuesday, December 2, 1958

PRESENT: Henry Lee Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Gunther Lawrence, Al Vorspan, Mrs. Lee, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Mrs. Macy, National Urban League; Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, January 20, 1959 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York, New York.

Put this on your calendar and please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

The Committee noted the report of Arthur Flemming, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, on the million student-days lost in closing of schools in Norfolk, Little Rock, Charlottesville, and Front Royal.

It was suggested that the National Education Association and other educational organizations be urged to comment publicly on the implications of the report. Morisey will check the possibility of the AFSC reprinting the Flemming statement. Henry Moon will attempt to ascertain chances of constructive Presidential reaction to possible queries by reporters on the subject at the next Presidential press conference.

The Committee agreed on the need to show the human aspects of the Flemming report, to show how children are abused by school closings and to inquire whether or not juvenile delinquency is growing. Alan Reitman will approach The New York Times to suggest a series of articles on the subject, to be written by Harrison Salisbury. Milton Krents will approach Ed Murrow to suggest a documentary on the subject.

The Southern Regional Council will consider reprinting the New York Herald Tribune analysis by Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of Harvard of the Alabama pupil placement decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Georgia Council of Churches is printing 20,000 copies of the statement on schools and the race issue adopted by over 300 Atlanta ministers and rabbis. Organizations desiring bulk orders may order them at $20 per 1,000 from the Georgia Council of Churches, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

It was agreed that it would be desirable to have articles in mass media magazines on the role of the clergy in the South in supporting law and equality.

Alan Reitman will talk to Life magazine and AJC will contact Look magazine. Harold Fleming is to send a memo on church statements and actions in this respect to Harry Fleischman.

The Civil Rights Commission will hold a hearing in Montgomery, Alabama, December 9th on denial of voting rights to Negroes. Fleming will investigate the possibility of getting Deans of Southern law schools to urge Southern officials to comply with the subpoenas of the Civil Rights Commission in order that the public should receive the basic facts which it needs to determine policies.

Tom Young, public information specialist of the Civil Rights Commission, will be asked if it is possible to secure a status report on the Commission's work. It was suggested that we should urge our mass media contacts to prepare articles critically analyzing the Commission's activity or lack of it, while basically supporting the Civil Rights Commission.

Harold Fleming reported that the Interagency Conference in Atlanta last month set up a clearing house on hardship cases in respect to displaced children who are victims of school closings. Attempts are being made to raise money to secure a tutor for the 22 Negro students displaced in Front Royal, Virginia.

Harold Fleming reported that Southern segregationists are making considerable propaganda use of the unfavorable report on Washington, D. C. school desegregation by the Davis Congressional subcommittee.

It was suggested that Washington staffs of our agencies might explore the possibility, perhaps through the Civil Liberties Clearing House, of getting an objective Congressional Committee to investigate progress made through desegregation in the District of Columbia. This might be done as part of hearings on new Civil Rights legislation in the next session of Congress.

A constructive series on school desegregation in Washington will soon appear in the Washington Post and Times Herald, and will be reprinted by the American Friends Service Committee.

The Mass Media Committee voted to ask the Executive Committee of CCD to consider the problem raised by the State Education Department of Arkansas making payments to public and private schools, that are teaching Little Rock's displaced high school students.

The Little Rock Women's Emergency Committee to Open Public Schools requested a list of television films and kinescopes which could be used to help educate public opinion on the school desegregation problem. The Committee was sent a list of films prepared by the Mass Media Committee of CCD in October '57. The Secretary will send additional material to the Little Rock Committee.

It was agreed that Harry Fleischman would talk with Walt Kelly about the possibility of reprinting his Pogo comic strip series on "Speakeasy Schools" or the possibility of a special comic strip on the subject to be done by Kelly.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has just reprinted the Commonweal article on "Integration In Washington," by Isaac Franck. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

Time magazine is scheduled to print an expose on Birmingham, Alabama in its next issue.

Respectfully submitted, Harry Fleischman

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation
Wednesday, February 4, 1959

PRESENT: Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council; Gunther Lawrence, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Henry Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Ed White, United Steelworkers of America; Chairman, Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, March 18, 1959 from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon at the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Put this on your calendar and please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Approximately 15,000 copies of POGO and the SPEAKEASY SCHOOLS, a reprint of Walt Kelly's comic strips on that subject, will be published by the National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, and six AFL-CIO unions. Sample copies will be distributed to CCD agencies.

2. A letter was received from Herman Long, of Fisk University, Director, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Churches, mentioning that race labeling has begun to appear widely in wire service stories in the newspapers. It was agreed that Alan Reitman would talk with officials of Associated Press, United Press International and Editor and Publisher concerning this matter.

3. Reitman agreed to contact Life magazine again concerning a proposed article on the role of the clergy in the South in supporting law and equality.

4. The American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring a pamphlet on American Race Relations, which will be published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Agencies interested in quantities of the pamphlet should write to Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee, 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

5. The Southern Regional Council reported that it will reprint the Arkansas Gazette report on the effect of the desegregation controversy on economic conditions in Arkansas. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

6. The National Urban League has prepared an attractive 11 x 14 illustrated pamphlet, "Half a Life," in connection with Equal Opportunity Day. Copies are being sent to CCD agencies.

7. The Turnpike Press has just published as a 24 page pamphlet, THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, which first appeared as a series of articles in the Washington Post by Erwin Knoll. The series is an excellent survey of progress in the Washington schools and should be helpful in countering the vicious propaganda being spread by Governor Faubus of Arkansas and other Southern segregationist leaders. Single copies are 15¢ postpaid; 10 copies or more 10¢ each postpaid; 100 copies or more 7½¢ postpaid; 500 copies or more 5¢ each plus shipping charges. Please order from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia.

8. A group of organizations in Miami, under the leadership of the United Church Women, have conducted a Community Audit in connection with United Nations Human Rights Day. Copies of the folder describing the Community Audit are being mailed to all CCD agencies.

9. Pro-segregation ads have appeared in The New York Times, January 5, 1959 and in the Wall Street Journal, February 9, 1959 under the signature of Carleton Putnam, who describes himself as a distinguished New Englander. Putnam, a Board member of Delta Airlines, has set up a Putnam Letter Committee in Birmingham, Alabama to solicit contributions to reprint his letter as an ad in additional Northern newspapers. When a similar ad was placed by Louisiana segregation leaders in the N.Y. Herald Tribune in February 1958, we urged CCD member agencies to alert their local units to such ads and ask them to check with editors and publishers about the problem. When such ads appear in Northern papers, it would be helpful if Southerners would write dissenting letters to the editors analyzing the misstatements and errors in the ads. Where such ads appear, editors should be asked to include editorials rebutting the segregation thesis advanced in the ads, or at least run news articles (in the same issue carrying the ads) quoting opponents of segregation.

10. INTEGRATION - A CHALLENGE TO THE SOCIAL AGENCY, a 25-page report of a Workshop conducted by the National Social Welfare Assembly's Committee on Intergroup Relations, features discussion of case histories in hiring Negro social workers, establishing integrated programs, problems of loss of financial support by pro-integration agencies, achieving community acceptance, developing national and local policy on integration, etc. Copies of the Workshop Report are available at 75¢ each from the National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

11. Papers throughout the nation carried an Associated Press Wirephoto February 2 and 3, showing a lone Negro boy in Maury High School Auditorium in Norfolk, Va. -- apparently shunned by his classmates. An article in the New York Post February 3 reported that the photo was phony. Photographers had beckoned the Negro boy up front and took the picture. A minute later, the seats around him were filled and other kids were asking him if he could play basketball or football. By then the photographers had gone. It was agreed that it would be useful if editors throughout the country who used the photo would query A.P. on the alleged irresponsible reporting, and also bring this to the attention of Editor and Publisher magazine.

12. Alan Reitman agreed to suggest to The New York Times that it carry a story concerning the reactions of students who have returned to desegregated public schools from private schools and private tutoring classes. It was felt that such a human interest story might make the comparison more meaningful, even in the South. Henry Moon agreed to suggest the same kind of stories for the educational pages of Time and Newsweek.

13. Members of the Committee expressed great indignation over the way in which Chet Huntley had called for virtual suicide by the NAACP on his program on The Second Agony Of Atlanta. It was suggested that the February 8, 1959 program ought to include a genuine moderate, who recognizes the importance of the role of the NAACP in the desegregation issue. This it was felt, could effectively explode the Huntley thesis that Southern moderates were only awaiting NAACP abdication to rise up in their might to support orderly desegregation. NAACP attempts to arrange for the inclusion on the program of such a moderate were unavailing. (Fortunately, Roy Wilkins did such a tremendous job on the February 8, 1959 NBC program with Chet Huntley and Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston, S. C. News and Courier, that he removed a good deal of the sting from the Huntley thesis.)

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw
MMCCD

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Richmond News Leader - Reprint of Editorial Page "POW-WOW on 40th ST."
" also of Mass Media Cttee. Minutes.
Feb. 4, 1959

REGARDING:

Criticisms against CCD - Mass Media ~~&&&&&~~ Cttee.

DATE

February 27, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Criticisms - Richmond News Leader

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Gentry, S. L.
P. O. Drawer 429
Sumter, S. C.

REGARDING:

Ltr. of request for info. regarding CCD and SRC's relationship with it; also names and addresses of other organizations connected with CCD.

DATE
March 3, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Criticisms - "Defense Materials"
See also: Attachment - Thermofaxed ltr. from Gentry to Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch dtd. 10/3/58

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

March 9, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please be advised that the Mass Media Committee meeting will be held on Wednesday, March 18th, from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon at the Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, NYC, instead of at the NAACP as originally scheduled.

Sincerely yours,

Harriet Weinstock

HF/hw

(Mrs.) Harriet Weinstock
Secretary to Harry Fleischman

File CCD

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

Thomas R. Waring, Editor — Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor — Anthony Harrigan, Editorial Writer

CHARLESTON, S. C., WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

John Temple Graves

Teachers, Lyndon Johnson And The Putnam Letter

"Ladies that come to the ball,
I am in love with you all.
Golden and gay are the lamps
that whirl. . . ."

EVERYBODY LOVES teacher when she comes to the convention — merchants, photographers, beauticians, restaurants, speech-makers, philosophers and flirts.

But when midnight strikes Cinderella goes back to the kitchen and leaves no slipper nor any pixillated prince.

What can you really say to a teacher in times like these in the South except "carry on" and "your noble profession!"? That ought to be sufficient, perhaps, for the dedicated. But it's hard to be dedicated in a state of malnutrition and of nervous indigestion about the future.

Let's say it, though. For even if it isn't enough it is much, and to some, even in this practical age, it is everything. Let's say that through the ages dedication hasn't paid off in the coin of any practical realm and has had to depend on its own mintages. It is so of the teacher, the preacher, the writer, so of the artist. And we continue to have, thank God, teachers, preachers, writers and artists.

WHEN SEN. LYNDON Johnson asks rhetorically whether Berlin is to be "the deathbed of democracy or the graveyard of aggression" some will feel that the subject is too vital for alliterating like that. It calls for imagery, perhaps, but in simplest language. Such as Trotsky's when he heard Lenin was dead: "The words are like great rocks falling into the sea."

In defense of much alliterating here, my story is that it is done in a spirit of romp-in-writing and good clean fun.

FLASH! The Putnam Letter is upsetting the "Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation."

And massively!

In organization is made up of some 40 organizations interested in promoting integration. Recent minutes suggested that members "check with editors and publishers about the problem." (Apparently checking has been successful with The Washington Post and Los Angeles, which refused the letter as an advertisement.) "To judge from the waspish tone of (the minutes)," writes Editor James J. Kilpatrick in The Richmond News-Leader, "the 'Carleton Putnam letter' is beginning to hurt." The "Mass Media Committee" circulates stories and editorials from The Arkansas Gazette (Harry Ashmore), The Washington Post and The Urban League (which is still receiving over $2 million a year from community chest groups even though a number of Southern chest organizations have dropped it).

SUMMARY OF MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE , CCD MEETING, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, April 22, 1959 from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon at the Jewish Labor Committee, 25 East 78th Street, New York, New York.

Put this on your calendar and please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The Richmond News-Leader printed the February 4, 1959 minutes of the Mass Media Committee on February 27, 1959 with an editorial, Pow-Wow on 40th Street. We have been unable to ascertain how these minutes came into the hands of the News-Leader. Following the printing of the minutes in the News-Leader, they were reprinted, again with editorials, in the Charleston, S. C. News and Courier, the Jackson, Mississippi Daily News and the Augusta, Georgia Courier. The Richmond editorial and the minutes were inserted into the Congressional Record of March 3, 1959 by Congressman Watkins M. Abbitt of Virginia and the Jackson editorial and the minutes into the Congressional Record of March 13, 1959 by Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi. (A copy of the News Leader editorial is enclosed.)

The Richmond News-Leader, through the Associated Press, asked for further information about CCD. The enclosed reply was sent to A.P.

2. It was suggested that an objective study of the economic effects of school closings by some foundation might help movo the business community to preserve the public school system. Possibilities for such a study will be investigated.

The February 1959 issue of New South, published by the Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga., carried an article by Dr. Lorin A. Thompson on VIRGINIA EDUCATION CRISIS AND ITS ECONOMIC ASPECTS. A pamphlet on THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF SCHOOL CLOSING by Jim Montgomery, Business Editor, The Atlanta Constitution, has been printed by Emory University. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council.

It was suggested that some business organization might be interested in doing a roundup pamphlet on the subject.

3. The Montgomery, Ala. Citizens Council published an ad in the Montgomery Home News on February 12, 1959, which states that "We insist that no white person should participate in any consultations directed towards 'working out' the :school situation' with any person of either race who is promoting integration in any way... In no discussions between any groups or persons shall any proposal to alter or modify our segregation pattern in the schools be a subject of consideration or discussion. Any person who violates these standards will, in our sober opinion, be adjudged and marked by the people of these communities to be an enemy of the white people and a traitor to the heritage and cause of white people."

The ad insists that if any whites fail to actively support total segregation, "an aroused and informed public will make it unprofitable and uncomfortable for any (such) person to remain in our community...From now on the Council must call a spade a spade, and name the names of friend and enemy."

Discussion at the mass media meeting indicated that the Montgomery ad was in the vein of Hitler and Stalin, both of whom insisted that it was not enough for their subjects to refrain from opposing totalitarian policies, but instead had to actively support such policies or else be considered "enemies of the state." It was suggested that reportage of the Montgomery ad to editors, commentators and public officials might reinforce and stiffen public opinion in the nation against such totalitarian views.

4. The Interracial News Service of the National Council of Churches, has published a compilation of statements on race relations by various Protestant denominations in its January-February and March-April 1959 issues. Write to NCC's Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York for copies.

5. A series of seven thoughtful and provocative articles on how Southern states have responded to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and the adjustments that are still to come have been assembled in a booklet, SOUTHERNERS AND SCHOOLS . Order from The New Republic, 1244-19th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. at 35¢ a copy, $20 for 100 copies.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw
4/1/59

COPY

Editorial

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
February 27, 1959

Pow-Wow on 40th Street

Elsewhere on today's editorial page appear the minutes of a most interesting meeting held in New York City on February 4, at the NAACP's headquarters on West Fortieth Street. The document speaks for itself, and it should speak eloquently to white Southerners.

Until this week, we ourselves had never heard of the "Consultative Conference on Desegregation", or of its "Mass Media Committee." Inquiry this morning to the Associated Press elicited a few facts, drawn unwillingly from a reluctant source: The CCD is made up of "about 40" organizations with an interest in promoting racial integration. The AP's source declined to release a list of these members. The CCD's "Mass Media Committee," we may conclude for ourselves, is charged with influencing newspapers, magazines, press associations, and radio-TV networks in behalf of the integration cause. In a free country, this is certainly anybody's privilege and there ought not to be any particular secret about what these people are up to.

What are they up to? They are a busy crew.

They are distributing thousands of copies of a "Pogo" comic strip which ridicules Virginia's action in closing schools last Fall. They are reprinting a series of pieces from the Arkansas Gazette and circulating some articles from the Washington Post. They direct attention to a pamphlet of the Urban League and a "workshop report" of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

Several special assignments claimed the committee's attention on February 4. A letter was at hand mentioning that the Associated Press and United Press International are engaging in "race labeling." Alan Reitman, of the American Civil Liberties Union, is instructed to talk with officials of the wire services concerning this matter. Evidently the committee had been unsuccessful in planting in Life magazine an article about Southern clergymen who support integration. Mr. Reitman agrees to contact Life again. The busy Mr. Reitman also will call upon the New York Times to suggest a particular article there. The NAACP's Henry Moon is to push the same kind of stories at Time and Newsweek.

To judge from the waspish tone of Minute No.9, the famed "Carleton Putnam Letter" is beginning to hurt. This was an open letter sent by Mr. Putnam to President Eisenhower last Fall. Following its publication in the Richmond Times-Dispatch in October, the letter was distributed widely around the country. Subsequently, a group of Alabamians formed a committee to arrange for publication of the letter as paid advertising in major newspapers. (James E. Simpson, Attorney, 317 North Twentieth Street, Birmingham, is treasurer of the committee.) Mr. Putnam, who assuredly is "distinguished" though he has not described himself as such, had nothing to do with formation of this committee. In his letter, the New York

born historian, biographer, and bussinessman ringingly defends the Southern point of view on school segregation, and urges upon the President a reconsideration of civil rights agitation. The integrationists' "Mass Media Committee" finds the Putnam letter a problem, and outlines various schemes for undermining the letter's effectiveness.

There is much for the Southern traditionalist, believing in essential separation of the races, to learn from the minutes of this New York committee. Two points especially bear emphasis:

First, this is a coordinated effort. Nine different organizations sent representatives to the committee meeting.

Second, this is a professional effort. Reitman and Moon are not amateurs in public relations. They are pro's, full-time people, and when the committee members meet on West Fortieth Street in Manhattan they meet within a few minutes' taxi ride of the top men in the communications industry.

What does the white South have to match this? Let us attempt an answer in one word: Nothing.

Organizations that believe in the constitutional right of the States to maintain racially separate institutions have no coordination of any sort. Conservative, right-wing groups as a whole have no unity or strength. We have no "consultative conferences," no "mass media committee," no skilled and personable representatives to call upon magazine editors and network officials. Is it any wonder that the South continues to take a terrible licking?

Let us ponder these revealing minutes more in sorrow than in anger, more in honest concern than in resentment. We live in a day of the pressure group, in which public opinion is molded like wax and the grass roots are fertilized from a hundred artificial sources. It is high time for the conservative South to unstuff its shirt, put up some real money, and adapt the techniques of its foes to the cause we hold to be right.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
55 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

Copy of Letter to Robert Farrington of Associated Press

Dear Mr. Farrington:

This is in reply to your request for information regarding the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

The Conference was formed a little over two years ago in order to further communication among organizations committed to facilitating orderly compliance with the constitutional requirements regarding desegregation.

As its name implies, the Conference is a mechanism for interconsultation and for an exchange of information, views and experiences among the participating organizations. The deliberations of the Conference are advisory only and are not binding on any organization.

The Conference itself is not an operating agency. It does not engage in legislative activity nor does it take public actions or issue public statements.

The officers of the Conference are: Co-Chairmen; Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Very Rev. Maurice V. Sheen, Catholic Committee of the South, Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Synagogue Council of America; Treasurer; Lewis M. Hoskins, American Friends Service Committee; Secretary; Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council. The Conference has no paid staff.

In addition to the organizations represented by the officers, other organizations which participate in the consultative processes include: American Civil Liberties Union; Americans for Democratic Action; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League; Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Catholic Interracial Council; Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; Department of Social Welfare, United Christian Missionary Society, Disciples of Christ; Evangelical & Reformed Church, Commission on Christian Social Action; Jewish Labor Committee; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Board, YWCA; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council Protestant Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship; National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.; National Social Welfare Assembly; Southern Regional Council; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Unitarian Service Committee; United Automobile Workers of America; United Church Women; United Steelworkers of America; and Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

Yours truly,

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

AA:EB

EXCERPT FROM:

Jackson Mississippi
Daily News - March 5, 1959

Publicity Peter Funks

The extent to which organized, professional pressure groups apply the squeeze to the Nation's large newspapers, magazines, wire services, radio and television outlets on behalf of stirring up racial hatreds and warped opinions of the South has been uncovered.

Minutes of a secret meeting held in New York recently have been obtained. This document reveals very significant background into reasons the South continues to suffer abuse and slander in the court of last resort - public opinion. The judge and jury are both stacked against millions of decent, law-abiding people who disagree with leftwing, Communist-front strife-spreaders, do-gooders, and social and publicity Peter Funks.

The minutes of the hush-hush session at which distorted stories against the South were conceived appear, along with additional editorial comment, on the editorial page in this issue of the Jackson Daily News.

You will see from the pressure techniques plus an abundance of fawning willingness on the part of journalists and television commentators that the South has no more chance of unbiased treatment than a billy goat has of winning a prize at a perfume contest.

The minutes reveal propaganda leaflets are distributed by the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation to all CCD agencies. It is reported about 40 agencies cooperate in this the falsehood spreading, but the names of these agencies are kept secret.

Visiting newsmen can swarm into the South and get all the factual information they desire on any organization, but the nerve-center of world journalism, television and radio has not been able to get a list of these agencies.

Right-thinking southerners should study with concern the underground activities of vicious sabotage against reputable people.

It must be accepted that the South has been long-suffering in enduring the assaults.

Although it can hardly hope to cope with a secret underground of hate-pushers, the Citizens Council (there's no secret about its board of directors) is the only active organization putting up an intelligent defense against the constant barrage of smear against the South.

After reading the details on the editorial page today we believe our readers will hold renewed respect and admiration for those who stand on the forefront of this all-important fight for decency and fairplay.

File

RECEIVED MAY 4 1959

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1959

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, May 20, 1959 from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon at the American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84 Street, New York, New York.

Put this on your calendar and please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The Southern Regional Council reported that it was preparing a memorandum summarizing available material on the economic effects of school closings. A foundation indicated interest in a possible study of the subject as did a business magazine.

2. Articles and editorials in the Montgomery, Alabama Advertiser, April 9, 10 and 12, 1959 protested success of the White Citizens Council in Montgomery in forcing the cancellation of a film showing, and Klan and Citizens Council success in Tuscaloosa in forcing the resignation of a hospital superintendent. See attached.

3. A key list of mass media and public figures is being compiled to receive reprints of news stories, articles and editorials from Southern papers. Please send names and addresses of those you would like included on the list to Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

4. The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette has printed an article contrasting the pro-segregation views of a Northerner, Carleton Putnam (printed as an advertisement in many Northern papers by Southern segregationists) with the anti-segregation views of a Southerner, James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council. Write to Harold Fleming for copies.

5. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, gave a talk on "The Neglected Frontier" at the Anti-Defamation League Freedom Forum last December. The speech, which reported CBS human relations programming plans, has been published as a pamphlet by CBS. Copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

6. INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS -- a survey listing 531 such cases in 11 Southern states reported in the press from January 1955 to January 1959, will soon be published. The survey is sponsored by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee; and the Southern Regional Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
CCD Mass Media Committee

HF/hw
Att:
MMCCD
4/29/59

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, APRIL 9, 1959

GANGLAND IN A SEAT OF LEARNING

That which needs to be understood about the Klan is that it would like to rule everything, including your grocery budget and the amount of air you carry in your tires. The sorry state of affairs at Hale Memorial Hospital in Tuscaloosa illustrates and ought to be a warning to those who are complacent about the Klan.

At the Tuscaloosa hospital, the superintendent, Dr. Horace L. White, was forced to resign by the Klan and local Citizens Council. The issue was the manner in which white nurses helped Negro patients.

It is not only that the Klan element has caved in public resistance to the extent that this could happen, but the probate judge of the county, David Cochrane, entreated White to leave Tuscaloosa for "his own safety."

That, not a guard of police, was the cowed response.

In short, not only were the Kluxers in Tuscaloosa able to take over a hospital and force its head to resign, they were able to make the first officer of county government pass along a warning to leave town.

The Kluxers are now after two more hospital employes and five of the nurses were threatened with assault in an anonymous telephone call.

All this is gangland in a famous seat of learning.

THREATS FORCE HOSPITAL HEAD TO QUIT HALE

Tuscaloosa, Ala. (AP) Trustees of Hale Memorial Hospital Friday night accepted the resignation of their medical director over the protests of a majority of the patients at the tuberculosis sanatorium.

The resignation apparently stemmed from a racial situation at the hospital which serves 11 west Alabama counties.

Dr. Horace L. White resigned as superintendent and medical director. Dr. O.L. Jordan, chairman of the board of trustees, was named temporary medical director.

White's resignation brought in to public a controversy that has been brewing for some time over objections by the Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan of certain duties white nurses perform for Negro patients.

During the trustees' meeting White said threats have been made against him and his family as well as against other hospital employes.

A Citizens Council spokesman, Walter Wyatt, declined to comment on the situation and members of the KKK could not be reached for comment.

-more-

Petitions were presented at the meeting bearing the names of 102 of the 147 patients at the hospital urging the board to refuse White's resignation.

The petitions commended White and denied any attempts to break down segregation in the hospital.

The ratio of Negro and white patients at the sanatorium was not available.

Trustees have met several times recently with the Citizens Council and KKK groups in efforts to iron out the controversy.

Jordan told the trustees that Probate Judge David Cochrane called him last Wednesday urging that he "get Dr. White out of town tonight for his own safety."

FEARED FOR SAFETY

He quoted Cochrane as saying he had heard certain threats and feared for White's safety.

Jordan said he took White to Montgomery that night to talk with State Health officers.

Said Jordan:

"I thought everything would be all right after I had Dr. White's resignation but they (outside agitators) are not satisfied.

"Now they have started on two other men at the hospital. Val Destino and the boiler tender, Mr. Hall." Destino and Hall were not further identified.

"Someone also called the hospital last Saturday night and told one of the nurses that they knew there were five nurses on duty and they were going to beat them up when they got off."

Jordan said he got police escorts to see the nurses home.

Jordan indicated that the incident apparently began some time ago with the firing of three nurses whom White charged were incompetent.

Accusations were made against White at the time that white nurses were ordered to perform certain duties for Negro patients.

White denied giving any such orders.

-30-

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, APRIL 10, 1959

COUNCIL HAD SPOKEN Film Showing Blocked By 'Fear Of Violence'
By Arthur Osgoode

Fear of possible violence caused him to cancel a film that had been nominated as best picture of 1958, a Montgomery movie theater manager told The Advertiser Thursday.

"The Defiant Ones," which Monday received awards from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for the best screenplay and best photography of the year, was withdrawn after a protesting telegram from the Montgomery Citizens Council.

Though it did not win, the film was among five nominated for the best picture award. It deals with the escape of a white man and a Negro from a Georgia chain gang.

A. B. (Bickey) Covey, manager of the Empire Theater, said that "you just don't know what the next move would have been."

"Knowing what has been done here, you just can't be complacent about it. I'd be a nervous wreck thinking about what might happen."

But Covey said he had received numerous telephone calls protesting the cancelling of the film.

He quoted one caller as saying "I think it's a damn shame."

He said another asked: "Well, why aren't you playing it?"

Covey said he "always fought back" in past cases of attempted censorship, but that in this case he feared for the safety of theatre patrons. He pointed to past instances of violence on the part of segregationist elements in the city.

Bruce Wyatt, chairman of the local Citizens Council, said the telegram was sent after approval by the council's executive committee.

Members of the council executive board are William R. Burt, official of a boiler works, William Garner, attorney, John Blair Hawthorn, Snowdoun farmer and dairyman, Jesse Hodges, electrical firm estimator, Herbert Lancaster, architect, J. R. Syfrett, civil engineer, and Wyatt.

None of the group had seen the picture, said Wyatt though he believed " a couple of them had seen parts of it."

The telegram to the theater was "based on research," Wyatt said.

Wyatt said "it remains to be seen" whether the Citizens Council will seek to prevent the playing of other film which may touch on racial issues.

As to "The Defiant Ones," Wyatt commented that "I don't believe the average person would have been able to realize exactly what it was."

He said the picture was investigated after the Council had received several telephone calls protesting the impending showing of the film which deals with

escape of a white convict and a Negro convict, both chained together.

Glenn Saunders, who handles public relations for the Citizens Council, termed the picture "low-pressure, insidious propaganda that very likely would not be recognized for what it was."

Before sending the telegram, he said, "we had fairly conclusive evidence that it was a clever propaganda job."

Saunders also said that none of the Citizens Council group had seen the picture, but they had talked to two people who had seen it elsewhere. But he said that the decision to protest the picture was based on the reading of numerous reviews as well as on an article appearing in a newsletter put out by the American Legion's Americanism Committee.

The question of whether the group was entitled to the right of censorship, "wasn't discussed at all," Saunders said.

Covey declined to say whether he would cancel other pictures in face of similar protests. "You've got to cross each bridge as you get to it," he said.

Of the question of whether a film should be shown, he asked, "Who can we hand it to to handle it?"

"If it wasn't a question of racial issues, where we've had all our troubles, and bombings and so forth, I'd have told them to go to hell," said Covey.

The Citizens Council, he said, "is getting their stuff out of publications."

Protests over the movie were reportedly received at City Hall by city officials

Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers said he had received one telephone call objecting to the showing of the film.

But, he said, "I did not call Covey, and I had absolutely nothing to do with it."

Mayor W. A. Gayle could not be reached for comment Thursday night.

"The Defiant Ones," replaced Thursday by "Ride Lonesome," a picture starring Randolph Scott, was to have run here for seven days.

It tells the story of two convicts, played by Tony Curtis and Sidney Poitier, who escape while chained together and overcome their racial hatreds during their harrowing experiences.

LAUDED BY CRITICS

Both Curtis and Poitier were nominated for Academy Awards for their performances, and the picture was lauded by many critics.

The Citizens Council telegram, however, said that "it is not a very good picture, being replete with contrived actions and stilted, unconvincing characters who do not do justice to the talent of the actors,"

The incident was not the first in which segregationist opposition forced the cancelling of a film in this area.

Last July, a mob stormed a drive-in movie in Elmore County which was showing "Island in the Sun," a film starring a white woman and Negro singer Harry Belafonte.

On this occasion, an Advertiser photographer was knocked down and his film seized by members of the mob, which held the manager captive and cut off theater power supply.

Though notified of the violence, Elmore County Sheriff Lester Holley failed to investigate. Theater manager Max Singleton withdrew the film.

It was also scheduled to be shown at a local Negro drive-in theater, but it was withdrawn at the request of the Montgomery City Commission.

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, APRIL 12, 1959

HE KNOWS BEST: CONFORM OR GO

In this examination of the Montgomery Citizens Council, The Advertiser is going to be careful not to exaggerate that organization's potential for mischief, nuisance or menace to our way of life in Montgomery.

But now that the Council has prevented the showing of a movie here. The Advertiser feels a duty to urge the citizens of Montgomery to take a keen look at the Council's stated aims and to assess how much of your personal freedom it craves to devour.

The head of the Council in Montgomery is Mr. Bruce Wyatt.

Today, as you have just seen, Mr. Wyatt is manager of the Empire Theater. He has taken over the managerial duties from the former manager, Mr. "Bickey" Covey.

The question becomes whether, tomorrow, Mr. Wyatt aims to function as president of the Montgomery Bar Association, the Dental Society, the Medical Society, the Merchants Association, the Ministerial Association, the Farm Bureau, and manager of the local TV-radio stations.

If you doubt that such is the toxic vision of Mr. Wyatt, hold until you have re-read it in his own words. We will presently quote them.

It did not matter a hoot to our social order here whether the movie Defiant Ones was shown or not. For the overwhelming mass of white public opinion in Montgomery is opposed beyond alteration to race mixing. No amount of propagandistic bombardment can change that.

But if any kind of propaganda assaults and injections could alter the convictions of white Montgomerians about race mixing, it would not be an elusive, brief whiff of a "message" in a movie.

If any kind of propaganda would derange overmastering white sentiment in Montgomery, it would be such authoritative influences as President Eisenhower, Congress, the magazines, national church bodies and your TV set.

The council cannot seal off Montgomerians from these sources of propaganda. Instead, you are told you cannot see the movie Defiant Ones.

And that goes by the name of "thought control."

Now who is the gentleman that decided for you that you might be harmed by seeing the movie?

Our impression of Mr. Wyatt is that of an earnest, upright man with whom you would never suffer in a personal business transaction.

Our further impression of Mr. Wyatt is that, had he been on the jury at the Scopes Monkey Trial, he would have voted Thomas Scopes guilty as charged; that Mr. Wyatt's conprehension of an American's personal freedom is unachieved; and that if shown the writings of Thomas Jefferson with the author's sanctified name obliterated, he would adjudge them dangerous and un-Montgomery.

Not for a moment does the Advertiser question Mr. Wyatt's sincerity and good intentions. Nor do we think that at this point he is a consequential danger to the freedom of Montgomerians. But, as is seen in inexhaustible profusion throughout man's history, Mr. Wyatt has embraced a dogma, and if you will not embrace the same dogma, he aims to put you behind the pale. "You either think my way or you're against the white folks." The formula is more ancient than Adam's baby teeth.

Our interpretations of the aims of Mr. Wyatt are entirely derived from his own written words. On Feb. 1, the Council ran a large ad in The Advertiser entitled, "This Is The Program Which Will Keep The Schools Segregated."

Here are some extractions from the ad which show the governmental role the Council aspires to play:

... As the organized voice of our white citizens in matters pertaining to racial affairs, we are entitled to expect, and we do expect, that the public officials whom we elect shall consult with the Citizen Council officials whom we elect at all stages of the planning and execution of policies and measures involving the question of racial segregation.

When the Council wants a lawyer, it demands that he come running:

As citizens we feel that in a time of crisis like this we have the right to expect, and we do expect, the complete cooperation of members of the legal profession in making their services available on such a panel... We do expect similar cooperation from other leaders in the community life in making their time and services available.

Here is the two-headed threat the Council makes if you dare reject its infallible dogma. It's hard to believe, but it was prominently displayed in this paper Feb. 1:

(1)...No person who now enjoys success, leadership or acceptance in our communities will continue to enjoy success, leadership or acceptance should he aid in making more difficult our mission of maintaining segregation...
(2)...We feel that an aroused and informed public will make it unprofitable and uncomfortable for any person to remain in our community if he is not willing to support the community in this matter.

In short, a day is envisioned when there will be bodies elsewhere known as Montgomerians-in-Exile.

It is plain that this kind of vicious idiocy would leave the Council making war, not on the Negro revolutionaries, but on white people.

-end-

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1959

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting, to be held Wednesday, June 17, 1959 from 11:30 until 2 p.m. at the National Community Relations Advisory Council, 55 West 42nd St., New York 36, N.Y.

Since luncheon will be served, it will be necessary for us to know whether or not you plan to attend. Please put this on your calendar and call or write to let us know if you will attend.

1. Notre Dame Law School plans to put out a special Symposium Issue of its law review, the Notre Dame Lawyer, in the Fall. The issue will concentrate on the practical problems arising from the Supreme Court decisions on school integration and on the responsibilities of the churches, of educators and school administrators, of the legal profession, of the Negro community and of public officials on the local, state and national levels.

A symposium was held at Notre Dame on May 8 and 9, 1959 which heard from: Catholic Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh, North Carolina; Rev. J.J. Murray, visiting professor at the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary and former moderator of the Virginia Synod of the Presbyterian Church; and Rev. Albert T. Mollegen of the faculty of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia; representing public officials, Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, former Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland, and Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta; representing educators and school administrators, Professor Harvey Wheeler of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.; Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools of the District of Columbia; and Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools of Louisville, Kentucky; representing the Negro community, Dr. Rufus Clement, President of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia and former Dean George M. Johnson of Howard University School of Law, Washington, D. C.; representing the legal profession, Mr. Howard C. Westwood of the firm of Covington & Burling, Washington, D. C.

The speeches at that conference plus a section on "The Practical Problem of Desegregation: A Legal Analysis," written by Notre Dame Law School students (see attached outline), will be published in the Symposium Issue. Notre Dame Law School plans to print 5,000 copies and distribute them without charge to public officials, religious leaders, newspaper editors, educators and others who are influential in forming public opinion. To do this will require about $6,000. The Mass Media Committee unanimously recommended that each organization in CCD contribute to this project.

Contributions should be sent to Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School, Notre Dame, Indiana. Dean O'Meara informs us that copies of the Symposium Issue will be sent to each contributing organization for distribution to its key people.

2. A progress report was presented on the economic effects of school closings. When the Southern Regional Council memorandum summarizing available material on the subject has been completed, it will be sent to CCD agencies. It was suggested that additional business magazines and newspapers might be interested in doing articles or series on the subject.

3. It was suggested that it would be very helpful, when schools re-open in the Fall, if T.V. programs illustrating successful desegregation of schools, despite initial difficulties, could be shown. Nashville, Tennessee was mentioned as one possibility.

4. The May 13, 1959 issue of Variety contained the attached article. It was agreed to check the legality of this action by segregationists.

5. Fisk University has just published "Human Relations and the Moral Challenge," a condensation of presentations at the 1958 Fisk Institute of Race Relations. The sixty-four page pamphlet is available from Dr. Herman H. Long, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee. at 50¢ each for single copies; 40¢ each for 10-20 copies; 30¢ each for 20 or more copies.

6. The AFL-CIO Education News and Views, May 1959 issue contains an article on "Indirect Approach to Educating On Civil Rights." Through a discussion of the right to picket and Federal minimum wage legislation, parallel problems involving the role of the Federal Government in school integration are considered. Copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

7. Father Joseph H. Fichter, S.J. head of the Sociology Department of Loyola University, New Orleans, wrote an excellent article on "The Reluctant South" in the May 15, 1959 issue of Commonweal. The Catholic Interracial Council is considering reprinting it.

8. The Southern Temper, by William Peters, has been published by Doubleday & Co., 575 Madison Avenue, New York, with a foreword by Harry Golden. (238 pages. $3.95) This fine book points to the growing body of Southerners -- educators, church women, religious leaders, unionists, responsible businessmen and an increasing number of political leaders -- who are struggling effectively against extremists on the desegregation issue. It not only tells the story of what has been happening, but also contains many program implications for the future.

9. The Integrated Classroom, by H. Harry Giles, has just been published by Basic Books, Inc., 59 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, New York.(338 pages, $5.00) It is an excellent summary of community reaction to the integration order, a view of the social conflict, an analysis of its implications for educators and a listing of teaching aids to use in the school to promote desegregation. It is very valuable for use in classroom situations.

10. The United Auto Workers Eye Opener radio program will feature a documentary June 11 based on The Civil Rights Story...1958, written by Theodore Leskes of the American Jewish Committee. Write to Guy Nunn, UAW, 8000 E. Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 14, Michigan for stations and details.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw
5/28/59
MMCCD

U.S. TAXPAYERS PICKING UP TAB FOR SEGREGATIONIST TV-RADIO PROPAGANDA

Washington, May 12

The American taxpayer is subsidizing the segregationist propaganda through cut-rate tv films and radio tapes produced in the U.S. House and Senate Recording studios at the U.S. Capitol, VARIETY learned today.

Through the "sponsorship" of Mississippi's Sen. Jim Eastland and Rep. John Bell Williams, the White Citizens Council Forum of Jackson, Miss. -- the "educational" arm of the segregation-buff organization, the White Citizens Council -- is able to get Congressional rates on tv films and radio tape for duplication and distribution to more than 200 station outlets.

It's all accomplished within the Congressional rules which limit the recording studios (equipment and staff are maintained by government funds) to members of Congress only.

The studios were established to give Congressmen and Senators a convenient and inexpensive way to send radio-tv reports back to their Congressional districts. The member is billed at cost. A 15-minute tv film costs $30 to $55, depending upon how many cameras are used. A radio tape costs $1.50 to $5. Commercially, the cash would be many times this figure.

Both Rep. Williams and Sen. Eastland's offices have been active in arranging films and tapes for the Forum series. More than 40 members of Congress have been interviewed in the studios, by Williams or Eastland, and often with a moderator sent up from Jackson headquarters.

Rep. Williams and Sen. Eastland are billed at the regular rate. Then the film and tape is shipped to Jackson where it is duplicated and mailed out to the Forum list of stations.

Most recent interview was Rep. Williams' discussion with Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas who was in Washington to appear on "Youth Wants To Know," the Westinghouse Broadcasting syndicated show.

Note the difference in the costs of Faubus' tv time in Washington:

The 30-minute tv film and radio tape of "Youth Wants To Know," at commercial rates, in Westinghouse Broadcating Co's studios cost $2,000. This was the production bill received by Producer Ted Granik.

The 15-minute tv film and radio tape for the White Citizens Council Forum, made at Congressional rates in the tax-supported House Recording Studio, cost $30 to $55. This was the bill received by the "sponsor," Rep. Williams.

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Vol. XXXIV SYMPOSIUM ISSUE No. 5

THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF DESEGREGATION: A LEGAL ANALYSIS

I. INTRODUCTION: (Objectives and scope of the Note)

II. THE RECOGNITION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT:

A. Historical Perspective - Legal and social precedents.

B. Brown v. Board of Educ.

C. Segregation in areas other than education.

D. An empirical view of the progress of desegregation.

III. IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH THE JUDICIAL PROCESS:

A. "With all deliberate speed" - The time factor.

1. Definition of the basic right.

2. Determination of the appropriate judicial relief.

(a) Historical Background:
(i) The equitable doctrine.
(ii) Pre-1954 school segregation cases.

(b) Facts Justifying Delay:
(i) Community opinion and pressure.
(ii) Adverse state action
(iii) Administrative considerations.

(c) Alternatives Open to the Lower Courts:
(i) Immediate integration.
(ii) Gradual integration - step-by-step plans.
(iii) Decree ordering integration after time for "necessary arrangements."
(iv) Decree that integration be commenced with more concrete order deferred until local problems solved.

B. Parties Who May Secure Judicial Relief:

1. Standing
(a) Private persons.
(b) Governmental instrumentalities.

2. Class actions (including restrictive state legislation).

C. Contempt Proceedings--The Effective Sanction:

1. Vindication of the judiciary's authority:

(a) Civil contempt.
(b) Criminal Contempt.
(c) Supplementary proceedings in equity.
(d) Employment of the federal military power.

2. Conduct subjecting the actor to contempt proceedings (scope of prohibition).

3. Persons subject to contempt proceedings:

(a) Individuals named in the injunction decree.
(b) Privies and associations of the individuals named in the injunction decree.
(c) Members of the general public.
(d) Those with actual knowledge of the decree.
(e) Lower court judge disregarding mandate of appellate court.
(f) State official (governor).

D. Civil Rights Acts:

1. Criminal penalties.

2. Civil relief:

(a) Interpretation.
(b) "Color of State Law" requirement.
(c) Immunity of state agents from suit (11th amendment).

E. The Right to Trial by Jury.

F. Freedom of Expression and the Judicial Sanctions.

G. Exhaustion of State Legal Processes.

1. Administrative Proceedings.

2. Judicial Proceedings.

3. Primary Jurisdiction of State Courts when Construction of State Statute in Issue.

IV. STATE ACTION: A REQUIREMENT FOR JUDICIAL INTERVENTION:

A. Historical Perspective.

B. Segregation Through State Action:

1. Education.

2. Transportation.

3. Housing.

4. Public Accommodations.

C. Comparison of the Segregation Cases with Non-Segregation Cases.

D. State In-Action, Substitutionary Private Action and Segregation.

E. A Realistic Evaluation.

V. COUNTERMEASURES: THE RECALCITRANT STATES:

A. School-Closing plans.

B. Pupil-Placement plans.

C. Tuition Grants to Parents Sending Children to Private Schools.

D. Gerrymandering School Districts.

E. Closing or Leasing State-Owned Public Accommodations (parks, golf courses, swimming pools, etc.)

F. Statutes Directed Against the NAACP.

G. Miscellaneous State Measures Enforcing Segregation (sports events, transp., etc.)

VII. CONCLUSION: The Future.

Robert P. Mone
Symposium Editor

Robert Curley Richard L. Cousineau Jerome Lynes William Bailey Arthur Perry

Associate Editors

RECEIVED JUL 1 1959

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1959

1. A report was presented on the illegality of the White Citizens Councils' use of U. S. Senate and House recording facilities for White Citizens Councils propaganda programs. Information on this will be made available to Senators for further action at their discretion.

P. D. East's Petal Paper on May 28, 1959 carried a letter from Richard J. Scholem, Co-Manager of Station WTIG in Massillon, Ohio, the first Northern outlet to air the Citizens Council Forum radio show (which the WCC now claims is carried by over 400 radio stations in 44 states.) Scholem wrote:

"We offered to air the warped ideas of the Councils', not because of agreement but because Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi spoke of a Northern propaganda curtain among newspapers, radio stations and television stations. We knew this to be untrue and called his bluff.

"The point of this letter, is, however, that we run our own 15-minute show right after the mental manure spread by the Councils' in which the president and executive secretary of the local Urban League and WTIG news staffers, along with an occasional local attorney or minister, dissect the preceding program. We sincerely hope that at least the Northern outlets in the 44 states carrying the Councils' shows will give their local liberals a chance to counter this professional Southern thinking and an equal amount of time to do it. Certainly, your readers who are also listenors to Citizens Council shows, can help a great deal by urging their local station managers to make equal time available to the other (and more enlightened) viewpoint."

It was agreed to suggest to each participating agency that it would be desirable to send memorandums to their local groups in cities carrying the Citizens Council's Forums, urging them to check on whether the station named is actually carrying the program, and if so, to request equal time for a local reply to it. (See attached list of stations advertised by the WCC as carrying their programs.)

A committee was appointed to check into possibilities of preparing adequate material for such programs, and to consider ways in which they could be sent out.

2. The report on Intimidation, Reprisals and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis; published by the National Council of Churches' Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, the American Friends Service Committee's Southeastern Office and the Southern Regional Council; has received excellent front page play in the Chattanooga Times, Atlanta Journal, New York Times, New York Herald Tribune and a long inside story in the Washington Post. Editorials have appeared in the New York Times, Washington Post and Atlanta Journal. The New York Times Sunday editorial section June 21, 1959 carried a special piece dealing with the pamphlet.

It was suggested that it might be an excellent thing if a border state Senator or Congressman would insert the pamphlet in the Congressional Record.

3. The American Friends Service Committee is putting out a pamphlet, Race and Conscience in America, to be published in early July by the University of Oklahoma Press. The pamphlet includes practical suggestions for action by individuals and groups to promote equality in America. Single copy 50 cents. Bulk orders available at much lower rates. Write Alex Morisey, AFSC, 20 S. 12 St., Phila., Pa. for details.

4. The Southern Regional Council has been putting out a series of reports on economic effects of the school crisis in the South. It would appreciate receiving any reports of speeches, interviews and statements by business leaders relating to the problem of the impact of race and tension on the South's economy.

5. A study by two members of Emory's University's faculty on using private schools as substitutes for public schools, will be published shortly by the Southern Regional Council.

6. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held in the Fall, but that the Chairman is empowered to call a special meeting at any time if the situation warrants such action.

Respectfully Submitted

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
CCD Mass Media Committee

CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM ON TV AND RADIO

TELEVISION

ALABAMA
Dothan -- WTVY (TV) Channel 9, Wed. 10 p.m.
Montgomery -- WCOV-TV Channel 20, Sun. aft.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock -- KATV (TV) Channel 7, Mon. 6:15 p.m.

ILLINOIS
Harrisburg -- WSIL-TV Channel 3, Mon. 2:15 p.m.

LOUISIANA
Lafayette -- KLFY-TV Channel 10.
New Orleans -- WVUE-TV Channel 13, Sun 6p.m.

MINNESOTA
Duluth -- WDSM-TV Channel 6, Sun. 10:15a.m.

MISSISSIPPI
Columbus -- WCBI-TV Channel 4, Fri. 5:45p.m.
Jackson -- WLBT (TV) Channel 3, Sun. 3:45 p.m.
Jackson -- WJTV (TV) Channel 12, Sun. 11:15 p.m.

MONTANA
Glendive -- KXGN-TV Channel 5,

SOUTH CAROLINA
Anderson -- WAIM-TV Channel 40, Sun. 1:30 p.m.

VIRGINIA
Richmond -- WTVR (TV) Channel 6, Mon. 6:30 p.m.

WYOMING
Casper -- KSPR-TV Channel 6.

RADIO

ALABAMA
Athens -- WJOF (1000 kc.) Sun. 6 p.m.
Bay Minette -- WBCA (1150 kc.) Sat. 2 p.m.
Dothan -- WDIG (1450 kc.) Wed. 6:15 p.m.
Evergreen -- WBLO (1470 kc.) Sun. 2 p.m.
Jackson -- WTHG (1290 kc.), Sat.
Russellville -- WWWR (920 kc.) Tue. 4:45p.m.

RADIO (contd.)

ALASKA
Sitka -- KIFW (1230 kc) Mon. 7:30 p.m.

ARIZONA
Bisbee -- KSUN (1230 kc.) Sun. 8:30p.m.
Safford -- KGLU (1480 kc.) Tue. 5:45p.m.

ARKANSAS
Benton -- KBBA (690 kc.) Thur. 7:35a.m.
Helena -- KFFA (1360 kc.) Mon. 9 p.m.
Little Rock -- KTHS (1090 kc.) Sun. 7:15 p.m.
Monticello -- WHBM (1430 kc.) Sun. 5:10 p.m.

CALIFORNIA
El Centro -- KICO (1490 kc.) Sat. 8:15 p.m.
Needles -- KSFE (1340 kc.) Wed. 6:30p.m.
Ridgecrest -- KRCK (1360 kc) Sat. noon

COLORADO
Canon City -- KRLN (1400 kc.) Tue. 5:45 p.m.
Greeley -- KFKA (1310 kc.) Thur.6:30p.m.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington area -- WFAX (1220 kc.) Sun. 12:30 p.m.

FLORIDA
Avon Park -- WAUP (1390 kc.)
Crestview -- WJSB (1050 kc.) Wed. 8:45 a.m.
Daytona Beach -- WDAT (1590 kc.) Sun. 5 p.m.
Fernandina Beach -- WFBF (1570 kc.)
Live Oak -- WNER (1250 kc.) Wed. 5:45pm.
Kissimmee -- WRWB (1220 kc.)
St. Augustine -- WFOY (1240 kc.) Fri. 8 p.m.

GEORGIA
Alma -- WCQS (1400 kc.)
Atlanta -- WAGA (590 kc.)
Atlanta -- WYZE (1480 kc.) Sun. 7 p.m.
Bremen -- WWCC (1440 kc.) Wed. 1:30 p.m.
Calhoun -- WCCA (900 kc.) Thur. 3:15p.m.

RADIO (contd.)

GEORGIA (Contd.)
Cordele -- WMJM (1490 kc.)
Covington -- WGFS (1430 kc.) Sat. 9:45 a.m.
Dalton -- WRCD (1430 kc.) Sat. 7 a.m.
Griffin -- WHIE (1320 kc.) Sun. 6 p.m.
Monroe -- WMRE (1490 kc.) Sat. 12:30 p.m.
Valdosta -- WGAF (910 kc.) Tues. 7:30 p.m.
Winder -- WIMO (1300 kc.) Mon. 10:45 a.m.

IDAHO
Coeur D'Alene -- KVNI (1240 kc.) Sun. 4p.m.

ILLINOIS
Belleville -- WIBV (1260 kc.) Sat 4:45 p.m.
Danville -- WITY (980 kc.) Fri. 6:45 p.m.
Lincoln -- WPRC (1370 kc.) Wed. 12:45p.m.
Mattoon -- WLBH (1170 kc.) Sun. 5:30 p.m.

KENTUCKY
Madisonville -- WFMW (730 kc.) Fri. 6:15p.m.
Mayfield -- WNGO (1320 kc.) Sun. 2:15p.m.
Prestonsburg -- WDOC (1310 kc.) Sun. 1:15p.m.
Vanceburg -- WKKS (1570 kc.) Mon. 2:15 p.m.
Whitesburg WTCW (920 kc.) Sun. 4:45 p.m.
Winchester -- WWKY (1380 kc.) Sun. 10:45a.m.

LOUISIANA
Homer -- KVHL (1320 kc.) Sun. 1 p.m.
Houma -- KCIL (1490 kc.) Sun. 5:15 p.m.
Jonesville -- KLEC (1480 kc.) Sun. 8:45 a.m.
Opelousas -- KSLO (1230 kc.) Fri. 6:30 p.m.
West Monroe -- KUZN (1310 kc.) Sat. noon

MASSACHUSETTS
Westfield -- WDEW (1570 kc. Sat. 5 p.m.

MISSISSIPPI
Aberdeen -- WMPA (1240 kc.) Fri. 5:30 p.m.
Booneville -- WBIP (1400 kc.) Mon. 1:15 p.m.
Brookhaven -- WJMB (1340 kc.) Wed. 2:15 p.m.
Canton -- WDQB (1370 kc.) Thurs. 10 a.m.
Clarksdale -- WROX (1450 kc.) Mon. 12:15p.m.
Cleveland -- WCLD (1490 kc.) Sun. 5:45 p.m.
Columbia -- WCJU (1450 kc.) Mon 7:45 a.m.
Columbus -- WACR (1050 kc.) Fri. noon
Forest -- WMAG (860 kc.) Sun. 7:15 a.m.
Greenwood -- WGRM (1240 kc.) Mon. 9:05 p.m.
Indianola -- WNLA (1380 kc.) Sun.1 p.m.
Jackson -- WJDX (620 kc.) Sat. 12:45 p.m.
Kosciusko -- WKOZ (1350 kc.) Sun. noon
Louisville -- WLSM (1270 kc.) Sat. 12:45p.m.

MISSISSIPPI (Contd.)
Macon -- WMBC (1400 kc.) Sun. 12:15 p.m.
McComb -- WAPF (980 kc.) Sat. 8 a.m.
Natchez -- WMIS (1240 kc.) Sun. 3 p.m.
Newton -- WBKN (1410 kc.) Tues. 11:45a.m
Oxford -- WSUH (1240 kc.) Sun. 1 p.m.
Philadelphia -- WHOC (1490 kc.) Sun. 2:45 p.m.
Starkville -- WSSO (1230 kc.) Sat. 6:45 a.m.
Tupelo -- WELO (1490 kc.) Sun. 12:30p.m.
Tupelo -- WTUP (1380 kc.) Sun. 8:15 a.m.
West Point -- WROB (1450 kc.) Wed. 6:15 p.m.
Winona -- WONA (1570 kc.) Sun. 12:30 p.m
Yazoo City -- WAZF (1230 kc.) Thurs. 12:30 p.m.

MISSOURI
Clinton -- KDKD (1280 kc.)

MONTANA
Glendive -- KXGN (1400 kc.)

NEBRASKA
Chadron -- KCSR (1450 kc.) Sun. 2 p.m.
Holdrege -- KUVR (1380 kc.)

NEW JERSEY
Vineland -- WWBZ (1360 kc.) Mon. 7 p.m.

NEW YORK
Jamestown -- WJTN (1240 kc.) Mon. 7 p.m.

NORTH CAROLINA
Albemarle -- WZKY (1580 kc.) Sat. 9:45am
Kinston -- WISP (1230 kc.) Sun. 9:45 a.m
Lexington -- WBUY (1440 kc.) Wed. 7 p.m.
Reidsville -- WREV (1220 kc.) Wed. 1p.m.
Washington -- WOOW (1340 kc.) Wed. 1:45 p.m.

OHIO
Chillicothe -- WBEX (1490 kc.) Sun. 6:45 p.m.
Dover -- WJER (1450 kc.) Sun. 9:45 p.m.
Massilon -- WTIG (990 kc.) Sun. 12:30 p.m.

OKLAHOMA
Enid -- KCRC (1390 kc.) Mon. 6:30 p.m.
McAlester -- KTMC (1400 kc.) Sun. 5:15 p.m.

RADIO (Contd.)

PENNSYLVANIA
Altoona -- WRTA (1430 kc.) Sat. 6:15 p.m.
Williamsport -- WLYC (1050 kc.) Sun. 6:15pm

SOUTH CAROLINA
Belton -- WHPB (1390 kc.) Sun. 12:15 p.m.
Bennettsville -- WBSC (1550 kc.) Sat. 5:45p.m.
Florence -- WJMX (970kc.) Sat. 6:15 p.m.
Greenville -- WMUU (1260 kc.)
Lancaster -- WLCM (1360 kc.) Sun. 6:15 p.m.
Laurens -- WLBG (860 kc.) Sun. 1:05 p.m.
Orangeburg -- WDIX (1150 kc.) Sat. 7 p.m.
Sumter -- WSSC (1340 kc.) Sat. 4:45 p.m.

SOUTH DAKOTA
Mobridge -- KCLY (1300 kc.) Wed. 4 p.m.

TENNESSEE
Crossville -- WAEW (1330 kc.) Sat. 11 a.m.
Manchester -- WMSR (1320 kc.) Sun. 1:30 p.m.
Milan -- WKBJ (1600 kc.) Sun. 3 p.m.
Murfreesboro -- WGNS (1450 kc.) Sun. 9 p.m.
Sparta -- WSMT (1050 kc.) Fri. 1 p.m.
Union City -- WTUC (1580 kc.) Sat. 8:30a.m.
Sun. 1:45 p.m.
Winchester -- WCDT (1340 kc.) Sun 5:45 p.m.

TEXAS
Atlanta -- KALT (900 kc.) Fri. 2:45 p.m.
Brownsville -- KBOR (1600 kc.) Tues.8 p.m.
Carthage -- KGAS (1590 kc.) Sun. 12:45 p.m.
Edinburg -- KURV (710 kc.) Sun. 9:30 p.m.
Gainesville -- KGAF (1580 kc.) Sun. 5:15pm.
Kermit -- KERB (600 kc.) Sat. 5 p.m.
Levelland -- KLVT (1230 kc.) Sun. 12:45 pm.
Littlefield -- KVOW (1490 kc.) Sat. 4:30p.m.
Pasadena -- KRCT (650 kc.) Sun. 12:45 p.m.
Terrell -- KTER (1570 kc.) Mon. 6:30 p.m.

VIRGINIA
Falls Church -- WFAX (1220 kc.) Sun.
12:30 p.m.
Fredericksburg -- WFVA (1230 kc.) Sat. 7pm.
Gloucester -- WDDY (1420 kc.) Sun. 12:45pm.
Norfolk -- WLOW (1400 kc.)
Richmond -- WMBG (1380 kc.) Sun. 10 p.m.
South Boston -- WHLF (1400 kc.) Sun.
5:45 p.m.
Virginia Beach -- WBOF (1600 kc.) Suh.
3:15 p.m.

WASHINGTON
Pullman -- KOFE (1150 kc.) Mon. 12:45 p.m.

WASHINGTON (Contd.)
Yakima -- KIMA (1460 kc.) Sat.
8:15 p.m.

WEST VIRGINIA
Morgantown -- WAJR (1440 kc.) Mon.
7:05 p.m.
New Martinsville -- WETZ (1330 kc.)
Sun. 3 p.m.
Parkersburg -- WCEF (1050 kc.)
Thurs.

MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE, CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
Friday, October 9, 1959

1. Southern Inter-Agency Conference.
2. Save Our Schools movements. 125 copies Organizing to Save Pub Schools to Aronson
3. Construction of White Citizens Councils radio programs. Memo to state gfte
4. Civil Rights Commission Report.
5. New Literature:

   NNC Background Report on School Desegregation.

   The Negro and the Ballot in the South.

   Let's Be Human book.

   Save Our Schools -- The South Speaks Out. (pamphlet and poster)

   Civil Rights in the Nation's Capital.

   A Fate Worse Than Integration.

   With Justice For All: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers.

   Organizing To Save Public Schools.

32-page Hansen treatment of achievement (ADL)

Next mtg - Tues Nov 17 - NAACP - 9:30

25 copies Lightsey rept to CIC.

Voter ppl to MM Ctee list

RECEIVED NOV 2 1959

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1959

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Tuesday, November 17, 1959 from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Put this on your calendar and please call or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. A report was presented on the Southern Inter-Agency Conference. The American Friends Service Committee is working with local people in Burnsville and Asheville, N. C. to try to provide some form of interim education for 28 Negro children in Yancey County (Burnsville) who are now out of public school. (Note Sept. 28th report from Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council, which was sent to your agency.)

The local committee is seeking $6,560 to continue the project throughout the year. Assistance should go to Burnsville Educational Project, c/o Lola B. McCracken, 13½ Eagle St., Asheville, N. C.

Negro students in Prince Edward Co., Va., are currently without any schooling, as the result of the county's ending all public schools. Private schools have been set up for white students. Those wanting to help are urged to contact Barbara Moffett, AFSC, 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

2. The implications of pupil placement laws and experiences under such laws were discussed. It was suggested that it might be useful if a wire service, major metropolitan paper or national magazine would do a story on the thousands who have applied and the meager number accepted in order to put human dimensions on the story of token integration. The Southern Regional Council plans to issue a statement on the subject November 11th.

3. Save Our Schools movements in Southern cities affected (or soon to be affected) by desegregation orders are growing. It was reported that local church groups in such cities are considering issuing statements opposing the use of church facilities for private schools, as a substitute for desegregated public schools.

4. Friendly World Broadcasting, 122 N. Providence Rd., Wallingford, Pa., makes available to radio stations and organizations tapes on The Little Rock Story, The Atlanta School Story and similar subjects without charge. For details, write to Edwin T. Randall at the above address.

5. Very few copies are still available of the hard-hitting report of the Civil Rights Commission. If your organization has not yet secured a copy of the full report or the abridged edition, write to your Congressman for a copy. The Macmillan Company is considering reprinting it.

6. The Southern Regional Council published a 46 page mimeod Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60 as well as an 83-page pamphlet by Margaret Price on The Negro and the Ballot in the South. Copies are available from SRC, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

7. The Virginia Committee for Public Schools has published a 23-page pamphlet, Organizing to Save Public Schools, written by the Committee's executive secretary, William M. Lightsey. It reports how Virginians rallied to the defense of the public school system when it was under attack by Virginia law-makers. Copies available from The Messenger Press, Box 312, Manassas, Va. at 15¢ each; 10 or more copies -- 10¢ each; 100 copies or more -- 7½¢ each.

8. The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is printing an 80-page pamphlet, Civil Rights in the Nation's Capitol: A Report on a Decade of Progress. Edited by Benjamin D. Segal and William Korey, the pamphlet will sell for 75¢ a copy; 500 for 50¢ per copy. Write for copies to NAIRO, 426 W. 58 Street, New York 19, New York.

9. The National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N.Y., has reprinted Howard Zinn's A Fate Worse Than Integration from Harper's Magazine. The article shows why many Southerners value law and order, public education and economic progress more than segregation. Five cents per copy, $3.50 per hundred.

10. The Anti-Defamation League and the International Association of Chiefs of Police have just published With Justice For All: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers. The 36-page illustrated pamphlet contains a foreword by Attorney General William P. Rogers and has been endorsed by the Southern Police Institute. It deals specifically with group conflict and riot control.

11. Another ADL pamphlet scheduled to appear soon is Achievements in in Washington D. C. Schools, by D. C. School Superintendent Carl Hansen.

12. Oceana Publications will soon publish Let's Be Human, a book based on Harry Fleischman's column of the same name.

13. The Department of Christian Social Relations, United Church Women; Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ; Anti-Defamation League; Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in USA; and the Division of Christian Citizenship, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church in USA jointly published Save Our Schools: A Roundup of Southern Press Opinion.

14. The American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84 Street, New York 28, N.Y. has just published a 57-page pamphlet, From Color Blind to Color Conscious, a study of public school integration in New York City. Copies are $1.00 each.

15. The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Park Ave. S., New York 10, N.Y., has issued a 12-page pamphlet, The Church Speaks on Race -- Official Statements of the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion, 1940-1958. Price 10 cents each, $6.50 per 100.

16. The American Friends Service Committee issued a pamphlet, Race and Conscience in America, published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Single copy 50 cents. Write Alex Morisey, AFSC, 20 S. 12 St., Philadelphia, Pa. for quantity order rates.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

MMCCD

Note item 6 LWO ✓ JC MF (files) MA ✓ - order item #7 if we don't have it; maybe 10 copies MM ✓

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1959

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, January 6, 1960 from 11:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. at the American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, New York (Room 800 B).

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call (PLaza 1-4000) or write to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The Brethren Service Commission of the Church of the Brethren suggested a number of proposals to the committee. One was a TV program on Puerto Rico, Our Associated Commonwealth, which might be similar to NBC's excellent program on Hawaii, Our Newest State. Inquiries will be made concerning such possibilities.

2. It was also suggested that a TV show, demonstrating how the Communists use news of segregation and racial discrimination for their anti-American propaganda among uncommitted peoples of other nations, might help counteract McCarthyism in the South. It was reported that Walter Cronkite had participated in a CBS film on this subject but that it might now be time to do another.

3. It was also suggested that a magazine like Commentary or The Reporter might be interested in an article on how this issue is covered in the Asian, African, European and Latin American press.

4. Dr. Douglas E. Jackson, Professor, Social Ethics at Perkins School of Theology, Dallas, Texas, reported a "widening gulf" between Southern clergy and their segregationist lay members following the Supreme Court's school integration decisions has resulted in a power struggle over racial policy. Segregationist lay groups are using names of churches in their titles even though those unofficial organizations are in open opposition to stated denominational policies.

It was suggested that material be prepared by various denominations for use in Southern church papers and magazines, protesting such segregationist actions. It was felt that it would be particularly helpful if Southern bishops and other top church leaders would help in arranging for such material to be used in their areas.

It was reported that the Catholic Diocesan press with four million circulation, and Catholic magazines, with twenty million circulation, are covering the desegregation issue very effectively with the help of the Catholic Press Service and the Catholic Interracial Council.

5. The Holston Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting in Knoxville, June 5, 1959, approved without opposition a recommendation that the Church refuse to let its buildings be used as private schools if public schools are closed by states to circumvent court orders to begin desegregation. (Note text of attached story on this action as reprinted from the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council Newsletter.)

6. Jonathan Daniels, editor of the News and Observer, Raleigh, N. C., made a speech to the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, November 14, 1959, terming the past quarter century an "era of massive change" thoughout the region and adding

that "the hope of all that is left of this century in the South is that we may recognize change as the basis for thinking, not sulking." It was suggested that the Southern Regional Council might be interested in reprinting this speech and sending it to Southern editors.

7. A publication, Love Of This Land, has been put out by the Christian Education Press to set forth the progress of the Negro in American life. Sample copies will be sent to CCD organizations. The Board of Christian Education and Publication, Evangelical and Reformed Church (United Church of Christ), 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania has 15,000 copies of the book available for organizations interested in it. Thousands of copies were sold through regular trade channels for resale at $1 per copy. The Christian Education Press is carrying this remaining stock at 18¢ per copy. Those interested in securing quantities should write to Mr. F. I. Sheeder, Executive Secretary, at the above address.

8. An interesting article, McCarthyism Under The Magnolias, by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, appeared in the July issue of The Progressive. The Southern Regional Council is interested in reprinting the article and would like to know if other organizations would care to join them. Cost of reprinting would be about $35 per thousand.

9. Jim Montgomery, in his column, "Georgia Business" in the Atlanta Constitution, November 5, 1959, wrote on "Challenge from Little Rock: Courage Can Save Schools," an interview with Boyd Ridgway, Executive Vice President of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. It is reported that Help Our Public Education (HOPE) in Atlanta is considering reprinting the article.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/hw
MMCCD

Salomon, Bernice - N. C. Jewish Women
& Naomi Pfeiffer
Stamats, Esther - U. Church Women
Marion, John - Presby Church
Demers, Frank - Catholic Interracial Council
+ James Hughes, Geo. Hunton
Hudak, John - NCCJ
Kahler, Robert, ad l
Jorcai, Oscar, ad l
Schlitt, Jacob - Jewish Lab. Committee

Gunter, Lawrence - Union of Amer. Het. Cong
& Vorapan, ad
Moon, Henry - NAACP
Morsey, Alex - AFSC
Parris, Guichard - N.U.L.
Leitman, Alan - ACLU
White, Ed - United Steelworkers
Bernheim, Ali AJ Cem.
Fleishman, Harry - Nat'l Lab. Ser.
Fleming, Ho C.
Dillon, Walton - P. Stokes Found
Hager, Louisa - YMCA

PA ✓
PR ✓ Tell them about the McGill report?
LWD ✓
JC ✓

Return to HCF ✓

Jacobs

Jacobs Drug Co., Atlanta

~~John Jacobs~~

Chas. Wheeler for Asa T. Spalding
Chas. Hunt Ga.

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1960

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, February 17, 1960 from 11:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (53rd St.), New York, New York.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call Mr. Fleischman at PLaza 1-4000, or write to him at 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, New York to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Some of the cities mentioned as likely to come under desegregation orders this year are: Atlanta, Georgia; Miami, Tampa and Palm Beach, Florida; New Orleans, La.; Dallas, Houston, Forth Worth and Galveston, Texas; Richmond and several other Virginia cities. Committee members are urged to be alert to mass media possibilities of positive stories in these cities.

2. With regard to the economic impact of race on the South, it was suggested that all members of the committee subscribe to the Southern Regional Council's Leadership Reports, which contain fairly comprehensive economic data. The Twentieth Century Fund is considering doing a full scale project on the economic impact of the race problem on the South. The Southern Regional Council is preparing a shorter study on this to be done by Professor Donald Dewey of Duke University.

3. For Brotherhood Week, February 21 - 28, the National Conference of Christians and Jews is putting out a pamphlet entitled, "What You Can Do For Brotherhood." The Anti-Defamation League is putting out a program service bulletin for public schools. Copies will be sent to all CCD groups.

4. The article, McCarthyism Under the Magnolias, by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, will be reprinted by the Southern Regional Council and it was suggested that the agencies use it.

5. Challenge From Little Rock has been reprinted by HOPE (Help Our Public Education) in Atlanta and will be sent to all CCD agencies.

6. An Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has just been formed by lay members and clergy. Other Protestant denominations, it was reported, are considering creation of similar groups, which are particularly needed in the South.

7. A national conference of local Catholic Interracial Councils has been set up and plans to encourage the formation of more local Councils in the South.

8. New South will carry an article by Rev. Will Campbell on "The Role of the Church in the South" and the Southern Regional Council will also publish an article by Neil Tarplee on the same subject.

9. The Senate sub-committee on Constitutional Rights wants to know if any organization is preparing a pamphlet on how the foreign press views the United States of America's desegregation difficulties.

10. The National Urban League celebrates its Golden Anniversary in 1960. It will carry an exciting illustrated special supplement in the January 17th Sunday issue of The New York Times and plans to distribute 250,000 additional reprints of the supplement. Agencies wanting quantities for distribution should contact Guichard Parris, National Urban League, 14 E. 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Sample copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

11. The Urban League is also sponsoring a photo search for "America's Many Faces" to dramatize America's multi-racial character. A grant of $20,000 will pay for awards of $50 for each individual photo and $250 for each series of photos selected by the judges, who are headed by Edward Steichen, dean of America's photographers. Dates for the photo search are February 1 - May 31, 1960.

12. The question of stimulating the religious press in the South against attempts of segregationists to use the names of churches in their titles will be considered by the Southern interagency conference, January 19.

13. The Southern Regional Council plans to reprint the speech by Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh, N.C. News and Observer, to the Southern Historical Association.

14. Contributions are being sought by"The Friends of P.D. East" to keep the Petal Paper in circulation. Those interested should write to Alfred Hassler, Treasurer, Box 48, Nyack, New York.

15. The "Desegregation Symposium" issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer will be distributed in January. Those interested in securing quantities for distribution to key persons should write to Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School, Notre Dame, Indiana.

16. The National Broadcasting Company will carry, as a TV tribute to the Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee, Sunday, January 24, from 2 to 3 P.M. (E.S.T.), a play, "Destiny's Tot" adapted for television by S. Lee Pogostin from the book, "The Fifty Minute Hour" by Dr. Robert Lindner.

17. The forthcoming issue of the Interracial Review will deal primarily with juvenile delinquency. Those desiring to see a copy should write to Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

18. The United Steelworkers of America, in cooperation with Pittsburgh's Carnegie Museum, have prepared a portable display, WE HUMANS, dealing with anthropological proofs of fallacies about race. The union also plans to prepare a film strip and color slides of the display for school use, as well as a discussion manual for group leaders. For use of the display or film strip in your area, write to John E. White, United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania.

19. The publication date for Oceana Publication's new book, LET'S BE HUMAN, will be February 23rd, during Brotherhood Week. A flyer on the book is enclosed.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/ma
MMCCD

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1960

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, March 23, 1960 from 11:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. at the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. (Directions: 8th Ave. train to Chambers St.; BMT train to Cortland St.; Broadway-7th Ave. train to Park Pl.; or Lexington Ave. train to Fulton St.)

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call Mr. Fleischman at PLaza 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y., to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The current issue of the Southern Economic Journal carries an article by Vanderbilt University Professor William H. Nichols on Southern Tradition and Regional Economic Progress.

2. The Anti-Defamation League is currently conducting a study on the role of leadership in the Little Rock situation. It will include a chronology, interviews with white and Negro leaders, a section on the role of the church, a log of incidents against the Negro children in integrated schools, the role of school leadership, and the pattern of race relations in Little Rock before Faubus.

3. The lunch-counter demonstrations in the South were discussed. It was agreed that the situation may presage a new step in the racial problems of the South. Apparently, as Harold Fleming suggests, there is a trend to "a shift in leadership and technique to the younger, more militant Negro group and to new flexible uses of non-violent protests." The arena is shifting from the courts to the market place as Negroes demand more than token integration.

It was reported that some national organizations are urging their local groups, both in the North and South, to make representations in behalf of lunch counter facilities to the national offices of variety store chains, such as Woolworth and Kress, and also to their local store managers, on a desegregated basis.

The American Civil Liberties Union supported, as an exercise of free speech, the "sit-in" protests of Negro college students at lunch counters which refused to serve them. The ACLU called the arrests of Raleigh, N.C. students for trespassing illegal and urged North Carolina Attorney General, Malcolm B. Seawell, to reconsider his statement that "the sit down strikes in restaurants in this state pose a serious threat to the peace and good order in the communities in which they occur" and that "the right of the owner of a private business to sell or refuse to sell to customers has been recognized by our State Supreme Court." (Seawell cited the case of Williams v. Howard Johnson's Restaurant, 268 Fed. Rep. 2d series, in which the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals stated that a privately operated restaurant is at liberty to deal with such persons as it might select and that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution do not operate

to prevent its proprietor from excluding Negroes.)

The ACLU, in reply, noted the case of Freeman v. Retail Clerks Local 1207, decided by the Kings County Superior Court of the State of Washington, on December 9, 1959. This case is summarized in 28 Law Week 2311. In substance, the Court held, in upholding the right to picket on the sidewalks of a shopping center that, "the shopping center owner has contracted away his right to a personal use and occupancy." There have been similar lower court decisions in recent months. The U.S. Supreme Court spoke authoritatively in this field in Marsh v. Alabama, 326 U.S. 501, holding that persons could not be denied access to a company-owned town for the purpose of exercising their rights of freedom of speech and of the press (in that case the right to distribute religious literature). The Court said, "The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it (at page 506)."

On the basis of this Supreme Court case, and others in the same field, the ACLU insisted that the shopping center arrests were illegal, and that a similar situation would apply in the case of a private storekeeper who has not asserted his allegedly absolute right under North Carolina law to bar a customer altogether but, after having invited him upon the premises as a potential purchaser of his wares, had determined by reason of color to exclude him from a particular department available to all other invited persons.

4. The United States National Student Association has established a two year Southern Student Human Relations Project, under a $60,000 grant from the Field Foundation. The Project will hold seminars in the South during the summers of 1960 and 1961 to provide an educational experience in depth for a limited number of selected student leaders. It will also hold metropolitan, state and area conferences to bring together students from various campuses, both to discuss the questions of race relations in general and to confront the problems of attitudes, policies and actions on their campuses and in their community and states.

Campus conferences and programs similar to the inter-campus meetings but dealing mainly with the students of one campus, will place emphasis on programs such as human relations committees, Brotherhood Week, interracial work camp and discussion groups. Students from all interested organizations - Student Governments, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Student Christian Associations, Newman Clubs, etc., will be encouraged to cooperate. Those interested in more details should contact Constance Curry, Southern Project Director, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

5. Enclosed please find copy of a brochure, "The Last Citizen," which describes an eighteen program radio series produced at Purdue University by radio station WBAA under a grant from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. The NAEB holds broadcast rights to these programs and the tapes will be furnished by them for $5.00 per tape for non-commercial use. Those interested in securing copies of the tapes are urged to get in touch with the series' producer, Mr. E. Walt Richter, Station WBAA, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

6. The Southern Regional Council has just reprinted McCarthyism Under the Magnolias, by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. A copy is enclosed.

7. Another reprint available from the Southern Regional Council is The Agony of a Southern Minister, by Ralph McGill, which appeared in the September 27, 1959 New York Times Magazine. Copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

8. The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League are reprinting The Human Background of the Civil Rights Issue by Anthony Lewis, which appeared in the February 14th issue of the New York Times Magazine. Copies will be available from either organization at $7.50 per 100.

9. Cracking the Color Line, illustrating non-violent direct action methods of eliminating racial discrimination, has been published by the Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York. Copies of this pamphlet have been sent to all CCD agencies.

10. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has just published No Harvest for the Reaper, the Story of the Migratory Agricultural Worker in the United States. Single copies are 50¢; prices for quantity orders are available upon request to NAACP, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, New York.

11. A Supplement to Segregation and Desegregation - a digest of recent research 1956-1959, by Melvin M. Tumin, has just been published by the Anti-Defamation League. It contains digests of selected materials from professional journals, theses, unpublished manuscripts, studies, and papers delivered at professional meetings on various aspects of segregation and desegregation. Price of the 32-page supplement is 60¢.

12. A handsome illustrated pamphlet, Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools? has been issued by 14 Southern educators. Copies may be secured by writing to Mr. J. Bryant Kirkland, Dean of School of Education, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N.C.

13. Enclosed find A Changing City - New Issues and New Relationships, by James R. Dumpson, New York City Welfare Commissioner. It was reprinted by the American Jewish Committee from the February 1960 issue of CRISIS, official NAACP magazine. Copies are available at 5¢ each; $3.50 per 100.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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MMCCD

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1960

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Friday, April 29, 1960 from 11:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. at the National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West 47th Street, New York City.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call Mr. Fleischman at PLaza 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y., to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has accepted our invitation to participate in the CCD Mass Media Committee. The society issued a statement backing the Negro student lunch-counter demonstrations.

2. Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, (CORE) reported that the lunch-counter demonstrations had erupted spontaneously. They had spread like wildfire and had solidified many Negro communities in the South. In North Carolina, Virginia and Texas, he noted, the sit-ins have served to lessen the communications gap between whites and Negroes. While the sit-ins have been well reported, both in the South and throughout the nation, not enough analysis of their meaning has appeared in the nation's press, radio and television. It was suggested that church and union publications might also be urged to give more attention to such analytical material.

3. It was reported that Houston, Galveston and Dallas are likely to follow San Antonio's example and end lunch-counter segregation. The national variety store chains, it was indicated, would be willing to integrate their stores in the South if both the chains and other similar establishments would desegregate at the same time. They are fearful, however, that publicity on such desegregation might bring counter-actions by segregationists.

4. Woolworth's annual report noted that lunch counters are the largest dollar producers to the stores, not just a convenience to the shoppers. Many of the stores were planning this year to produce more elaborate meals, rather than hot dogs and sandwiches. While figures on the boycotts are not available, observers noted that when pickets were at the stores, the boycott has been about 90 per cent effective in Negro neighborhoods, about 20 per cent effective in downtown areas, and about 10 or 15 per cent effective in all-white neighborhoods.

5. Life magazine was reported to be planning an article on a student body of a particular Negro college, probing into the whys and hows of the demonstrations. It was suggested that this case study approach might be a useful one for TV networks to use.

6. WNEW-TV will carry a half-hour documentary on the sit-downs, narrated by Harry Golden on Sunday, April 3rd. It will include several Negro students and a white Southerner who posed as a Negro for several weeks to find out how degrading

segregation really is. The David Susskind "Open End" show on WNTA-TV April 3rd, will have Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.; segregationist editor, James Kilpatrick of The Richmond, Va., News Leader; and a number of Negro students as participants. The ABC network is planning a documentary on the Southern situation and CBS is working on a documentary on the Negro in the North.

7. Arthur Krock's column in The New York Times on the illegality of sit-downs, was mentioned. It was reported that a group of prominent lawyers plan to write a letter to The Times answering Krock.

8. The March 21 issue of The Presbyterian Outlook contains a Protestant-Jewish-Roman Catholic conversation on the sit-ins, plus editorials and articles dealing with church support for the sit-ins. Copies are available in quantity from The Presbyterian Outlook, 512 E. Main St., Richmond 19, Va., at $10.00 per 100 copies or $80.00 per 1,000 copies.

9. The indictment of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., has been viewed by Negro students and adults as an attempt to weaken their movements for equality by discrediting their leadership. It was suggested that statements by religious and civic groups supporting Reverend King might be helpful.

10. The New York Times article of March 18th by Claude Sitton on Baker County, Georgia, gave the human side of the picture about this county whose population is more than 60% Negro, yet has not a single Negro registered to vote. It was suggested that if organizations could dig up information along these lines it would help to alert other newspapers, magazines, radio and TV outlets to cover similar stories.

11. Georgia's Commission on School Problems, set up by the state legislature, will report to the legislature by May 1st. Of the 1,620 witnesses it heard, the majority in 5 districts in south Georgia, where Negroes generally outnumber whites, were for closing schools rather than desegregate. The majority in 4 districts in north Georgia, where the Negro population is smaller, were for local option. The other district was about evenly divided. Throughout the state, cities generally supported local option. The Federal court has not yet set a date for desegregation of Atlanta schools, but it is expected to be September, 1960. New Orleans has been ordered to submit a plan for school desegregation by May 1st, but little has happened as yet.

12. It was reported that the White House Conference on Youth would have many speakers and many of its sessions dealing with school desegregation and the equal availability of all facilities to young people of all races.

13. Southern Traditions and Regional Progress, by Prof. William H. Nichols of Vanderbilt University, will be published April 30th by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., at $5.00 per copy. The book provides useful economic facts for intergroup relations agencies.

14. The Day They Changed Their Minds, an article about the Negro student sit-ins, has just been published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Sample copies are being sent to all CCD agencies. For quantity rates, write Henry Lee Moon, NAACP, 20 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.

15. Student heads of six Negro colleges in Atlanta inserted An Appeal For Human Rights as an ad in the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution. The ad was so effective that Gov. Vandiver insisted that "obviously, it was not written by students," and that it was not written in this country. One of the student leaders agreed that it had a foreign inspiration -- in Christ's teachings in Palestine 2,000 years ago. The Southern Regional Council, National Students Association and Young Women's Christian Association are interested in reprinting the "Appeal" which would cost no more than $20.00 per 1,000. Agencies interested should send their orders to Harold Fleming, SRC, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

16. Human Background of the Civil Rights Issue, by Anthony Lewis, has just been reprinted from The New York Times Magazine, February 14, 1960, by the Community Relations Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. and the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. A copy is enclosed. Quantity rates are $3.50 per 100.

17. The World of Wonderful Difference, an illustrated book by Hans Guggenheim blending light verse and charming illustrations on the value of difference among people, has just been published by Friendly House in cooperation with the ADL. Price $2.50 per copy. Flyers are being sent to all CCD agencies.

18. A Southern View of the South, by Harold C. Fleming, has just appeared in the April 3, 1960 issue of The New York Times Magazine. Your chairman thinks this article describing the revolutionary changes now occurring in the South one well worth reprinting. Agencies are asked to contact the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga., if they want copies.

19. Addendum: A Five Year Report on Desegregation in the Washington, D.C. Schools, by Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C., has just been published by the Anti-Defamation League. It describes the progress of the Washington schools success in changing from a segregated to a desegregated system. The pamphlet sells for 35¢ a copy and sample copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1960

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, May 25, 1960 from 11:30 A.M. to 2 P.M. at the National Community Relations Advisory Council, 55 West 42nd Street, New York City.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call Mr. Fleischman at PLaza 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, New York, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The American Civil Liberties Union reported that a group of prominent lawyers plan to write a letter to The New York Times, correcting Arthur Krock's column alleging that the sit-ins and picketing at shopping centers were illegal. They will cite the Supreme Court decision under which the arrest of a group of Southern students in North Carolina was dismissed.

2. The report of the 1959 hearings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights contain much documentary evidence to substantiate denials of Negro voting rights. It was suggested that organizations might contact editors in their communities to urge them to publish articles similar to The New York Times story of March 18 by Claude Sitton on Baker County, Georgia. That county has more than 60% Negro population, yet not a single Negro is registered to vote.

3. CBS-TV will carry an Ed Murrow show on school integration in Georgia on May 27.

4. The National Educational Television and Radio Center is preparing to produce a series of 8 or more one-hour films on desegregation, North and South. The programs will be carried on the 47 educational TV stations now in operation, and on public service time on commercial TV stations in cities without educational TV outlets. Representatives of the Center will attend the next Mass Media Committee meeting to discuss the project with our committee.

5. "A Southern View of the South," by Harold C. Fleming, has just been reprinted from the April 3 issue of The New York Times Magazine. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, at $5.00 per 100. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

6. Charles Oldham, national chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, reported that the Southwestern regional director of Woolworth, based in St. Louis, had agreed to promote desegregation of facilities in Texas, Oklahoma and Southern Missouri. After evidences of good faith had been shown by desegregation in San Antonio, Galveston and Dallas, CORE withdrew its Woolworth picket lines in St. Louis, Mo. In another development, the McCrory chain desegregated its stores from Charleston, W. Va. to St. Louis, Mo., including Louisville and Lexington, Ky.

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It was reported that the sit-in demonstrations have slackened in the South as arrests have mounted. But picket lines and boycotts in the rest of the country are increasing. Parenthetically, it was noted that most Southern states had no laws against integrated service. Segregation has been the custom, but not the law. It was anticipated that the summer months would see an increase in tensions.

A study is being prepared by CORE on the economic effects of the boycotts. One store in St. Louis reported having lost $800 in one day, as compared to a comparable day when there was no boycott. Stockholders plan to attend Woolworth's annual meeting at Watertown, New York on May 18 to ask about the effects of the current policies and to urge management to order desegregation of all Woolworth facilities. The Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S. holds 1,500 shares and will have a representative at Woolworth's annual meeting to move for a policy of non-segregation.

7. In Georgia, the Sibley Commission on School Problems, set up by the legislature, split 11 to 8 with the majority voting for local option. (Justice Hooper set Sept. 1961 as the date on which desegregation of Atlanta schools is to take place, thus giving the Georgia legislature one more chance to enact local option legislation.)

8. Knoxville, Tennessee has asked the federal court for permission to start integration with the stair-step method, going from the 12th grade on down--one grade a year.

9. The New Orleans school board polled white and Negro parents on whether the public schools should be closed rather than accept even token desegregation. While the total vote for both races showed 14,114 in favor of keeping schools open and 12,978 for closing them, white parents voted overwhelmingly to close the schools. 12,299 whites voted to close the schools and 2,707 for keeping them open "even though a small amount of integration is necessary." The Negro ballots were 11,407 for integrated schools to 679 against. The board has indicated that it will follow the mandate of the white parents and accept closed schools rather than desegregate. The school board had been instructed by Judge J. Skelly Wright of the Federal District Court to submit a desegregation plan on May 16.

10. In Houston, Texas, voters will go to the polls June 4 to express their views on school desegregation. A 1957 state law prohibits the granting of state financial aid to school districts which integrate classes without approval of the district's residents. The federal district court has ordered both Houston and Dallas to desegregate their schools. Houston has been ordered to submit an integration plan by June 1. If Houston voters reject desegregation and schools are desegregated because of a federal court order, a test of the Texas law on financial aid will take place.

11. It was reported that when 2,000 Negro students and others marched on the Orangeburg, South Carolina city hall, the news was barely reported in Northern papers. It was suggested that perhaps wire service editors in the South were not sending on such information, and that it might be useful for Northern editors to request details of such information from the wire services.

12. The law suit against The New York Times by Birmingham, Alabama's city commissioners, as a result of Harrison Salisbury's articles, was reported. It was

suggested that other key newspapers check both on The Times story and the Birmingham officials' replies and do features on the subject, together with editorials in defense of the free press and the right of free comment. Robert Hughes, director of the Alabama Commission on Human Relations, 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama, would be available to provide information to newspapers which requested it. It was also suggested that it would be useful to approach wire services and major columnists to deal with this situation.

13. The Congress of Racial Equality is publishing a 16 page pamphlet entitled "Sit-Ins: The Students' Report," with a foreword by Lillian Smith. Copies of the pamphlet, which contains case stories of the students' experiences, are available from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York, at 25¢ per copy, $10 per hundred. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

14. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has just published a 16-page comic booklet on voting and registration, entitled "The Street Where You Live." Single copies cost 10¢. For quantity rates, write to Henry Lee Moon, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1960

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Friday, June 24, 1960 from 11:30 to 2 P.M. at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call Mr. Fleischman at Plaza 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, New York, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Ray Rogers of Andover Productions, Inc., reported that his firm has available radio tapes and films of the sit-ins in the South. Material concerning these are enclosed.

2. Warren Kraetzer, vice-president of the National Education Television and Radio Center, reported that NETRC is preparing to produce a series of 8 one-hour films on desegregation, North and South. A budget of $160,000 is needed for production and distribution to the 47 educational TV stations now in operation, plus audio-visual use by university film libraries and service organizations. Help from interested organizations is requested. Their plans call for films dealing with desegregation problems in Boston, Mass; Greensboro, North Carolina; St. Louis, Mo.; Detroit, Michigan, and Birmingham, Ala. Advisory boards in each city would help enforce an accurate and balanced presentation in the films. Enclosed is fuller information about the films from NETRC.

Those at the meeting praised the idea of the film series, but warned that stereotypes must be avoided. It was indicated that the CCD groups had no uncommitted funds that might cover the full costs of so large a project, and wondered whether even token support might be helpful. The chairman agreed to set up a committee to consider the problem further.

3. Carl Creger, a white Little Rock Central High School student, and his father, Ralph Creger, chief train dispatcher in Little Rock for the Rock Island railroad, have written a manuscript, "An American Success Story," which deals with the story of the Negro in this country. The manuscript started as a history assignment for the 17 year-old student, and wound up as both a study of the history of the American Negro, and the reasons why a white son and father in Little Rock came to support integration. Harold Fleming felt that while the manuscript needs considerable editing, it could serve a very useful purpose if it could be published as a small paperback book and distributed to high-school students, particularly those in the South. It was agreed that efforts would be made to contact publishers to see whether or not they would be interested in such a manuscript.

4. The Southern Regional Council has just put out a report on lunch-counter desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston and San Antonio, Texas, by Kenneth Norland, chairman of the Sociology and Anthropology department of Randolph-Macon Woman's College. The report deals with the patterns of solutions developed in those areas. Those desiring to furnish copies of this report to key people in Southern areas should send names and addresses of the latter to Southern Regional Council,

63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

5. It was suggested that business magazines and business editors of daily papers might be induced to write first-hand reports of the economic effects of the sit-ins in the South. It was also suggested that college editors might increase their coverage of the problem.

The situation in Nashville and Dallas, where desegregation of lunch counter facilities took place without publicity, created problems of reporting to other areas on how successful action was secured, as a stimulus to action in other areas. The SRC is preparing an analysis of press blackouts of the sit-ins.

6. The American Civil Liberties Union is preparing a statement on abuses of academic freedom in connection with the sit-ins. Key community leaders throughout the nation are being sought to sign it.

7. Judge I. Skelly Wright, of the Federal District Court, has ordered the New Orleans school board to desegregate its schools in September 1960. Archbishop Rummel has announced that the Catholic Parochial schools will be desegregated no later than the New Orleans public schools. If the New Orleans public schools are closed rather than desegregated, it is not yet clear what the parochial schools there will do.

8. In Prince Edward County, Virginia, where all the public schools are closed, 1500 Negro children have had no schooling during the past year, and the white children--in makeshift private schools--have had inferior schooling. It was suggested that it would be useful if magazines, daily papers, TV and radio could focus on this situation in terms of the breakdown of educational standards, even for the white students.

9. Rev. Robert E. Hughes, executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, reports that the Salisbury articles in the New York Times on Alabama have had a healthy effect in that people in Birmingham revealed a sensitivity to what others think or say about them, and the subject of violence--which usually is avoided--came up for discussion. He insists that far from being an unbalanced picture, the Salisbury articles "did not go far enough." Even with the exposé, he adds, the Klan burned some 30 crosses over Birmingham Friday midnight, May 13, according to an AP count.

10. The Southern Regional Council has just printed an article by Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church on "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension." Copies will be sent to all CCD agencies and are available from SRC.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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JC - Please do, if we haven't already & if there are copies enough. H.

done - JC

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1960
(plus additional notes)

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, Sept. 28, 1960 from 11:30 A.M. to 2 P.M. at the Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Mr. Fleischman at PLaza 1-4000 or write to him at the above address to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. An American Success Story, written by Carl Creger, a white student at Little Rock Central High School and his father, Ralph, deals with Negro progress in America. It will be published as a book by Lyle Stuart, Inc., 225 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. CCD agencies interested in promotion of the above book should get in touch with the publisher at the above address.

2. Although Houston, Tex. residents voted in August by 3 to 1 to continue school segregation, Federal Judge Ben C. Connally ordered the School Board to integrate its schools a grade each year for 12 years, starting this fall. A similar situation prevails in New Orleans, La., where Judge I. Skelly Wright has ordered the School Board to desegregate its schools in September, 1960. Efforts to improve news coverage of the problem in these cities will be attempted.

3. Despite the belief that Negro student sit-ins at segregated lunch counters would diminish during the summer, they continued with increasing success. As this is written (August 8), stores in 28 Southern communities have desegregated their lunch-counter facilities. A report by the Southern Regional Council, noting that stores which desegregated suffered no adverse economic or public relations effects, was carried in the August 7 issue of The New York Times. Copies of the report will be sent to CCD agencies.

4. A statement by Raleigh, N.C. ministers on racial tensions in the South is enclosed.

5. The Nashville Community Relations Conference, 2001 Division St., Nashville 4, Tenn., has just published Settling a Sit-In by Wallace Westfeldt. Write to the above address for sample copies.

6. School Desegregation: the First Six Years, a question and answer booklet which also contains a map of desegregated counties in the South, has just been published by the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga. It is a splendid introduction to the problem.

7. A Conversation in Alabama by Nat Hentoff appears in the July 16, 1960 issue of the New Yorker magazine. It deals with the repressive climate of opinion in Montgomery, Alabama in explicit fashion.

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8. With the election campaign moving into high gear, the Fair Campaign Practices Committee has just issued Fair Play in Politics. It defines a smear, gives brief case studies of smears used in recent election campaigns and a code of fair campaign practices. Copies are available from the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, 8 East 66th Street, New York 21, N.Y. Another pamphlet on the same subject, Prejudice and Politics, has just been published by the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. Copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

9. What is Prejudice? by Marie Jahoda, Ph.D., has been reprinted from Look by the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. Copies are being sent to CCD agencies.

10. People Aren't Born Prejudiced by Ian Stevenson, M.D., has been reprinted from Parents Magazine. Copies are being sent to CCD agencies.

11. A new monthly magazine, Current, 177 East 71 Street, New York 21, N.Y., contains a listing of pamphlets available free to readers. CCD groups willing to provide free copies of their material on desegregation are invited to send sample copies to the magazine.

12. Ten Myths of Racial Integration has just been published by the American Jewish Congress. Copies are being sent to CCD agencies.

13. The United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa., has just published Housing In Your Town -- What You Can Do About It. Copies of this excellent pamphlet will be sent to all CCD agencies.

14. Christian Education News, published by the United Church of Christ, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa., carries considerable material about race relations. New Sunday School lessons for the denomination's Council for Christian Social Action teaches love for all racial groups. Material goes from nursery school to fourth-grade levels.

15. The one-hour film, Destiny's Tot, explores some of the psychological causes of bigotry, including various influences in the home and the community which give rise to anti-social attitudes. A Guide for Group Discussions has just been prepared, and is available with the film from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

16. Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation, a 48-page pamphlet about the psychological factors in school desegregation, is available at 50¢ per copy from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N.Y.

17. The National Educational Television and Radio Center, the network headquarters for the 48 non-commercial TV stations in the USA, plans to produce eight one-hour programs, each devoted to a specific issue involved in the question of racial desegregation. The series will objectively study Birmingham, Alabama; Greensboro, N.C.; St. Louis, Mo.; Detroit, Mich.; and Boston, Mass. By examining and comparing many different facets of Negro life in each of these cities and then by interpreting the results in the light of probable future trends, the series would indicate the nature and extent of segregation as it exists in the North as well as the South, the attitudes which must be recognized or changed, the obstacles which must be overcome and the possible solutions to the problem.

As conceived, the series should provide a means of achieving a better understanding between the races and thereby help to create the atmosphere for an orderly

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and reasonable solution to this complex social problem burdening out nation. The major topics to be covered in the eight programs are:

(a) The Neighborhood - Where the Negroes originally come from, where the Negro districts are located, where "break-outs" are occurring, existence of tension areas, percentage of Negro to white population and its effect on the problem.

(b) The Home - Fears of whites which create resistance to Negro movement into white neighborhoods.

(c) The Schools - Reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

(d) The Wage Earner - Hiring and employment practices and policies in industries.

(e) Business, Professions and Higher Education — Survey of the successful Negroes in the community.

(f) Laws and Customs - Survey of existing state and local laws and ordinances, as well as tacit policies which affect discrimination.

(g) The Social Work Problem - The Negro who is a public charge, economic and social reasons for his prevalence and efforts made to remove him from welfare rolls.

(h) Communication - A study of the opportunities and lack thereof for whites to become acquainted with Negroes in other than menial positions and its effect on white prejudice or compassion toward the Negro.

The series will be produced through the facilities of Station KETC in St. Louis, sponsored by the NETRC in New York City. CCD agencies interested in cooperating with the above project are urged to get in touch with Warren Kraetzer, National Educational Television and Radio Center, 10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N.Y.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

A STATEMENT BY RALEIGH MINISTERS - February 26, 1960

In view of the continuing racial tensions and crises in our region, we as ministers cannot be silent about our convictions. This unhealthy situation must be faced constructively and with a positive program of understanding and just action. The issue of discriminatory service at lunch counters is only a symbol of the many problems which need to be faced openly and frankly. These problems deal with the right duties, and dignity of all free people in our republic. They are moral and spiritual as well as political and social issues. As Christian men, therefore, we must bear witness to the truth as we see it.

We speak in a spirit of deep humility. We speak in penitence for our own failures. We make no claim to possess infallible solutions to these problems for which we all share the responsibility. We confess that the problems of discrimination within our own churches have not been solved. While respecting the right of individual opinion, we nevertheless believe that all such varying opinions must be subjected to examination in the light of the Word of God as revealed in Christ and witnesses to through Holy Scripture. For us, this matter is not primarily one of social custom but one of allegiance to God's Word through Jesus Christ and His Church. It is not primarily a matter for legal consideration and technicality but for Christian faith, decision, and action. We believe that we must without delay face these issues openly and voluntarily in order to decrease prejudice, hatred, and suffering. We are convinced that our problems must be faced and solved in the spirit and atmosphere of Christ-like love, understanding, and tolerant planning before other crises arise.

We are convinced that the problems of discrimination cannot be solved apart from Christian principles. We affirm that the following relevant teachings from the Bible are basic to the solution of both our church and our community problems. (1) That God created all men in His own image with equal dignity, giving no superiority to any one race or group of people by nature or worth, but ordaining that they should dwell together as brothers, with justice, decency, and humility in all human relationships. (2) That God offers all men equally -- all classes, races, and nations - the same Lord and Savior and the same promise of redemption. (3) That God especially calls all people who accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior to transcend all human barriers and to live as new creatures in love, obedience, and service for His glory.

Therefore, in the light of these basic principles, we invite all Christians and the community at large to join with us in the following: (1) That we support leaders of Raleigh's civic, business, governmental, and religious life in opening and using every possible channel of communication for discussion and understanding of the problems and needs of all races and citizens. (2) That we encourage individuals and the public to refuse to participate in physical or verbal violence and name-calling. (3) That we commend students and all other persons who use orderly and non-violent means in a forgiving spirit to express their views on the practices of discrimination. (4) That we uphold freedom of speech for all persons, and urge that all of us learn to disagree agreeably over differences for conscience's sake while we search for a solution to our mutual problems. (5) That we urge prompt steps be taken which give opportunity and service to persons as persons in all community relationships such as worship, education, business and employment regardless of race, creed, or color.

We call upon the community of Raleigh to be fair-minded -- to make the name of Raleigh appreciated for its good human relations and friendliness. We feel that Christ would refuse no man food if he were hungry; no child education if he wanted to learn; and no person fellowship if he sought to worship. We believe that Jesus would open the door to every man who knocked. Therefore, we call upon every person to seek divine strength and guidance in leading our churches and community to obey God rather than man.

The following Raleigh clergymen endorsed this statement:

A. Douglas Aldrich
E. L. Barber
James D. Beckwith
Henry A. Bizzell, Jr.
John S. Brown
Oscar W. Burwick
W. A. Cade
Arthur J. Calloway
L. L. Carpenter
Roger H. Crook
J. H. Crum
Grady W. Davis
Robert W. Dorr
Robert H. Eason
H. M. Ely
James B. Ficklen
W. W. Finlator
John W. Fleming
Russell B. Fleming
L. E. M. Freeman
J. Conrad Glass, Jr.
W. R. Grigg
T. Hartley Hall
David S. Harkness
James F. Heaton
Rudolph H. Hodge
L. D. Holt
D. N. Howard, Sr.
M. A. Huggins
Thomas M. Johnston, Jr.
H. C. Jones
J. W. Jones
W. S. Jones
E. S. King
G. W. Larkin
Frank T. Lemmon, Jr.
Neal V. McGlamery
William T. Mills
Richard L. Morgan
Albert S. Newton
Gaylord B. Noyce
Robert D. Overcash
L. S. Penn, Jr.
G. R. Perry
Roderick L. Reinecke
Leroy P. Richardson
B. Daniel Sapp
M. Fred Scott, Jr.
O. L. Sherrill
Samuel Spencer
C. Fain Stone
G. W. Todd
G. W. Troublefield
Vernon C. Tyson
Charles W. Ward
Andrew M. Weyermann
Harold L. West
R. Fred West
Oscar B. Wooldridge
T. J. Youngblood

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SUMMARY OF MEETING OF CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION, MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE
NOVEMBER 21, 1960

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Thursday, January 5, 1961 from 11:30 A.M. to 2 P.M. at the National Community Relations Advisory Council, 55 West 42nd Street, New York City. Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Mr. Fleischman at Plaza 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Sally G. Swing, information officer of UNESCO, offered sample copies (enclosed) of the UNESCO COURIER issue on Racism to CCD agencies, with the hope that these agencies would order quantities for distribution to their key people. Quantity rates are as follows: 10 to 99 copies, 27¢ each; 100 to 499 copies, 24¢ each; 500 to 1000 copies, 21¢ each; more than 1,000 copies, 18¢ each. Please send orders to UNESCO Publications Center, 801 Third Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

2. UNESCO is publishing a series of books on the race question in modern science, and on the race question and religion. A list of UNESCO Publications can be had by writing to the above address.

3. The situation in regard to school desegregation in New Orleans was discussed at great length. It was reported that the board of the Greater New Orleans Federation of Churches had adopted the following statement:

"The Board of the Greater New Orleans Federation of Churches, meeting on November 15, 1960, to give prayerful thought to the present public school crisis in New Orleans respectfully addresses the member churches of the Federation and the entire population of this area.

Speaking in Christian love and forbearance, we note with deep appreciation the degree of calmness in which the people of New Orleans are facing the present crisis and would call upon all citizens, and especially all those of the Judeo-Christian faith, to continue to exercise calmness and to deplore all acts and destructive attitudes which are prompted by hatred and ill will.

Although the legal angles in this conflict will be settled by the duly constituted authorities, the emotions which divide men may linger for many years unless men of goodwill work to develop understanding, sympathy and Christian love.

In these times when our emotions can do much to retard or advance human relations it is essential that our churches, and all those who are interested in a better community and world, practice and teach good will.

Therefore, we would urge that all citizens:

(1) pray earnestly for all those who are involved in the present crisis, and for all those in authority;
(2) entrust the legal struggle to the courts;

(3) be guided by reason and refuse to be guided by emotional thinking;
(4) respect the law and those who enforce it;
(5) and have confidence that our people can and will, through God's grace, work out a good issue for this crisis (and other problems which beset us).

This statement is sent to the member congregations of the Greater New Orleans Federation of Churches in the belief that the will of God and the message of the Gospel can be operative in the world only through the actions of those who profess allegiance to His Kingdom."

4. Editorial notes from some of the nation's leading Southern newspapers on the school crisis in New Orleans follow :

TIMES-PICAYUNE, New Orleans, La.
"Violence, it seems to us, yields nothing but loss for everybody and no gain to anybody. It profits not one bit the cause of those who participate, and obviously there is nothing but loss in it for the youngsters who skipped school. Uncontrolled actions of this kind slow up normal activities of the city and place an unreasonable strain on the hard-worked police force. They create serious antagonisms among the people and give the city a black-eye with outsiders."

JOURNAL, Winston-Salem, N.C.
"An important victory will have been won if New Orleans' authorities can keep the lid on the seething cauldron of hate and violence. If the situation reaches the point where the armed power of the federal government must be employed to prevent mob rule, it will be proof that the lesson of Little Rock was in vain."

THE CONSTITUTION, Atlanta, Ga.
"Atlanta and Georgia have watched New Orleans and Louisiana closely. We have seen again that Federal court orders cannot be evaded. The first day of the Louisiana crisis is over and the schools were desegregated but not closed. That state's chief loss has been confined to a loss of dignity and prestige.
"Georgia can avoid that loss, with its subsequent damage to the state's development, if the legislature will pass in January the laws that inevitably must come...those recommended by the Sibley commission. If we do not do this, the danger remains that Georgia may not be as lucky as Louisiana."

THE POST, Washington, D.C.
"Interposition is no more valid in Louisiana than when it was proposed and discarded in Virginia. The State of Louisiana cannot simultaneously be part of the Federal Union and be its own judge of what Federal laws it will choose to respect. That issue was decided at Appomattox. The outcome of the current Battle of New Orleans over school desegregation is as certain as the fact that Andrew Jackson won a victory at Chalmette 145 years ago."

THE GAZETTE, Little Rock, Ark.
"The reputation of the South is suffering grave damage once again and the reputation of the United States in a shrunken world will suffer even more. In the continuing struggle for the minds and loyalties

of men everywhere, the United States will be encumbered with the memory of what cannot be merely a regional disgrace. Nations and regions, like individuals, live by their reputations."

5. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is visiting with the parents of Negro children attending desegregated schools and greeting cards are being sent by more than 1,000 Harvard students to the children. It was suggested that organizations might well contact their Louisiana members to urge them to write to Governor Davis protesting against his actions and to support the maintenance of open public schools.

6. The Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y., has initiated the enclosed petition to President Eisenhower, urging him to use his moral leadership on Bill of Rights Day, December 15th, to call upon the people of New Orleans and Louisiana to accept school integration quietly and peacefully.

7. It was suggested that the Governors' Conference on Civil Rights might be interested in having a group of governors reply to Governor Davis' telegram warning of "creeping federalism" in New Orleans school integration.

8. The American Friends Service Committee has appointed Helen Baker, American Friends Service Committee, Box 463, Farmville, Va., as director of a community relations program in Prince Edward County. A report on Prince Edward County will be sent by the AFSC to all CCD agencies.

Securing national publicity about Prince Edward County and the national implications of closed schools there is extremely important. Agencies are urged to explore the possibility of stories in major national publications and TV networks.

9. While the state legislature in Louisiana has not changed its laws dealing with aid to dependent children, 60% of the children who were cut off the welfare rolls have now been put back, due to pressure from the Federal government and interested citizens.

10. It was reported that 125 cities in the South and border states have desegregated their lunch counter facilities. There are an additional 35 cities where there have been demonstrations, but where desegregation has not yet been accomplished. The Committee on Racial Equality reported that it would like to have help in reaching the management of the variety store chains to induce them to make plans for opening some facilities in the hard-core states of the South, i.e. Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi; and also to use the influence of the chains to arrange that legal proceedings be dropped against those students whose trials are still to come.

11. The National Broadcasting Company will carry an hour-long television documentary on Tuesday evening, December 20 dealing with the sit-ins in Nashville and the economic boycott in Fayette County, Tenn. Agencies in the South were urged to contact their NBC TV affiliates to carry the program.

12. Look magazine (January 3rd issue, on newsstands Dec. 20) will carry an article on what white students have been doing on the sit-ins. Time Inc. is shooting documentary material on the sit-ins for ABC-TV.

13. The Supreme Court decision, referring back to the Federal Courts for trial the gerrymandering of Tuskegee by the Georgia legislature, raises the question of a reversal by the Supreme Court of its previous refusal to accept jurisdiction in

cases dealing with political boundaries.

14. A Federal district court has forbidden the Americus, Georgia school board to bar white children from the local high school because their parents are members of the Koinonia community, a religious fellowship which believes in non-violence and racial equality as Christian concepts. Judge Bootle ruled that the school board's action in rejecting the students was "state action within the meaning of the 14th amendment." Pointing out that the school board has rejected the students because of "anticipated trouble from other students as a result of community resentment against Koinonia Farm," he noted that the reason for rejecting them was the "religious and social beliefs of themselves, their parents and the other residents of Koinonia Farm. This will not do." Incidentally, the three children are now attending the Americus High School and a goodly number of other Americus students have gone out of their way to make friendly overtures. Look magazine is considering a story on this situation.

15. During the recent election campaign the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity drafted a statement, signed by 25 religious and civic leaders, calling upon Vice-President Nixon and Senator Kennedy to affirm that, if elected, each would refuse to participate in segregated housing, public accommodations, or worship. While no public statement was made by either candidate, Senator Kennedy indicated that if elected, he would be willing to issue such a statement at an appropriate time.

16. Lillian Smith has been asked to write an article for Redbook magazine concerning how and why parents have placed their children in integrated schools in such places as Little Rock and New Orleans.

17. CBS carried a remarkable documentary TV show on the migrant workers, titled "Harvest of Shame," on November 25, with Edward R. Murrow as the narrator. The show appealed to viewers to push for action to eliminate the migrants' shameful conditions. A follow-up on this program will appear on the American Broadcasting Company TV network, a dramatic show about migrant labor, "Down the Road," on Sunday, December 18, from 11:30 A.M. to 12 noon, EST. Among the sponsors of the show, which commemorates Universal Human Rights Day, are the American Jewish Committee, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and the National Sharecroppers Fund.

18. The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York, has put out the following new publications, which are available free in single copies from all NCCJ offices:

Human Relations and Audio-Visual Materials--revised edition, by Jean D. Grambs.

Books for Brotherhood--1960 edition, an annotated list of books for adults and children.

To: The Librarian, human relations program suggestions directed to the librarian.

General Brotherhood Week Folder, announcement of Brotherhood Week, February 19-26, 1961 and suggested programs for schools, churches and synagogues and community groups.

The American City: Its Human Relations Future, reprint from the Journal of Human Relations--Exposition of the social changes that have characterized our modern cities and the problems incident to this evolution.

The School President, open-ended script with suggested questions for discussion for High School age level.

19. The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. has just put out the following publications:

The People Take the Lead, a record of progress in civil rights 1948-60, with 1961 supplement, 25¢ per copy, $20 per hundred.

Science Looks at Anti-Semitism, 25¢ per copy, $20 per hundred.

As the UN Probes Prejudice, observations on the UN inquiry into anti-Semitism and other forms of religious and racial prejudice. Single copies available free.

20. The Southern Regional Council has just issued a report on Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan. This analysis on the role of the police in the South has received considerable publicity. Copies will be sent by the SRC to all CCD agencies.

21. Enclosed is a flyer about Andover Productions' exciting new documentary film, Integration: Report 1. The film may be purchased from the Center for Mass Communications at $135 per print or rented from Andover Productions, Inc., 107 West 43rd. Street, New York 36, New York for $15 per day; $37.50 per week.

22. When NBC-TV Opera of the Air carried Don Giovanni last April 10, Caesar Seipi played the lead role but Negro operatic star Leontyne Price played Dona Ana, the main female role. As a result, according to NBC officials, eleven Southern stations cancelled the program because of Miss Price's race.

Respectfully submitted,
Harry Fleischman
Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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12/8/60

SUMMARY OF MEETING OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE, January 5, 1961.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, February 15, 1961 from 11:30 A.M. to 2 P.M. at the Jewish Labor Committee, 25 East 78th Street (corner of Madison Avenue) New York City. Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Mr. Fleischman at Plaza 1-4000 or write him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, New York, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. It was reported that CBS-TV plans to carry a one-hour documentary program on Thursday January 19, on Representative Howard Smith and the Rules Committee.

2. Newsday, a Long Island daily, carried a series of articles on the Battle of Prince Edward, Virginia , dealing with the only county which abolished its public school system and set up private segregated schools for its white students. As a result of this series of articles, which appeared from December 19-23, 1960, many Long Islanders have undertaken drives for books and other educational materials to stock the 14 volunteer community centers in Prince Edward Co. attempting to educate the Negro children. Organizations desiring to help should contact Helen Baker, Director, Community Relations Program, at the American Friends Service Committee, Miller Building, South Main at Madison Streets, Farmville, Virginia. (Mailing address Box 4630, Farmville, Virginia). The American Friends Service Committee is considering reprinting the Newsday series. Attempts will also be made to interest a mass circulation magazine in carrying an article similar to the Newsday series.

3. Although the Louisiana State Legislature had not changed its laws dealing with aid to dependent children, pressure from aroused citizens and the Federal government has forced the state to alter its interpretation of the laws. More than 85 percent of the children who were cut off the welfare rolls have now been put back. The National Urban League raised tens of thousands of dollars to meet the emergency and is carrying on a program to strengthen family ties in the area. As a result of the entire situation, the Ford Foundation has made a grant to study aid to dependent children programs in other states to see how they are being administered and if any changes are needed.

4. David Susskind's "Open End" TV show featured Leander Perez, leading Louisiana segregationist, with another segregationist and the President of the New Orleans school board, in a discussion on the New Orleans school situation. A number of agencies questioned the wisdom of having an all-white panel to discuss this issue and felt that Perez' lies and distortions had been allowed to stand uncorrected. These agencies indicated that they were getting in touch with Mr. Susskind to discuss the problem.

5. The civil rights possibilities inherent in the changeover of the Federal administration and the election of a new Congress were discussed. It was decided to wait until specific legislative and administrative programs have been put forth by the Administration and Congressional leaders before making determination on mass media possibilities in connection with them.

6. There was universal acclaim over the hour-long NBC TV documentary, Sit-In, which

was carried December 20. The program emphasized the economic consequences of racial discrimination not only to the merchants directly affected by the sit-ins, but to the central city areas as well. The program was cancelled by Station WAPI-TV, Birmingham, Alabama, and WDSU-TV, New Orleans, Louisiana. It was reported that the mayor of one large Southern city had arranged a special showing of the program for business and community leaders and it was suggested that other Southern communities might be interested in doing likewise. The program can be rented without charge for a period not exceeding 10 days. Write to Arthur Hepner, NBC News, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York, listing the dates you would like to have the program. A $100 deposit is required, which is returned when the film is returned.

7. A report was presented on the situation in Fayette and Haywood counties Tennessee, where the Federal courts have enjoined white landlords from evicting hundreds of Negro tenant families for exercising the right to vote. In addition to the evictions, economic boycott has been waged against the Negro voters.

The AFL-CIO, NAACP & CORE have been helping to provide food and clothing for the dozen families already living in tents. Agencies can send money, food and clothing to: The Fayette and Haywood Counties Welfare and Civic Associations, c/o John McFerrin, Route 4, Box 133-A, Somerville, Tenn. In preparing NBC's program Sit-In, much additional film was shot in Fayette County. It was suggested that NBC might be contacted to use some of that footage in another program on the situation in Fayette and Haywood counties.

8. The Southern Regional Council's report on Racial Violence and Law Enforcement has received considerable publicity. The whole Atlanta police force has been writing reports based on the study. The National Conference of Christians and Jews will use the report at its police institutes throughout the country. Copies have also been sent to law enforcement magazines. It was suggested that the United States Conference of Mayors and the American Municipal Association might both be interested in this report.

9. It was reported that the United States Civil Rights Commission is preparing to undertake a major study on the administration of justice in the country, similar to its studies on housing and voting rights.

10. The Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York, is planning to reprint the article on white sit-in students in the South which appeared in the January 3 issue of Look.

11. It was reported that the Voice of America will beam abroad a 13-week series on the status of the Negro. In charge of the project is Harold Courlander, Voice of America, Washington 25, D.C.

12. CBS TV, with the cooperation of the Anti-Defamation League, will carry an hour-long program on January 15, from 4 to 5 P.M., Eastern Standard Time, on "A Question of Chairs: The Challenge to American Education."

13. It was reported that a paper-back revised edition of the Strange Career of Jim Crow has just been published. The Education Department, United Auto Workers, 8000 East Jefferson, Detroit 14, is distributing the book at 50¢ per copy.

14. It was suggested that the mass media might be interested in carrying articles on the way in which the pupil placement laws in the South have worked out.

15. The Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities, P.O. Box 4844, Atlanta, Georgia, has published a pamphlet, "Georgia's Divided Education," a report on the separate but unequal education of Georgia's white and Negro children. Individual copies are available at the above address.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF:rd

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1961

Send photocopies on map to Fleisch. Call Mr & Mrs Gill? Call Fleischman re Mrs case.

Next mtg Tues Apr 11 (11:30 AM)

Unions? Other banks? Fed. Govt?

'The next meeting of the Mass Media'
'Committee will be a special meeting'
'on Thursday, March 2, from 10 A.M.'
'to Noon, at the National Conference'
' of Christians and Jews, 43 West '
'57th Street, New York City.'

1. The Southern Regional Council and the National Urban League have sent separate, publicized memoranda concerning the executive power of the Federal Government and civil rights to President Kennedy. Many other agencies have sent "off-the-record" memos and have held meetings with President Kennedy or his advisors. Nevertheless, the main pressures now being brought on Kennedy in relation to civil rights seems to be coming from segregationists in the South.

Moreover, in order to get through his basic program of increased minimum wage, aid to depressed areas, medical care for the aged, aid for the unemployed and increased aid to education, the President appears determined to avoid promoting civil rights legislation. Civil rights groups had become largely reconciled to this prospect, but anticipated that Federal executive orders would be issued dealing with an end to discrimination in publicly assisted housing, as well as executive action for ending segregated education and more forceful action on discrimination in employment.

Apparently the same pressures that decided Kennedy to avoid civil rights legislation in order to get his main package of "must" legislation through a Congress in which a Dixiecrat-Republican coalition has almost half the votes, is now leading him to similar reluctance in relation to executive action. Instead, Kennedy has appointed well-qualified Negroes to many important posts, probably gambling that this may deter criticism for not moving faster on executive action on civil rights. It was generally agreed at the meeting that organizations desiring action in this area might well press the Kennedy administration publicly as well as privately, to act in support of the principle that where Federal funds are used, they must be used equally by all people. Only such public pressure, it was suggested, would convince the President that there was enough public backing to enable him to carry out the platform to which he is committed.

2. The Save Our Schools committee in New Orleans has offered to provide bus service for white children to go to the integrated schools, but many white parents are afraid of the intimidation that others have already experienced. It was noted that Attorney General Kennedy was quietly exerting pressure to insure payment of New Orleans teachers. (President Kennedy sent a telegram to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission meeting in Virginia, praising the New Orleans school board, teachers and white parents who were supporting school desegregation and stressing forcefully the moral as well as legal right of children of all races to go to school together.)

3. Desegregation of the University of Georgia in Athens has occurred with a considerable change of policy on the part of Governor Vandiver. Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield, the Atlanta papers and the business community, all are working for peaceful desegregation. While it was felt that this situation ought to

simplify chances for peaceful desegregation of schools in Atlanta next September under a Federal court order, recent tensions dealing with sit-ins plus a concentration of extreme segregationists in Atlanta, raises grave doubts as to what is likely to occur. The situation remains fluid.

4. Four Mississippi citizens filed suit in Federal court in January for an injunction barring payment of public funds by the State Sovereignty Commission to the White Citizens Councils. The State Sovereignty Commission is the official agency created by Mississippi state government to promote segregation. The Commission was charged with making payments to the White Citizens Councils of $20,000, and other monthly payments of $5,000 during 1960, "for the purpose of advertising segregation." These payments, the plaintiffs claimed, violated the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution because "tax money exacted from them by the state of Mississippi" was being used "for the purpose of subverting and opposing the law of the land." Two of the citizens bringing the suit, C.E. Shaffer, a local official of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and Lonnie B. Daniel, Communications Workers of America Director for Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, received so much pressure from local union members, business and public officials, that they withdrew from the suit, although insisting that they were still in agreement with its purposes. White attorney William Higgs and Negro grocer Robert T. Smith are continuing the suit. It is estimated that they will need up to $1,000 for court costs.

5. The American Friends Service Committee decided not to reprint the series of articles on Prince Edward County that appeared in Newsday, a Long Island daily newspaper. Other series have been carried in the Philadelphia Bulletin, the Newark News and the Washington Post. Look Magazine and the Saturday Evening Post have had staff members in Prince Edward County for work on possible stories. The American Friends Service Committee will prepare a pamphlet on Prince Edward County which will soon be available. The Southern Regional Council has put out a special report on "Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools" by Mary Ellen Goodman, dealing with segregated private schools in Front Royal, Norfolk, Charlottesville and Prince Edward County. Copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

6. NBC, which shot considerable film in Fayette County, Tennessee, in preparation for its Sit-In program about Nashville, has turned this footage over to Chet Huntley for a possible new program dealing with the economic boycott and voting rights in Fayette and Haywood counties.

7. A segregationist drive, Monitor South, is now under way, aimed at TV and radio sponsors. Ned Touchstone, executive director of Monitor South, and owner of Bossier City Printing Co. in a suburb of Shreveport, La., told Broadcasting magazine that his organization plans to tape radio and TV network programs, study them for "deliberate distortion" and publicize the results to 2,700 "patriotic and civic" groups in the South which have "requested" them. Most persons acting as monitors, said Touchstone, are people of "means," well able to pay the costs of making tapes, which they do as a "labor of love." Some of the material on last season's Garry Moore show, Touchstone charged, was "sociologically offensive" to Southern viewers. While disclaiming responsibility, he noted that "merchants in this part of the South took Kellogg's (cereals) off their shelves. Kellogg's said: 'We have no control over the program.' We said: 'You do. You paid for it. And we have control over our children.'" The result: Kellogg's and Pittsburgh Plate Glass, co-sponsors of the Moore show, failed to renew and, according to Touchstone, "The show is not offensive now. Everybody's happy." Checks indicate that despite Monitor South's claimed effectiveness, no real inspired letter-writing campaigns have as yet been noticed by the networks.

8. It was reported that Brotherhood Week material was being used more this year than ever before, but that it required year-round follow-through to make an important impact. Press, radio and TV kits were furnished by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to the mass media throughout the country.

9. The March 1961 issue of Esquire Magazine carries an article by Caroline Bird on "The Solution Seekers: New Hope for Civil Rights in the South," which argues that the logic of events is forcing the day for integration and the recognition of minority rights in the South. This article will be reprinted by the AJC, which will also print "The Civil Rights Story...A Year's Review" by Theodore Leskes, Director of its Legal Division.

10. The Anti-Defamation League has just published, and will distribute to CCD groups, a pamphlet on "On Recognizing the Human Species" by Harold Courlander and a book "Strangers--Then Neighbors" by Clarence Senior, which deals with the various waves of immigration into the United States and the way in which these migrants have been treated.

11. The AFL-CIO and the National Educational Television and Radio Center are jointly sponsoring a series of half-hour discussion programs entitled "Briefing Session." One of the programs will deal with Civil Rights.

12. The Religion and Labor Council of America, 3498½ North High Street, Columbus 14, Ohio, featured an article on "Equality and the Unions" by Harry Fleischman, in its special Brotherhood issue of Religion and Labor, February 1961. Copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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3 Chaplins Award

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1961

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8. It was reported that Brotherhood Week material was being used more this year than ever before, but that it required year-round follow-through to make an important impact. Press, radio and TV kits were furnished by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to the mass media throughout the country.

9. The March 1961 issue of Esquire Magazine carries an article by Caroline Bird on "The Solution Seekers: New Hope for Civil Rights in the South," which argues that the logic of events is forcing the day for integration and the recognition of minority rights in the South. This article will be reprinted by the AJC, which will also print "The Civil Rights Story...A Year's Review" by Theodore Leskes, Director of its Legal Division.

10. The Anti-Defamation League has just published, and will distribute to CCD groups, a pamphlet on "On Recognizing the Human Species" by Harold Courlander and a book "Strangers--Then Neighbors" by Clarence Senior, which deals with the various waves of immigration into the United States and the way in which these migrants have been treated.

11. The AFL-CIO and the National Educational Television and Radio Center are jointly sponsoring a series of half-hour discussion programs entitled "Briefing Session." One of the programs will deal with Civil Rights.

12. The Religion and Labor Council of America, 3498½ North High Street, Columbus 14, Ohio, featured an article on "Equality and the Unions" by Harry Fleischman, in its special Brotherhood issue of Religion and Labor, February 1961. Copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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MMCCD

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1961

LWDV
PR
MF

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will again be a luncheon meeting from 11:30 to 2 P.M. on Wednesday, April 12, at the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street. Please call Mr. Fleischman, Plaza 1-4000 to let him know if you are coming, or write him at the above address.

1. The Kennedy executive order, setting up the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity, was gratifying to the MMCCD agencies, since it is considerably stronger than the comparable agencies set up by both President Truman and President Eisenhower. At the same time, discussion revealed that many agencies feared that, in the field of ending housing discrimination, the Administration might water down executive action from the strong planks in the Democratic Party platform. That platform called for ending discrimination and segregation not only in publicly-built, but also in publicly-assisted housing. It is feared that, unless sufficient public pressure by interested agencies becomes evident, publicly-assisted housing will not be included in any forthcoming housing anti-discrimination executive order. The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the United Steelworkers of America, are among the groups that have issued such statements. Other agencies may want to do likewise.

2. It was reported that Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College of Atlanta, had been proposed for a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Senators Talmadge and Russell of Georgia immediately attacked Mays' alleged pro-Communist affiliations and indicated that they would consider his appointment "personally obnoxious." Under the usual procedures of the Senate, such statements by Senators concerning appointments of people coming from their states have frequently sufficed to doom the appointments. It was noted, however, that if this custom applies, virtually no white or Negro southerner who fights for integration will be able to win an appointment, since such persons would be considered "personally obnoxious" by Dixiecrat senators. Several national organizations indicated that they felt that it would be necessary to secure a good deal of public pressure against such practices and that the mass media should be alerted to the implications of this policy.

It was reported that Kennedy and Congress have received little mail about civil rights. Additional activity by pro-civil rights agencies seems to be needed to step up the pace of federal action. One step, which it was felt Kennedy could do easily without political jeopardy, can be to insist that the National Guard of various states be desegregated.

3. The National Urban League report on Negro unemployment in 50 cities stressed that Negro unemployment is frequently twice to three times that of the total unemployment rate. In Detroit, for instance, 112,000 Negro workers are out of work, out of 185,000 total unemployment for the city. Mass media coverage of such a situation is likely to make an impact on the country and the President.

4. The Federal Government has been working behind the scenes to see to it that school teachers in New Orleans are paid. Although some funds have been released by the state to permit such payments, there is still fear that more money may be needed until school operating funds become available in cash in June. Since the State legislature has set up a new school board to replace the legal New Orleans board, local banks are unwilling to lend money to the legal board for fear that the courts might uphold the state legislature. It was agreed to investigate possible sources for such short term loans. It was also agreed to discover whether the Federal Government can find some way to use Federal funds in relation to this problem.

Another major problem in New Orleans is to counter the intimidation which has prevented many white parents from allowing their children to go to the desegregated schools. Mass media action to promote Federal injunctions against anybody who hampers Federal Court desegregation decisions was suggested. FBI investigations of those using economic reprisals, threats and intimidation might be helpful. New Orleans has suffered considerable economic hurt due to the tense situation and agencies with personnel and constituency in New Orleans were urged to utilize their resources during the summer to make next fall's integration more effective.

5. Efforts are being made in Atlanta to avoid the mistakes that occurred in Little Rock and New Orleans when school desegregation starts next fall. The problem was tied in with the Atlanta sit-ins; plus the fact that anti-Negro and anti-Semitic hate groups are concentrating their resources on Atlanta. (A few days after our committee meeting, leading Atlanta department, variety and drug stores agreed to desegregate their lunch counters and other facilities next fall, shortly after the 11th and 12th grades in Atlanta's schools are integrated. Meanwhile Negro leaders have agreed to call off sit-ins, boycotts, picketing, or other reprisals against stores with segregated lunch counters until the integration deadline. This was worked out by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and a group of student and adult Negro leaders.)

6. The problem of desegregated movies in the central sections of Southern cities is now coming to the fore. In Nashville, stand-outs at movie box-offices have been carried on. Negotiations are now under way with several movie chains. It was agreed to have a meeting of organizations with contacts in this field to consider steps that might be taken to facilitate desegregation of theaters.

7. The litigation on Prince Edward County challenges tuition grant payments for students at private segregated schools and claims that it was unconstitutional for Prince Edward County to close down its school system to avoid desegre ation. Should these contentions hold up in court, it will have implications for many other states. For instance, under the Georgia laws adopted by the recent special session of the Georgia legislature, counties and school districts may vote to close their schools rather than desegregate.

8. The Catholic Interracial Council's Interracial Review for February 1961, features a series on "The Catholic and the Changing Neighborhood." Write to Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York City for sample copies.

9. The Anti-Defamation League has just published "The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks," an excellent survey of the need for more adequate textbooks to help eradicate prejudice.

10. The January-February 1961 issue of Interracial News Service, published by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York, features "Racial and Cultural Relations Denominational Statements, 1959-60." The Council also adopted a resolution on "Christian Influence toward the Development and Use of all Labor Resources Without Regard to Race, Color, Religion, or National Origin," which can be secured by writing to the above address.

11. The Southern Regional Council has just published a special report by Mary Ellen Goodman on "Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools." Copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

12. In our minutes of February 15, we reported that a hard-cover revised edition of The Strange Career of Jim Crow has just been published. We goofed on the price. The Education Department, United Auto Workers, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 14, Michigan, is distributing this 183-page book at 65¢ per copy.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12

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'The next meeting of the Mass Media'
'will be a luncheon meeting from '
'11:30 AM to 2 PM on Friday, May 12'
'at the National Council of Jewish '
'Women, 1 West 47th Street, New York
'N.Y. Please call Mr. Fleischman, '
'Plaza 1-4000 to let him know if '
'you are coming or write him at 165'
'East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y!
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1. Harold C. Fleming, of the Southern Regional Council, and Everett Tucker, Jr. , President of the Little Rock, Arkansas school board, exchanged views on how fast schools should desegregate on "Briefing Session," a public affairs television series, presented by the AFL-CIO and the National Educational Television and Radio Center. Edward P. Morgan, ABC radio commentator, served as moderator. Stations carrying the series and dates of the program are listed on an attached sheet. If possible please notify people in your area.

2. Federal pressures for increased school desegregation came both from the courts and the executive department during the last month. The U.S. Justice Department, which had previously intervened only after trouble developed in enforcing court orders, revised its policy by entering four Louisiana school desegregation cases as a friend of the court. Attorney General Robert Kennedy explained the move (concerning suits in which St. Helena and East Baton Rouge parishes and 6 state-supported trade schools have been ordered to desegregate) would "assist the court in preventing potentially dangerous and critical situations from coming to a head." The new Attorney General has also held personal conversations with a number of Southern governors o civil rights matters.

Another federal agency, however, seems to have been dragging its feet in relation to school desegregation. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has thus far been occupied primarily with attemp ting to secure passage of legislation for federal aid to education. Its U.S. Office of Education has not offered its services, financial aid and encouragement to wipe out segregated educational situations. It was pointed out that vocational school grants on a segregated basis continue the inequality which worsens the picture in respect to employment discrimination against Negroes. While HEW may be taking internal steps to promote integration within the department, it has yet to take action in the broader areas of vocational training and school desegregation. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is preparing an analysis of the Health, Education and Welfare Department to show the extent of HEW programs in the area of vocational education, segregation and the impact of the federal government's working at cross purposes with itself. When this material is available, attempts will be made to supply it to interested organizations and to the mass media. The Labor Department, Commerce Department, Treasury Department and Justice Department are all busy in recruiting Negroes

for federal employment and in planning effective steps to end discrimination.

3. The Holland sub-committee of the House Labor Committee has been holding hearings on automation and unemployment. It was suggested that the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Negro American Labor Council might testify before the committee on the impact of automation on the Negro worker.

4. It was reported that the Tennessee Supreme Court upheld the revocation of Highlander Folk School's charter and ordered the institution closed, on the basis that Miles Horton, Director of the School, had operated it for private gain and that intoxicating beverages had been sold on the premises. The high court did not rule on a third holding of the lower court that the "integrated operations had violated a state law against permitting Negroes and whites to attend the same classes." The American Civil Liberties Union is consulting with Highlander's lawyers and will prepare a summary of the case. It was felt that magazine articles and newspaper editorials might be useful.

5. Opposition elements in Mississippi are beginning to speak up. The state superintendent of education, J. M. Tubb, told the convention of the 12,000-member Mississippi Education Association of white educators, meeting in Jackson, that if segregated schools are stricken down in the courts that "in the days of last resort, our people must know that to abolish the public schools would be to close the door of hope for many ambitious youth in the state. It would bring to a halt the wheels of industry on the borders of our state, and destroy the dreams we have had for a great state whose economy would be based upon agriculture and a great industry. A private school system on a state-wide level simply would not work. Think of all the experience which would be lost if our public schools are closed." He noted that "other state have tried, and failed, with school closing attempts."

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission contribution of 60 thousand dollars to the White Citizens Council national radio and television activity since last July, has engendered considerable opposition in the state. A lawsuit has been started against such practices. (See MMCCD minutes of February 15, 1961). The Commission said its speakers bureau had filled 13 engagements during the last 9 months in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Mississippi. A canned speech given to those in the speakers bureau says in part that "Negroes received better treatment and more consideration of their welfare in Mississippi than in any state in the nation." Most speakers appear in conjunction with the showing of the commission's film, "The Message From Mississippi," which is designed to show that Negroes live happily under segregation there. The effect of the speech and the film was weakened when club-swinging Jackson police and two German police dogs drove more than 100 Negroes from a courthouse where 9 Negro students were convicted for staging Mississippi's first sit-in demonstration. It was suggested that this situation might lend itself to an article in the New Yorker magazine by someone like A.J. Leibling.

In a "progress report" the commission said 228 investigations had been conducted in 82 Mississippi counties by its staff in the last

9 months. The commission, said Erle Johnston Jr., its public relations director, is "sometimes referred to as a watch dog agency to protect segregation, but its responsibilities are far deeper than such an identification suggests. The commission also is engaged in a detailed investigation program to build a file of persons whose utterances or actions indicate they should be watched with suspicion on future racial attitudes." One of those so watched was a University of Mississippi journalism student, Billy Barton, who was smeared in an effort to defeat him for editorship of the student newspaper. The basis for this was a "confidential report" which charged that Barton was employed last summer on the staff of the Atlanta Journal and was actively involved in several lunch-counter sit-in demonstrations in Atlanta. Economic coercion against opponents of the White Citizens Councils continues in the state. Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser, has lost much advertising and printing business. Her husband, Walter Dyer Smith, was discharged as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital after she began criticism of the Councils.

The White Citizens Council Forum reported at the end of last year that 51 television and 263 radio stations in 41 states had scheduled its series of programs. It was suggested that LeRoy Collins, President of the National Association of Broadcasters, be contacted to ask what is the policy of the networks on the use of such pro-segregationist programs. Will the NAB suggest that equal time on a free basis be made available to the opponents of segregation or will the networks be transformed into a one-way forum because the segregationists have so much state money available to pay for programs?

6. Several Louisville theatres agreed to desegregate recently after movie stand-ins and CORE picket lines. It was indicated that a number of chains appear likely to desegregate their theatres soon. It was felt that after more progress has been made it might be advisable to contact movie stars to sign a statement indicating that they want their films to be shown to all people on a desegregated basis.

7. The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO has just published a pamphlet, "Tent City...Home of the Brave," which tells the story of the economic coercion against Negroes in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee for registering to vote. Copies of the pamphlet are available free in quantity from IUD AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C. Sample copies are being sent to all CCD agencies.

Despite economic reprisals, hundreds of Negroes are continuing to register to vote. They have been able to exist only because of outside help. Operation Freedom has been working as a lending agency for the past two months to permit the farmers to get their crops in the ground on land purchased by the National Baptist Convention. Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, has taken steps to insure that racial bias is not used to deny loans to otherwise eligible Negroes under the Farmers' Home Administration Program. The Justice Department won another round April 6 in its fight to prevent the eviction of Negro sharecroppers from farms in Tennessee's Haywood County. The Federal Court of Appeals directed District Judge Marion S. Boyd of Memphis to grant a preliminary injunction against landowners.

The Justice Department civil rights division had sought the injunction on the grounds that the Negroes were being evicted because they had registered and voted in the 1960 election. Landowners had refused to renew contracts by which the Negroes farm for a share of the crops.

8. Harold C. Fleming has just resigned as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council to become the Executive Vice-President of the Potomac Institute, which has been set up by the Taconic Foundation to serve as an intergroup relations agency in Washington, D.C. Fleming's successor as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council is Leslie Dunbar.

9. The February 1961 issue of Social Progress, published by the United Presbyterian Church, features a series of articles on "Why They Sat In" and "What Does it Mean?" Copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

10. The January 1961 issue of Social Action, published by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, 289 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. features several articles on the sit-ins. We will try to arrange for copies to go to all CCD agencies.

11. The American Jewish Committee has reprinted an article on "Human Relations Goes to Washington" by Senator Philip A. Hart. The article proposes a new cabinet Department of Urban Affairs with concern for problems of intergroup relations. A copy is enclosed. Additional copies available at $3.50 per hundred.

12. CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York, will print a new pamphlet, "Jailed In" by Thomas Gaither. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

13. The May 1961 issue of Redbook magazine contains an article by Lillian Smith on "The Ordeal of Southern Women."

14. The April 25, 1961 issue of Look features a series of articles on "The Second Battle of Atlanta," dealing with the desegregation problem.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

STATIONS CARRYING "BRIEFING SESSION" SERIES PROGRAM ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, ENTITLED "WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED"

Date	Time	Station	City
6/4/61	Sunday, 4:30 p.m.	WAKR (49)	*Akron, Ohio
5/15, 19	Monday, 12:30 p.m., Friday, 6:00 p.m.	KNME-TV (5)	Albuquerque, NM
5/1	Monday, 6 p.m.	WAIQ (2)	Andalusia, Ala.
5/17	Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.	WGTV (9)	Athens, Ga.
5/17	Wednesday, 8 p.m.	WETV (30)	Atlanta, Ga.
5/1	Monday, 6 p.m.	WBIQ (10)	Birmingham, Ala.
4/17, 23	Monday, 7 p.m., Sunday, 2:30 p.m.	WGBH-TV (2)	Boston, Mass.
5/15	Monday, 9 p.m.	WNED-TV (17)	Buffalo, N.Y.
5/17	Wednesday, 8:30 p.m.	WUNC (4)	Chapel Hill, N.C.
5/14	Sunday, 2 p.m.	WTVC (9)	*Chattanooga, Tenn
4/17	Monday, 8:30 p.m.	WTTW (11)	Chicago, Ill.
5/16	Tuesday, 9:30 p.m.	WCET (48)	Cincinnati, Ohio
4/17	Monday, 9 p.m.	WOSU-TV (34)	Columbus, Ohio
5/15, 19	Monday, 8 p.m., Friday, 8:30 p.m.	KOAC-TV (7)	Corvallis, Ore.
5/8	Monday, 9 p.m.	KERA-TV (13)	Dallas, Texas
4/17	Monday, 8 p.m.	KRMA-TV (6)	Denver, Colo.
5/16	Tuesday, 9:30 p.m.	KDPS-TV (11)	Des Moines, Iowa
5/3	Wednesday, 9 p.m.	WTVS (56)	Detroit, Mich.
4/30	Sunday, 11:00 a.m.	WWJ (4)	*Detroit, Mich.
4/20, 23	Thursday, 7 p.m., Sunday, 4 p.m.	WMSB (10)	East Lansing, Mich
5/21	Sunday, 2 p.m.	WKJG (33)	* Ft. Wayne, Ind.
4/19, 21	Wednesday, 8:30 p.m. Friday, 9:30 p.m.	WUFT (5)	Gainesville, Fla
4/30	Sunday, 2 p.m.	WFBC (4)	*Greenville, S.C.
4/18,20	Tuesday, 8 p.m., Thursday, 7:30 p.m.	KURT (8)	Houston, Texas
5/3	Wednesday, 9:30 p.m.	WJCT (7)	Jacksonville, Fla
6/18	Sunday, 6:30 p.m.	WJAC (6)	*Johnstown, Pa.
5/1, 5	Monday, 9 p.m., Friday, 7:30 p.m.	KUON-TV (12)	Lincoln, Nebr.
5/15	Monday, 3 p.m.	WFPK-TV (15)	Louisville, Ky.
5/17	Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.	WHA-TV (21)	Madison, Wisc.
5/16, 18	Tuesday, 9 p.m., Thursday, 4:30 p.m.	WKNO-TV (10)	Memphis, Tenn.
4/17	Monday, 8:30 p.m.	WTHS-TV (2)	Miami, Fla.
5/3, 5	Wednesday, 5 p.m., Friday, 6 p.m.	WMVS-TV (10)	Milwaukee, Wisc.
5/1	Monday, 6 p.m.	WCIQ (7)	Munford, Ala.
4/19	Wednesday, 8 p.m.	WYES-TV (8)	New Orleans, La.
5/17	Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.	KETA-TV (13)	Norman, Okla.
5/16	Tuesday, 7 p.m.	WMUB-TV (14)	Oxford, Ohio
5/5	Friday, 1:40 p.m.	WHYY-TV (35)	Phila, Pa.
5/2	Tuesday, 9:30 p.m.	WQED (13)	Pittsburgh, Pa.
5/15, 19	Monday, 8 p.m., Friday, 8:30 p.m.	KOAP-TV (10)	Portland, Ore.
5/1	Monday, 9 p.m.	KVIE (6)	Sacramento, Cal.

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Date	Time	Station	City
5/4	Thursday, 8 p.m.	KUED (7)	Salt Lake City, Utah
4/19	Wednesday, 9 p.m.	KQED (9)	San Francisco, Calif.
5/14	Sunday, 3 p.m.	KNTV (11)	*San Jose, Calif.
4/21	Friday, 7:30 p.m.	KCTS-TV (9)	Seattle, Wash.
4/20	Thursday, 9 p.m.	KETC (9)	St. Louis, Mo.
4/21	Friday, 10 p.m.	KTCA-TV (2)	St. Paul, Minn.
5/4	Thursday, 8 p.m.	KPEC-TV (56)	Tacoma, Wash.
5/1, 5	Monday, 8 p.m., Friday, 12:30 p.m.	WFSU-TV (11)	Tallahassee, Fla.
5/3, 5	Wednesday, 10 p.m. Friday, 4:30 p.m.	WEDU (3)	Tampa, Fla.
4/18	Tuesday, 2:30 p.m.	WGTE-TV (30)	Toledo, Ohio
5/15	Monday, 9 p.m.	KUAT (6)	Tucson, Arizona
5/17	Wednesday, 7:30pm	KQED-TV (11)	Tulsa, Okla.
5/4	Sunday, 11:30 p.m.	WHNB (30)	Hartford, Conn.
4/30	Sunday, 11:30 p.m.	WTRF (7)	*Wheeling, W. Va.
5/3	Wednesday, 9 p.m.	WILL-TV (12)	Urbana, Ill.
6/10	Saturday, 4 p.m.	WSBT (22)	South Bend, Ind.
6/4	Sunday, 11:00 a.m.	WNTA (13)	*New York, N.Y.

*Denotes Commercial Station

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1961

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, June 14, 1961 from 11:30 A.M. to 2 P.M. at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting please call Mr. Fleischman at Plaza 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th St. New York 22, N.Y. to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The Administration's proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs was discussed. It was reported that the Administration plans to wait on issuing any executive order on discrimination in housing until after housing legislation has been passed by Congress. It was suggested that it would be useful to get the mass media to carry articles and stories dealing with successes in housing. An article on housing by Boris Shishkin, civil rights director of the AFL-CIO, will be sent to all CCD agencies.

2. No date has yet been set to try the suit filed by William Higgs and Robert T. Smith in Federal Court in Jackson, Mississippi last January, for an injunction barring payment of public funds by the State Sovereignty Commission to the White Citizens Councils. A similar suit may be filed in a State Court. Recently, for the first time in history, the third largest paper in the State, the Jackson State Times, strongly criticized the Sovereignty Commission for its payments to the Citizens Councils. The Jackson Clarion Ledger and Daily News carried an article in their combined Sunday edition that "NAACP Backs Higgs' Suit in U.S. Court." This may lead to a libel suit against the papers. These two papers, it is reported, serve as the unofficial mouthpieces of the White Citizens Councils. For instance, when Attorney General Robert Kennedy spoke on civil rights at the University of Georgia, the papers failed to even mention the fact.

As a result of the Billie Barton case (see MMCCD minutes of April 12) many citizens in the state have begun to criticize the White Citizens Councils. A suit against the State Sovereignty Commission may soon be brought by Barton.

We were informed that last May in Madison County, deputy sheriffs handcuffed a man in his home, took him out in front of his wife and family and shot him. It was mentioned that in the past year there has been a murder of a Negro person about every month and a half in Madison County, with law enforcement officers invilved. A Negro client of William Higgs, it was said, had an eye gouged out by a policeman and was in jail 15 hours before a doctor was allowed to see him. It was said that the local papers failed to mention such incidents or at best mentioned that someone was shot while "resisting arrest." It was said that men have been arrested and put in a "hot box" whose heat is so intense that their vision becomes permanently impaired.

We were informed that Senator Eastland has submitted the name of Harold Cox to the Justice Department for appointment as a Federal Judge for the Southern District of Mississippi. If Cox, a prominent segregationist, is named, it may be very difficult to enforce voting and other rights for Negroes in Mississippi.

The White Citizens Councils appear to be in a poor financial condition if they are unable to count upon support from the public treasury. They have had to close a store in Jackson which they use to solicit membership. In attempting to get membership renewals they are sending out cards saying: "I believe in segregation. Enclosed are my dues," and another card says "I believe in integration. Take my name off your list." This constitutes a form of intimidation but has evidently not been very successful in getting membership renewals.

There have been some repercussions from the John Birch Society on the desegregation problem. Birch Society members in Jackson, Mississippi spied on interracial meetings being held at the Episcopal Church, took illegal tapes of telephone conversations and played them to the Church School Board in an attempt to get the minister of the Church fired.

3. An advertisement appeared in the New York Times of March 29, 1960 seeking funds to help in the defense of Martin Luther King against a then-pending perjury prosecution by the State of Alabama. Because their names appeared as sponsors of the ad, four Negro ministers in Alabama were sued, together with the New York Times in five libel suits for 1/2 million dollars each. Already judgments have been obtained for the full amount demanded in two of these suits and the other three will be tried soon. Because, under Alabama law, a judgment can be stayed pending appeal only if a bond for twice the amount of the judgment is posted, (which obviously the individual defendants could not do), the plaintiffs have already gone after the ministers' small property holdings. Their automobiles have been taken and they have been subjected to searching examinations to uncover their meager real and personal property. The judgments against the New York Times have been stayed pending appeal since the Times has posted the two million dollars in bond.

A lawyers' advisory committee to aid these defendants has been set up in New York including Theodore W. Kheel, William H. Davis, Charles H. Tuttle and 15 others. They are determined to protect the process of law against these attempts to create "unequal injustice under the guise of law." Mr. Tuttle said that these cases are as important to the question of freedom of the press and freedom of speech as was the Zenger case, which centuries ago established the principles of freedom of the press in America. The American Bar Association may be asked to file an Amicus Curiae brief in this case. If not, the lawyers' advisory committee may attempt to do so itself. It was suggested that mass circulation magazines might be interested in doing stories about this.

The Harvard Law School Students Civil Liberties Research Service prepared a "Memo on a Trial Within a Segregated Courtroom," which suggests that the fact that the trial was segregated might lead to a Supreme Court decision that the trial was illegal.

4. The Saturday Evening Post, April 29, 1961 carried an article by editor Irv Goodman on Prince Edward County, entitled "Public Schools Died Here."

5. Davison's Department Store in Atlanta, Ga. carried a full-page ad in the April 23 Atlanta Sunday Journal-Constitution, saluting Atlanta's public school system and calling for united support in "helping all the children of Atlanta achieve the true fulfillment of Georgia and the United States in the Western Democratic World," as the Atlanta public school system "stands on the threshold of new tasks and responsibilities." Copies of this ad have been made available to Atlanta's Help Our Public Education (HOPE) and samples will be sent to CCD agencies.

6. A Core booklet, Sit-In Songs, which includes more than a score of lyrics, has just been published. Copies are available from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, NY.

7. Christianity and Crisis, 537 West 121st. Street, New York 27, N.Y., will examine the race problem in the USA in its May 29 special double issue. Articles will include "Universal Suffrage for Negroes," by Harold C. Fleming; "Our Caste-Ridden Protestant Campuses," by Thomas F. Pettigrew; "Residential Segregation: A Major Confrontation for the Churches," by S. Garry Oniki; "Probing the Ethics of Realtors," by Kenneth Underwood and Elden Jacobson. Special quantity rates are:10 or less 35¢; 11 to 99 20¢; 100 or more 15¢. For copies write to the above address.

8. The April 1961 issue of The Progressive carried an article on "Explosion in Birmingham" by James Clayton.

9. The May 1961 issue of the Southern Regional Council's New South carries an editorial dealing with a recent Gallup poll, showing that 76% of Southerners believe that integration in schools, restaurants and other public accommodations is on its way.

10. The April 15 issue of The New Yorker contains an article entitled "It Doesn't Seem Quick To Me," by Katherine T. Kinkead, which is a report on the Sit-In movement in Durham, N.C.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, SEPTEMBER 19, 1962

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Monday, October 29, 1962 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the Jewish Labor Committee, 25 East 78th Street, New York City.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22 to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Birmingham's business leadership appears quite perturbed over the current situation. It feels that Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner has consistently attempted to intimidate and terrorize Negroes who are trying to exercise their civil rights. A Negro boycott of white stores has created much economic dislocation.

The business leadership is currently supporting a referendum to change the form of city government. Should it pass, it would, in all likelihood, mean the elimination from official life of Commissioner Conner.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has just held a conference in Birmingham to prepare a widespread plan of action for Alabama and other Southern states. Negro voting in Birmingham has been growing slowly but surely. While the conference was on, Bull Conner cancelled all press passes in the city, but the SCLC meeting went off with only minor hitches. A self-styled member of the American Nazi Party struck Rev. King twice in the face. Although Dr. King did not press charges, the police took the assailant into custody. He was found guilty of assault and battery and sentenced to thirty days in prison and fined $25 and costs.

An editorial in The Birmingham News (August 20, 1962) asks "Desegregated Schools Here By '63?" and stresses that Birmingham faces "an almost certain desegregation order by the fall of 1963," and that "It is folly for city officials, school people or public to refuse to face the record." (Editorial attached.)

2. A conference will be jointly sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen on December 27th and 28th (tentative) in Nashville, Tennessee. The themeof the conference is "The South: Ethical Demands of Integration." Martin Luther King, Jr. has agreed to deliver the keynote address. About 200 persons will be invited to attend, chosen from Southern leadership who are seriously concerned to move forward from desegregation into integration. The conference will attempt to consider ethical problems as illustrated by concrete examples, and for that purpose three subjects and areas have been selected: education, using Charlottesville, Virginia as the area of study; the religious life of a community as expressed through its churches, using Atlanta as the case; and employment, using Greensboro, North Carolina.

3. The wanton burning of Negro churches in Georgia has stiffened the resolve of Negroes to attain civil and political equality. Discussion was held on what the member organizations of the MMCCD could do to demonstrate their moral concern. Should we participate in a nationwide campaign to help rebuild the burned churches? Many felt that the Voter Registration Drive was the prime concern, and that this should be the outstanding concern rather than the church burnings. Others, however, felt that the church burnings might create the emotional impact needed to educate people that this happened because of the Negroes' fight for the right to vote. Suggestions were made that the mass media should bring to the public the fact that the church burnings happened because of the Voter Registration Drive, and emphasis should be made very strong that such a drive does exist and should be supported. Various agencies have adopted resolutions dealing with this problem. (See attached American Jewish Committee release.)

4. New Orleans appears to be over the hump on school desegregation. Segregationist politicians, as well as the general public, seem to have accepted desegregation in the city as a fact of life. Last year's public school integration here was calm, but for two reasons the opening of schools here a few weeks ago was considered a major test for the city. The pace of public school integration was greatly increased and parochial schools admitted Negroes for the first time this century. It was feared that the magnitude of the two changes could bring trouble. Actually, their combined effect worked in favor of better public acceptance of desegregation. They were mutually reinforcing.

Seventy-seven restaurants and lunch counters in New Orleans were opened on an integrated basis after more than two years of struggle. During this time scores of CORE members have been arrested in their attempts at desegregating eating facilities. It was hoped that New Orleans has set the pace for the rest of the state to follow.

5. "Tokenism" carries, with a shrug of inadequacy, a feeling that only the crumbs of progress, "token progress," is being achieved; that the rate of advance is too slow in view of the time it has taken and the imperative of the demand. Negroes in the forefront of the civil rights movement and from varied professional fields have found it an increasingly useful word to denote too-slow progress. A joint study on tokenism will be made jointly for the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council by Prof. Ken Morland of Randolph Macon Women's College.

6. The forthcoming commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation led to a suggestion for a White House Conference commemorating the anniversary to be held in the deep South, to be addressed by President Kennedy, and to feature other top governmental, religious, minority groups, industry, labor and other civil leaders. Some members of the committee felt that the President should do something more meaningful on civil rights, and use the centenary to issue an executive order banning discrimination in all federally affected activities. Others suggested that such a Conference might offer the occasion for such a historic order. Suggestions were made that television, as well as other mass media, should be urged to cooperate in every way for an effective observance of this major historical event.

7. On many occasions well-meaning people have complained against Negro use of civil disobedience to secure civil rights. Their main thrust appears to be "Why don't Negroes just obey the laws, and trust to time to work out the solution?" In an article, "Are We Heading In The Wrong Direction?," by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post, August 11-18, 1962, he objects to a bill with penalties involving jail sentences for farmers who fail to comply with certain regulations set forth in the measure. Becoming a strong advocate of civil disobedience, Mr. Eisenhower then wrote: "When I learned of this proposal,

I rather explosively exclaimed that if these provisions were enacted into law and applied to a raiser of beef cattle (which I am) I would offer myself as a test case. I said that I would go to jail if necessary and conduct a public monologue on human rights from behind the bars." This quote may be of use if you hear other people complaining about civil disobedience.

8. In the past few weeks, the Mississippi Free Press, a new Negro paper, has given extensive coverage to a courageous biracial group of men who are striking for decent wages at a bakery. The Free Press believes the living standards of the little man in the South can be improved by encouraging responsible, democratic labor unions.

Another project of the Free Press has been the case of Clyde Kennard, a bright young Negro who applied to the all white Mississippi Southern last year. He was arrested and convicted of stealing $25 of chicken feed, and is now in Parchman State Prison serving a seven year term. By publicizing the case, the Free Press hopes that some action can be taken to release Kennard.

While the paper is primarily for Mississippians, and supported by them, its news may be of interest to our agencies. Write to Charles L. Butts, Editor of the Mississippi Free Press, 1253 Valley Street, Jackson, Mississippi, for a sample copy and subscription rates.

9. The meeting discussed the forthcoming registration of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi. It was agreed that the mass media would give top coverage to the issue, but warnings were uttered lest the Federal Government move too hesitantly in the crisis, thus permitting violent segregationist sentiment to harden. The riots that did occur following Governor Barnett's almost open incitation to violence underscored the validity of our fears.

10. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has instituted a suit against certain authorities in Jackson, Mississippi who arrested fifteen Episcopal clergymen, who were subsequently acquitted. The clergymen have brought suit for false arrest. For details, write ESCRU, Room 200, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

11. "Segregation and Desegregation in American Education," a bibliography from the Education Library, a branch of the University of Florida libraries. Copies may be obtained by writing to: Education Library, College of Education, University of Florida, 317 Norman Hall, Gainesville, Florida.

12. In a new publication, "Justice?," the Congress of Racial Equality has documented evidence of police intimidation and brutality, judicial intimidation and maltreatment by law enforcement officers used against persons attempting to achieve desegregation. The booklet summarizes testimony in Washington in May 1962, before a Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the Freedom Struggle. Chairing the committee was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Other members included legal experts and leaders in several areas of human relations. "Justice?" is available from the Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38 at 25¢ per single copies, reductions on quantity orders.

13. The U. S. Department of Labor has recently published a study of "Antidiscrimination Provisions in Major Contracts, 1961." The bulletin also includes an appendix illustrating similar provisions in several union constitutions. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C.

14. "The Negro and Employment Opportunities In The South: Atlanta." This report, the third in a series of Negro employment studies in Southern cities, is based on interviews carried out in the summer and fall of 1961 and on continuous observations since then. Reports have previously been issued on Houston, Texas and Chattanooga, Tennessee. Copies may be obtained from the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, 41 Exchange Place, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia or the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

15. "Human Relations In Law Enforcement," remarks of Michael J. Murphy, Police Commissioner of New York City, at a meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, April 12, 1962. Single copies can be obtained free from the NCCJ, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

16. Two articles, "Strategy in Suburbia," by Dennis Clark - an examination of the committees of conscience that are challenging housing segregation in the suburbs, and "White Suburbia - Token Integration Northern Style," by Richard Hepburn, have been reprinted from the Interracial Review, July 1962. Copies may be secured from the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

17. "Race and the Religious School," a report on a study conference on interracial understanding held in cooperation with the Ursuline Nuns at the College of New Rochelle Chapter of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. Copies of this report may be secured from the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York at 25¢ per copy.

18. "Catholics and Racism in the North," by Matthew Ahmann. While the Catholic Church is active in eliminating segregation in the South, little is being said about its role in racial justice in the North. Mr. Ahmann presents some practical programs for organized Catholic effort in the North. Reprinted from The Catholic World, August 1962. Distributed by the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois.

19. "It Happened In Shippensburg!," written by Virginia H. Ellison from a report by Eleanor M. Peterson. Newspapers in the North have generally played up the controversy over desegregation in the South and more recently have been publicizing the ruckus over attempts at desegregating public eating facilities along Route 40. Generally the implication has been that such things do not happen in the North. But this incident happened in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. For information on reprints write Miss Carrie E. Meares, director, Assignment: RACE, United Church Women, Room 822, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

20. "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations," by Robert E. Baker. Reprinted from The Washington Post, Sunday, July 29, 1962. The progress that has been made in desegregation and non-discrimination in Richmond is one of the exciting racial stories in the South. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

21. "A Hundred Years Later," by James McBride Dabbs, Frank P. Graham, Paul Green, Benjamin E. Mays, James Stokely and Marion A. Wright. The pamphlet deals with the Centennial of the Civil War. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

22. "The Police and Community Conflict." A valuable 24-page pamphlet by William P. Brown, a career policeman who is the current chairman of the Education and Training Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Deals with emerging community situations involving overt conflict between groups within a community. Available from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57th Street, New York 19, New York at 15¢ per copy.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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MMCCD, CCD

DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS HERE BY '63?

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans has refused a Negro parents' attempt to speed up hearing of a case before Judge Hobart Grooms, here, intended to force a desegregated Birmingham school system.

This was the second of two such cases filed in federal court here. An earlier case before Judge Seybourn H. Lynne, filed in 1960, has been set for October hearing. Plaintiffs with the "newer" second case before Judge Grooms had asked the court of appeals to force a hearing on that case on allegation that the first case too long had been delayed.

The court of appeals found, three judges concurring, that date for hearing had been set in the earlier-filed case and that it would be wasteful to push the second ahead.

But one judge, John R. Brown of Texas, agreeing not to speed the case nevertheless said that he "cannot imagine" that it should have taken so long to "get pleadings, motions, etc., in shape." The Texas judge went on virtually to settle the Birmingham cases in so many words in advance:

"The matter is now simple: Does Birmingham have a segregation system? If -- and there really is no if -- that is so, then the question is: What is being done to eradicate it? We have now made it plain ... that a plan of desegregation must be offered or the district court will fashion its own plan." (In the New Orleans case, the district court -- because of a sequence of events -- drew up two plans; the appeals court then fashioned still a third, now to be enforced.)

Judge Brown said that "eight years after the warning to commence with deliberate speed," there has been no desegregation action in Birmingham. More, he continued, "the case about to be heard to consider non-existent defenses" will not reach the bar until October. By that time "the fall term will have passed and it will be too late administratively to accommodate the school system to the Constitution" for "yet another year."

Key phrase is "non-existent defenses," which means Judge Brown's mind apparently is already made up as to any Birmingham school board defense against the Negroes' plea for "reorganization of the dual racial school system into a unitary non-racial system." (The Negroes say in suit that they did not pursue remedy through the placement act in Alabama because "the remedy there provided is inadequate.")

Judge Brown in his opinion in effect concedes there can't be a desegregation order in Birmingham for the fall term. He also used the term "yet another year." It seems obvious, if this opinion is read correctly, that he does see an almost certain desegregation order by the fall of 1963.

The language, as it may be interpreted, means Birmingham probably has one year of grace between next month and the following September.

Judge Brown reveals strong irritation further, at delay to date. Though he agrees with the other two judges that "Judge Grooms (is) the victim of an unsupporting charge that he has failed in the discharge of his personal duty," he seems to say of the case before Judge Lynne (without naming him) that it should proceed "here and now," that "those aspects which are novel should, or may, be put to one side." Judge Brown holds that "there should be an early and effective declaration of rights and the issuance of appropriate injunctions so that the wheels will at least start to turn at some speed whether deliberate, or, if the past is any indication, more

likely at a slow, if not a snail's pace." That is strong judicial language regarding the time the issue has been before a Birmingham court.

Judge Brown's opinion was not inclusive in these respects of the other two judges' opinions. Judge Rives said that "the district court has not abused its discretion."

These three judges refusing to move ahead a Birmingham case are the same three who Aug. 6 set out a very broad directive to the New Orleans parish school board for desegregation. At that time, The News warned all who should be thinking ahead, the court stated with emphasis that "the key to the problem is the elimination of dual or bi-racial school zones." Heavy emphasis in Birmingham suits is against the bi-racial zoning here. A state placement act, the court said, is not a desegregation plan. It said such plan is essential. If not supplied by local authorities, then the court will so provide.

This delay is comforting for Birmingham in that one of the suits here, the older, will be heard in full procedure, commencing on Oct. 3. But circuit court opinion, now allowing procedure as projected by judges here, comes from a circuit court the views of which are already much on the record in a parallel case. And in new opinion from New Orleans, one of three judges strongly expresses, misgivings at length of time it has taken the 1960-filed suit to come to hearing.

Birmingham, to repeat, will do well to heed and prepare. It will not be possible late to claim "rush," nor is it likely later appeal for delay to prepare would win sympathy from a court already lenient as to timing, a court making the future probably predictable not only by past rulings in other cases, but in the meaty concurring footnote by Judge Brown of Texas.

It is folly for city officials, school people or public to refuse to face the record.

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS
August 20, 1962

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, DECEMBER 3, 1962

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, January 23, 1963 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue (20th Street), New York City. (Please take rear elevator to 9th floor.)

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

Among those present were: Alfred Chernin, National Community Relations Advisory Council; Dennis Clark, Catholic Interracial Council; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee; Carrie Mears, United Church Women; Marvin Rich, Congress of Racial Equality; June Shagaloff, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Rev. John Morris, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; Oscar Cohen, Henry Schwartzchild, Stanley Wexler, Anti-Defamation League; Harry Fleischman, Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service.

1. Four clergymen, members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity have brought suit for false arrest against police officials in Jackson, Mississippi who arrested fifteen freedom-riding Episcopal clergymen, all of whom were subsequently acquitted. The suit calls for the recovery of funds which have been expended pursuant to travel back and the appeal process. If the suit is successful, the money will be used for the defense of other freedom riders still facing further appeals.

2. A report was given on the Southern Interagency Conference, held in Atlanta on September 13-14, 1962.

New Orleans: 36 Roman Catholic schools opened on a desegregated basis in September 1962. The exact number of Negro students involved was unknown. 20 white public schools accepted 108 Negro students.

Chattanooga: No trouble or violence occurred upon desegregation of public schools, due to efforts of the Mayor's Committee and the police. The community had been prepared for the maintenance of law and order. There is severe overcrowding of Negro Junior High schools. Some Negro students attend school from 2:30 in the afternoon until 7:30 at night. There was a boycott by some of the students attending one school.

North Carolina: Seven more North Carolina communities had some desegregation this year, bringing the total up to 19. Four school boards desegregated voluntarily.

Atlanta: Ten schools were now desegregated, involving 44 Negro students.

Florida: 83 motels have been desegregated through the efforts of CORE and the NAACP.

Albany: The difficulties have been increased by personality and organizational splits in the Negro community and leadership. There were suggestions for future cooperation between intergroup agencies.

Voter Education Project: The project to date has spent $32,000 for a total of 21,000 reported new voters. A report was made on the harassment of organizational leaders who attended Voter Education meetings in Clarksdale, Mississippi.

3. "A Letter From A Region In My Mind," by James Baldwin, which appeared in the November 17, 1962 issue of the New Yorker Magazine, was discussed. Baldwin's letter, as was noted by commentator Edward P. Morgan, may mark the nearest anyone has ever come to leading a white man intellectually into the furnace of torment that has been, and still is, a black man's fate. Baldwin makes frighteningly clear the deadly purposefulness of Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam movement, which has attracted thousands of followers on a doctrine of black supremacy, venomously preaching that all white people are devils, about to be brought down. The letter may first shock and enrage even the most thoughtful minds, who then, however, are likely to wilt in shame and humility before the major truths that Baldwin insists on assembling. The largest truth of all is that time is running out on the opportunity for the amicable acceptance of the Negro as a full-fledged member of the human race.

4. While the South desegregates its schools slowly and with great reluctance, tension over integration is growing in the North and West. Miss June Shagaloff, Special Assistant for Education for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, discussed with the Committee the problem of de facto school segregation.

School segregation in the North and West does not stem mainly from residential patterns. Although schools located in the centers of vast segregated residential areas of the big cities are a result of housing patterns, in many communities and even in the "fringe" districts of the large cities, zone lines have been drawn in such a manner as "to contain" Negro pupils in separate schools.

Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities. The harmful psychological damage to the minority child, the lessening of his motivation to learn, the feelings of inferiority -- all of these are reinforced by segregated schools. Gerrymandering of school districts leads to segregated schools. Boards of Education have been accused of policies and practices resulting in inferior schooling for minority children.

Dy and Leave? Yes!

The Jim Crow School - North and West describes in great detail the problems of de facto segregation, as well as the role of the NAACP with this problem. Copies have been sent to the members of the Committee.

5. Executive Order Against Discrimination in Federal Housing, by Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes. Report on Executive Order No. 11063 barring discrimination in the sale or rental of federal housing and housing financed through federal assistance. Copies available without charge from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, or the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

6. The People Take The Lead, a record of progress in civil rights 1954 to 1963. A new edition of the American Jewish Committee's annual roundup of civil rights

advances in the United States -- which reviews civil rights developments since 1954. Copies available from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 25¢ per copy, $20.00 per hundred.

7. Race, Religion and Revenge, by William Stringfellow. Negroes in New York's Harlem: what do they see, what do they say, as they look ahead to tomorrow? Copies can be obtained at 3¢ per copy by writing to The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

8. NAACP Public School Desegregation Front in North and West, by June Shagaloff, Special Assistant for Education of the NAACP. A summary of NAACP activity, state by state, reporting the existing problems in each community and the scope of NAACP action to eliminate segregation and discriminatory practices in public schools of the North and West. Copies have been sent to Committee members by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18.

Yes

9. Farewell to the Liberals; A Negro View, by Loren Miller. Reprinted from the October 20, 1962 issue of The Nation. "There is a certain irony in the fact that liberals are the targets of Negro displeasure precisely because of their long association in the quest of equality." Copies are available without charge from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18.

10. Equal Opportunity Union Made, published by the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. A history of ILGWU efforts through the years to combat discrimination. Single copies available free from the ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York 19.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, JANUARY 23, 1963

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'The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, February 27, 1963 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City (52nd Street).

'Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

Among those present: Charles Butts, Editor, Mississippi Free Press; Lillian Cohen, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Bob Gore and Marvin Rich, Congress of Racial Equality; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Gunther Lawrence, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Edith Macy, National Urban League; Jack Pomberton and Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Henry Schwartzchild and Stanley Wexler, Anti-Defamation League; Jacob Schlitt, Jewish Labor Committee; Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

1. Charles Butts, Editor of the Mississippi Free Press reported that his paper, the only liberal newspaper in the state, encourages all citizens to participate fully in their government. It is pro-civil rights and pro-labor, but is temperate in its approach.

The Free Press now has 5,000 subscribers, 4,200 in Mississippi itself. It needs $20,000 to absorb entire membership lists of organizations sympathetic to their aims. The leaders of these groups (unions, Masons, church groups, etc.) are encouraging this plan, but do not have the funds to pay for the subscriptions ($1.00 a year for 52 issues). After a year, he felt that most would renew on their own. Twenty thousand additional readers would make the Free Press the fourth largest in the state, and would expand its effectiveness in increasing the political voice and raising the living standards of the forgotten people of Mississippi.

Committee members felt it would be helpful if Editor & Publisher, Time, Newsweek and similar publications carried stories about the Free Press. They also offered suggestions concerning possible financial support for the paper.

Funds for bloc subscriptions may be sent to Charles L. Butts, Editor, Mississippi Free Press, 1253 Valley Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

2. Clyde Kennard, now suffering from cancer, is well into his third year in Mississippi's Parchman Penitentiary. He was charged with planning the theft, by an illiterate Negro teen-ager, of four sacks of chicken feed valued at $25. He was indicted and convicted by all-white juries. He was sentenced to seven years in the state penitentiary - the maximum penalty - by a white judge. All this happened in 1960, after he tried to enroll in the all-white University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg, Kennard's home town. Now he's waiting for the Mississippi Supreme Court to rule on his appeal for a new trial.

During Army service in Korea Kennard purchased a 130-acre farm for his mother and stepfather to run. He attended Wendell Phillips High School, earned enough credits for graduation while in Korea, later went to the University of Chicago for three years. He left in 1955 at the end of his junior year to take over the Hattiesburg farm when his stepfather died. His troubles began after he persisted unsuccessfully in negotiations to complete his college education at the University of Southern Mississippi. After Kennard's 1959 application to MSC was rejected, the then Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman was reported to have said that "if Clyde did reapply, there'd be no way of holding him out because his record was sufficient. There'd be no alternative but to close the college."

In Mississippi there is a law that no one with a felony on his record will be admitted to a state school. Burglary is a felony. The Mississippi Free Press is the only state paper demanding justice for Kennard.

3. MISSISSIPPI - In view of the uncertainty over whether or not James Meredith would return for the second semester at the University of Mississippi unless harassment ceased, the Committee discussed ways of bringing the Meredith story more strongly to public view. It was suggested that a compilation of the harassment Meredith suffered during his stay at Ole Miss would be useful. It was agreed to contact leading educators and educational groups concerning statements on the difficulty of keeping up grades with such harassment, as well as raising the problem of dropping accreditation of Ole Miss for failing to uphold and represent the rights of students.

Up-to-the-minute developments in the continuing stories of two Negro students in the South - James Meredith and Harvey Gantt, scheduled to register at Clemson College in South Carolina - were reported on "Eyewitness" on Friday, January 25th on the CBS-TV Network.

A review of James Meredith's first term as the first Negro enrolled at the University of Mississippi, including an interview with U. S. Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach who was with Meredith during the crucial days of his enrollment, was presented on "This Is NBC News," Sunday, January 27th on the NBC-TV Network.

4. SOUTH CAROLINA - The voice of restraint, of moderation, was heard in South Carolina with increasing frequency as legal moves continued against operation of racially segregated public schools. Even as attorneys for state-supported colleges and secondary schools struggled to keep South Carolina schools segregated, state officials, school leaders and editorial writers sounded the call for public calm and order in the event desegregation is ordered. The enrollment of Harvey Gantt at Clemson College with little difficulty, received widespread coverage in the mass media.

For the first time in South Carolina history, Negroes came to lunch at the governor's mansion. There was no disturbance as Negroes and white persons mingled in the buffet-style serving lines and then on the mansion lawn throughout the afternoon. Negroes also joined in the receiving line that wound thru the mansion itself. They shook hands with the new governor, Donald S. Russell, and outgoing Gov. Ernest F. Hollings. Negroes of all economic classes were on hand.

5. ALABAMA - Eleven Alabama religious leaders issued a joint statement calling for "law and order and common sense" rather than "inflammatory" speeches in dealing with the state's racial problems. The statement followed an inaugural talk by Gov. George C. Wallace who pledged to preserve racial segregation practices, saying "segregation now, segregation tomorrow and segregation forever

Auburn University revealed that "several" Negroes have asked about enrolling at the all-white institution, but none had completed applications. The University of Alabama has announced that applications for enrollment from at least three Negro students were not completed before the deadline.

State Democratic Chairman Roy Mayhall of Jasper said in Birmingham that maintenance of law and order is more important to the state than segregation. Speaking to the Ministers Association of Greater Birmingham, Lt. Gov. elect James B. Allen said that he stands for "law and order through an honorable, lawful, peaceful means." These statements have put Mayhall and Allen at odds with Alabama's Governor.

6. NORTH CAROLINA - Durham City schools must give an estimated 200 Negro children "complete freedom" to choose the school they want to attend at the start of second semester. U. S. District Judge Edwin M. Stanley also ordered the school board to submit a desegregation plan by May 1, 1963. Queens College of Charlotte, a private women's college, will accept Negro students. Enrollment at Negro colleges in North Carolina is increasing at a faster rate than enrollment at white colleges in the state, a State Board of Higher Education chart revealed.

7. A report was made on the National Conference on Religion and Race, which was held in Chicago, January 14-17, 1963. This was the first national meeting convened jointly by all the major faith groups in the United States. The Conference provided an occasion for a serious and concrete examination of the role of churches and synagogues in meeting religious and civic racial problems. Preparation for the Conference was assisted by grants from the Aquinas Fund, the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation, the William J. Kerby Foundation, the Irwin Sweeny Miller Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The Secretariat for the Conference was the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

The Conference agreed upon continuing a united religious front against racial discrimination and segregation. Elimination of residential segregation in ten "target" cities (Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, New Orleans, Oakland, San Francisco, St. Louis, San Antonio, Seattle and Pittsburgh) - will be one of the primary goals.

An appeal to the conscience of the American people was presented at the close of the Conference. It called for open occupancy in housing, equal opportunities in education and jobs, equal protection under the law, equal voting rights and the end of all forms of discrimination and segregation.

Most members of the committee hailed the success of the Conference, while others were less enthusiastic, feeling there was insufficient representation of Negro groups.

Highlights of the Conference were presented on "Directions '63" on Sunday,

January 27th on the ABC-TV Network. Portions of the program were devoted to filmed segments of the conference and a panel discussion by religious leaders evaluating the meeting and its achievements. Among them were Rev. Martin Luther King; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Albert Cardinal Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago; Rabbi Julius Mark; J. Irwin Miller, Rev. Benjamin E. Mays and Rev. John Morris. Dr. Franklin H. Littell, professor of church history at the Chicago Theological Seminary, prefaced the discussion with a statement on the historical perspective of race and religion.

The major papers and findings of the Conference will be published March 15, 1963 under the title of "Race: Challenge to Religion," to be published by Henry Regnery Company, 14 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois. Hardcover $4.95; paperback $1.65. Special bulk discounts are available from the publisher.

8. Apprenticeship training is the toughest nut to crack in dealing with employment discrimination. Negroes throughout the land fill less than two per cent of apprenticeship spots, despite concern and pressure by civil-rights groups, Federal, state and local government agencies and some labor and management organizations. California industrialist Eddy Feldman, head of the Los Angeles Home Furnishing Mart, has devised a plan to stimulate minority group inclusion in an enlarged apprenticeship program. The problem, Feldman stresses is not so much dreaming up new ways to combat discrimination as it is to create adequate numbers of on-the-job training opportunities. Therefore he calls for administrative action and legislation by the State of California to require that all state contracts in which journeymen would be employed, include clauses providing for non-discriminatory hiring of at least one apprentice or trainee for every five journeymen.

The U. S. Department of Labor reports that hundreds of thousands of workers are needed for "hard-to-fill" skilled jobs. The "Let's Be Human" column has proposed the expansion of Mr. Feldman's proposal to cover the entire nation. Mandatory non-discriminatory training quotas for Federal, state and local public works, public service and defense projects would then go a long way toward filling the gap in skilled jobs and strengthening equal opportunity in training at the same time.

The failure to open training opportunities for Negroes and other minority group workers frequently stems from advice by school counsellors to minority group youngsters not to study for the skilled trades, on the grounds that job openings, except in rare cases, do not exist. Negro youngsters, therefore, are not motivated to attempt to become skilled workers. If government contracts included a mandatory clause for non-discriminatory hiring of apprentices it would be a strong factor in eliminating fears of exclusion and creating the proper motivations.

Another facet of the problem has been the reluctance of some local craft union leaders, for understandable economic reasons, to advocate either non-discriminatory apprenticeship or opening union rolls by increasing the number of apprentices. In addition, since many such locals are democratically run, local union heads fear that such advocacy might lead to their defeat in the next election. These union leaders are not unmindful of the fact that government action could make it easier for unions to live up to their equalitarian ideals. If the Federal, state and local governments would adopt the above program, these union leaders would be able to go to their members and say,

without fear of successful opposition, "This is the law of the land. We've got to go along with this policy of anti-discrimination and increased apprenticeship training."

Members of the Committee were urged to encourage mass media support of this plan to stimulate the inclusion of minority youth in enlarged apprenticeship programs, on the theory that the best way to insure greater opportunity is to increase the number of apprenticeship openings.

9. At a time when major crime is rising alarmingly in U. S. cities, a new approach to the problem is being tried in Detroit. The strategy is to combine improved police work with better relations between police and Detroit's Negroes. The man responsibile is George Edwards, who resigned as a Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court to become Police Commissioner. Commissioner Edwards is a veteran of stormy days in Detroit's history. In the 1930s, as an organizer for the United Auto Workers, he clashed with the police himself. Later, he was admitted to the bar, served as Detroit city councilman, and became successively a judge of the Wayne County juvenile court, a circuit-court judge and a State Supreme Court Justice. Relations between police and Negroes have been a sore spot in Detroit for a long time. Edwards has ended that "cold war." Right off, he undertook a heavy speaking schedule in Negro neighborhoods, explaining why he had to be tough and promising to be fair to both black and white. He has been able to get across the feeling that he is impartial, that he will not tolerate racial discrimination by the police. For the first time in Detroit's history, in the course of budget negotiations, the Detroit branch of the NAACP endorsed the Department's request for more police manpower and for higher police pay.

It was agreed that it would be useful if an article on this story should appear in a mass circulation magazine.

10. The United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO (UPWA) established in 1960 the Russell Bull Annual $1,000 Scholarship Award, to be granted "each year to the student in college or in high school preparing for college who makes an outstanding contribution of character and performance in the area of civil rights" and establishes "financial need for the award in order to continue his studies." Applications for the Russell Bull Scholarship are now being accepted. Inquiries may be directed to President Ralph Helstein, UPWA, Room 1800, 608 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois.

The Educational and Defense Fund of the Congress of Racial Equality is offering several $500 and $1,000 Civil Rights Scholarships. Inquiries may be directed to the Educational and Defense Fund, Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38.

If you know young people who may be eligible, please be good enough to draw these opportunities to their attention.

11. A pocket-sized booklet, WHAT'S AHEAD? written expressly for parents and other adults as a guide to helping youngsters choose worthwhile careers, has been published by the National Urban League. The brochure sets forth in simple language both the needs of youth today for career guidance and training, plus suggestions on what best the adult can do to help. Copies, priced at 5¢ each or $4.00 per hundred, may be obtained in quantity from the National Urban

League, Program Department, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17.

12. PUBLICATIONS OF AJC - 173 individual items are listed with descriptive annotations and indexed by title in the new edition of the American Jewish Committee's publication catalog. These are tools and materials, carefully selected by intergroup specialists, for use by unions, human relations agencies schools, social action groups of church and synagogue, civic organizations and the individual citizen. The range of subject matter is wide. It includes materials on civil rights, civil liberties and the democratic process; the manifold aspects of prejudice - from the subtle to the violent, the United Nations and international affairs. Single copies are available free of charge from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22.

13. INTEGRATION AND THE NEGRO MOOD, by Harold Isaacs - Discusses changes within the Negro community as the struggle for integration proceeds too slowly. Raises complex but important questions about the Negro search for group identity. Reprinted from the December 1962 issue of Commentary magazine. Copies are available from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 15¢ per copy, $12.50 per hundred.

14. PREJUDICE IN CHILDREN: A CONVERSATION WITH DR. SPOCK. In an interview, conducted by Miss Gertrude Noar, director of the Anti-Defamation League's education department, Dr. Spock offers practical advice of the kind that has made his "Baby and Child Care" a household necessity. Copies are available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, at 25¢ per copy, $20.00 per hundred.

15. RACE AND THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION, by Robert Gordis - This pamphlet is a chapter from the recently published volume "The Root and The Branch: Judaism and the Free Society," by Dr. Robert Gordis. Dr. Gordis' analysis of the sources of the Jewish attitude toward human equality and racial justice meets a critical need. Both Christian and Jewish leaders must make increased efforts to educate the community to a more active awareness of the utter incompatability of racist doctrines and practices with the teachings of their faiths. Copies are available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22 at 25¢ per copy, $20.00 per hundred.

16. RACE, by John Gillin - An anthropologist's approach to the question of race. Copies are available from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, at 5¢ per copy.

17. DESIGN FOR DEMOCRACY - Announcement of Brotherhood Week Observance. Copies are available from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19. Single copies are available free of charge.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, FEBRUARY 27, 1963

Among those present: Vincent Bowditch and Lillian Cohen, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Ivis Calvet, Catholic Interracial Council; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee; Edith Macy, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Henry Schwartzchild, Anti-Defamation League; Joel O'Brien, Joel O'Brien Productions; Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

1. Instead of having regular meetings of the Mass Media Committee, in the future we will hold meetings only when some emergency situation requires one. Should any member of the Committee feel that a meeting is needed, he is asked to call me at PL 1-4000. All members are urged to send me copies of any new literature or mass media plans of their organizations in the field of desegregation.

2. A report was made on the Mass Media Committee's effort to stimulate educators to take up the question of the effect of harassment and intimidation on learning at the University of Mississippi. The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a committee of the American Psychological Association, has asked one of its members to prepare an article on the subject for a scholarly journal, which organizations might quote in future educational work. The preparation of this article, reports Dr. French, chairman of the Society, will take several months. Even though James Meredith has returned to the University of Mississippi, the article may have far-reaching significance in the effort to inform the public why desegregation must be accomplished in other schools without the kind of harassment that confronted Meredith.

3. The Association of University Professors does not initiate an inquiry unless there is a specific request from an aggrieved party, and also deals only with denials of academic freedom in a particular one. Attempts will be made to bring the facts about harassment and intimidation on the University of Mississippi campus to the attention of several college presidents who might stimulate their fellow educators through their professional associations to make representations to the Southern Accrediting Association. A summary was prepared of the press clippings and is now being reviewed by Professor Robert Bierstedt, chairman of the Department of Sociology of New York University, to make sure that the content and tone comports with academic standards. Professor Bierstedt also suggests that we may wish to broaden the point of our statement to say that not only learning but teaching is affected by an atmosphere of intimidation and harassment. He may have some other suggestions for the use of this summary statement.

4. The Committee helped Charles Butts, editor of the Mississippi Free Press, contact various people who could aid the paper's expansion program. Butts said our contacts were rewarding not only for money but for giving his newspaper additional credentials. Nine thousand dollars has already been pledged by various unions, foundations and individuals toward the twenty thousand dollars needed.

5. Clyde Kennard, sentenced to seven years in prison in Mississippi for "stealing" five bags of chicken feed, has been released from prison. Governor Ross Barnett ordered Kennard, who is suffering from cancer, transferred to the University of Mississippi Hospital and later suspended his sentence and set him free. The Governor explained, however, that the suspension would be revoked if Kennard was not good. If Kennard still wants to go to a white university, Governor Barnett may decide that it is "bad" conduct.

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After his release, Kennard underwent an eight-hour operation in Chicago for the removal of a section of cancerous intestine, and is now convalescing.

6. William Higgs, a Mississippi lawyer who is leading the legal and political fight against civil rights violations in Mississippi, was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a minor and sentenced to six months in jail and a $500 fine. Hinds County Judge Russell Moore passed sentence after an all white male jury deliberated 35 minutes to find the Jackson attorney guilty. It was reported that the Hinds County Bar Association will probably move to disbar Higgs.

He was convicted on the testimony of William McKinley Daywalt III, 16, of Collegeville, Pennsylvania, who said that Higgs had committed unnatural sex acts with him, even after Higgs' housekeeper, chief defense witness, testified that the boy told her that the story was not true. Daywalt was picked up after he hit an automobile with Higgs' car. He gave police the phony name he had been using in Jackson -- Tom Bono.

Higgs, who flatly denied the charge, said that under present conditions in Mississippi he would have no real chance to prove his innocence in the Mississippi courts and that his conviction would be automatic by a white Mississippi jury presided over by a Judge who is on the Board of the Citizens Council. Added Higgs:

"In effect I have been forced to leave my home state because I believe that the Constitution of the United States means that Negro citizens deserve the same rights as white citizens, and I have tried to implement my belief. The charge against me, which is completely false, has in my opinion been manufactured to stain my reputation because I am so involved in the civil rights movement. I would not hesitate for one minute to have this charge heard by a jury any place in the United States where its members would not face economic reprisal, social ostracism and possible physical harm by returning a verdict of not guilty.

"I speak not as a martyr, but on the basis of my arrest last summer in Clarksdale for travelling in an integrated group where I was threatened with death by local police for my civil rights activities. I believe that if I returned to Mississippi the simple misdemeanor charge would be changed to one or more felony charges that would result in a very long prison sentence. The record shows that civil rights proponents in Mississippi who have served prison terms have been the victims of physical abuse and cruel treatment."

Higgs related the following facts about the charge brought against him on February 1.

"On February 1, 1963, I was arrested in Jackson on the charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. The 16-year-old boy who made this charge is a native of Pennsylvania who had been given emergency temporary lodging by me. I have had many people stay over at my house in the last few years who have been in Mississippi to assist me in my civil rights work.

"This youth on several occasions asked me if he could borrow my car but I refused. Finally on January 29 the boy took my car without my permission and wrecked it in an accident. After his arrest and lengthy questioning by police, he made his accusation against me. He is still in jail in Jackson.

"I was arrested on Friday, February 1, and released on $500 bail. Trial has been set on the charge which, under Mississippi law, is punishable by a fine of

up to $500 and imprisonment for not more than 6 months, for February 14, 1963."

Higgs based his statement that the charge against him was reprisal for his civil rights activity on these facts:

1) He was one of the attorneys for James Meredith in the successful suit for Meredith's entrance into the University of Mississippi.

2) He is the attorney for Dewey Greene, the second Negro student seeking admission to the University. He had filed the Greene case only 3½ hours prior to his arrest.

3) He is representing a Negro, William Smith, before the United States Supreme Court on a rape conviction where the confession was coerced through brutal beatings.

4) He was legal advisor to the Reverends Merrill Lindsay and R.L.T. Smith, in their 1962 congressional campaigns, the first two Negroes to run for Congress since the Civil War.

5) He has filed suit in Washington, D. C., along with seven Mississippi Negroes, seeking to compel the Department of Justice to provide federal marshals to protect Negro citizens and to require the government to prosecute Mississippi officials who have denied Negroes their civil rights.

6) He was counsel for many Freedom Riders in 1961.

7) He is counsel for four Episcopal ministers presently suing three Jackson policemen and the city judge for $44,000 damages under the federal civil rights acts.

Higgs emphasized that he hoped some day to return to his native state and resume the practice of law in an atmosphere of freedom. "I was born in Mississippi and planned to live my life there. But under the present conditions, I am convinced that my life is not safe in Mississippi."

Higgs, whose parents still live in Mississippi, was graduated at the age of 19 from the University of Mississippi as the top man in his class. After his graduation from the Harvard Law School, he returned to practice law in Jackson. He was voted by Life magazine a few months ago as one of the 100 most outstanding young men in the nation. Higgs was a recipient of a Lasker Civil Liberties Fellowship at Brandeis University and was honored with the annual Florina Lasker award of the New York Civil Liberties Union, and a similar award from the Civil Liberties Educational Foundation of Los Angeles.

7. Politics Is Our Business, a new 26-minute educational film, sponsored by the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, was shown to the members of the Committee. Its purpose is to fill some gaps not filled by existing political films. For instance, the film gives a rather full description of the operation of a voting machine, on the premise that "most people are afraid of a voting machine and do not trust them." It also pays more attention than usual to the subject, "How to Organize and Work a Precinct." The film also portrays politics as an activity for all citizens, regardless of race or color. It reflects present-day urban America and includes more Negroes registering and voting than are found in other existing political films. The film was produced by Samuel L. Schulman, Inc., 23 Livingston Street, Trenton, New Jersey

for the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College. Dr. G. James Fleming, professor of political science at Morgan State College, is writer of the script and director of the film. It may be rented from any agency or library which usually rents films. Politics Is Our Business is one of several projects in a citizenship education program assisted by a grant from the Ford Foundation to Morgan State College.

8. The ethical intent and the true meaning of such present-day behavior as prayer vigils and freedom rides were considered on a television program, "The Ethics of Integration," which was presented on Directions '63 on Sunday, March 3rd on the ABC-TV Network. Participants in the program were noted author Lillian Smith; Rabbi Everett E. Gendler, spiritual leader of Princeton Jewish Center, who participated in a 1962 prayer vigil in Albany, Georgia; and Father Robert L. Pierson, Vice-Chairman of Christ the King Foundation, Assistant Priest of Grace Church, White Plains, New York, who traveled South with other clergymen from the North to discuss the religious aspects of integration with their Southern colleagues. (Father Pierson is the son-in-law of Governor Nelson Rockefeller).

9. FREEDOM TO THE FREE: CENTURY OF EMANCIPATION, 1863-1963. A report to the President by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Copies are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at $1.00 per copy.

10. BOOKS FOR FRIENDSHIP, a list of books recommended for children. This is an annotated listing of current and classical children's books which are outstanding for their intergroup content and treatment of human relations subjects. Copies are available from the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania and the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York at 50¢ per copy.

11. RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH - 1962; A Tuskegee Institute Report. Forty-ninth annual report to the American people on developments in race relations. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

12. DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. A list of formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia known to be desegregated. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

13. THE OXFORD DISASTER - PRICE OF DEFIANCE, by Karl Wiesenburg, representative of Jackson County, Mississippi. The articles were first printed in the Pascagoula Chronicle as "a reasoned viewpoint around which may rally all Mississippians who are appalled at what is happening in their state. It can be the foundation of their credo." Rep. Wiesenburg is a well-known legal scholar and has fought courageously for labor and welfare in the Mississippi House of Representatives. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained by writing to The Chronicle, Pascagoula, Mississippi.

14. THE GREAT QUESTION, an action guidebook by 34 groups marking the 15th anniversary of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The 48-page manual spells out specific programs to wipe out discrimination in jobs, education, housing and public accommodations. Available at 50¢ per copy from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, JUNE 14, 1963

Among those present: Whitney Young, Guichard Parris, Edith Macy, Evelyn Broide, National Urban League; Bernice Bridges, National Social Welfare Assembly; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Father Philip Hurley, Catholic Interracial Council; Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee; Jean Luckey, American Baptist Convention; Carrie Meares, United Church Women; Risa Pollack, National Council of Jewish Women; Marvin Rich, Congress of Racial Equality; Henry Schwartzchild and Stanley Wexler, Anti-Defamation League; Jac Wasserman, National Sharecroppers Fund; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Amram Nowack, American Jewish Congress; Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

1. With his legislative effort sputtering and with Negro revolution increasing in its impetus, President Kennedy's speech on national television ringingly raised the moral issues involved. All agreed that the soundest reason why whites should want to get rid of race discrimination is not that Negroes are protesting, but that bias violates justice and morality.

Suggestions were made that we try to get the three major TV networks to simultaneously present a broadcast in support of the President's program. National organizations are asked to urge their local affiliates to call on local radio-TV stations to editorialize in support of that program. It was hoped that such activity might influence local organizations and citizens to take a more active role in support of civil rights.

2. Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, discussed with the Committee a massive domestic Marshall Plan to help ready Negroes for acceptance of their legal rights. The plan would include the elimination of Negro ghettos, provisions for better schools and teachers, assurance to qualified Negroes of all types of employment and job advancement and guarantees of "first-class citizenship."

The concept of equal opportunity is not enough. Something must be done about the despair and hopelessness that has been plaguing the Negro for 300 years. Negroes should be given preferential treatment to help them catch up to their fellow whites. There must be tangible evidence that things will be better, people must realize its reality. The Negro today is impatient, he wants his due. He wants to feel that he is capable of making a major contribution to his community. Mr. Young called for a special national effort to overcome the damaging effects of generations of denial, and urged that both public and private social agencies cooperate in this massive program.

Mr. Young felt that the Black Muslim were being built up by the mass media, which gave them too much favorable publicity, thus painting a distorted picture of what the Negro is really fighting for. They do not help the civil rights movement. He urged the mass media to expose the racist character of the Black Muslims rather than play them up. He suggested that Negro organizations ignore the Black Muslims, and refuse to appear on TV or radio with any Black Muslim people.

3. The problem of unfair reporting by magazines and newspapers of the Negro situation was discussed. It was felt that predictions of inevitable violence are getting too much publicity. It was suggested that a seminar be held for the press stressing the importance of improving the reporting of the racial crisis. It was suggested that Fisk University or the Columbia School of Journalism might be willing to hold such a conference with the Southern Regional Council. It was

also felt that individual visits by top leaders in the civil rights movement to top leaders of the press stressing this need for fair reporting would be very helpful to civil rights progress.

It was suggested that a fact sheet on the Black Muslims should be prepared for distribution to the mass media giving them background, numbers, reasons for opposition and other material. Editors would appreciate such information. The press should encourage reports of progress, the non-violent demonstrations and the importance of bi-racial discussions and actions.

4. Three proposed constitutional amendments that would radically change the United States system of government are moving quickly but quietly through the nation's state legislatures. (See attached article from The Machinist, June 20, 1963.)

During the six months since the campaign began, the amendments have been introduced in as many as 40 states. Although several legislatures have rejected the proposals, others still have them under consideration. A survey has shown that one, two and even all three of the proposals have been pushed through one or both legislative bodies in 26 states, often with little or no debate.

The members of the Committee were urged to encourage their local chapters to call upon their members and other citizens, bar associations, civic groups, religious bodies to join in an effort to inform the nation about these proposals and to urge state legislatures to defeat them. In New Jersey, the State Senate passed two of the amendments, but later rescinded its actions because of the strong pressure exerted by the New Jersey Bar Association.

5. The Civil Rights Story; a Year's Review, by Theodore Leskes, covers the period October 1, 1961 to September 30, 1962. It highlights the provisions of civil rights laws enacted by state legislatures during 1962; the Meredith case; federal civil rights activities; developments in the Federal legislative, executive and judicial branches and recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission regarding higher education, voting, employment, public education, housing and the administration of justice; desegregation in public schools; the status of desegregation in the 17 southern and border states; and actions against de facto segregation in the north. Copies are available from the National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y., at 25¢ per copy, $20.00 per hundred.

6. Apprenticeship Training in New York, a handbook to help young people secure training for skilled trades in existing apprenticeship programs. This handbook is a compilation of apprenticeship opportunities in New York at the present time. Copies are available free of charge from the Workers Defense League, Committee on Minority Employment Rights, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York.

7. Letter from Birmingham City Jail, by Martin Luther King, Jr. Eight of Alabama's ranking white religious leaders issued a formal statement terming the Negro protest action "unwise and untimely." They commended the white community, the local dailies and "law enforcement officers, in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations had been handled," and ended by saying: "We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham." From his cell in the Birmingham jail, Dr. King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, answered the white religious leaders. Copies are available

from the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania, at 10¢ per copy. Quantity prices on request.

8. The North and West Have Problems, Too, by G. W. Foster, Jr. Reprinted from the April 20, 1963 issue of Saturday Review. This article deals with school segregation arising from residential patterns, the concepts of the neighborhood school, and the problem of the slum school. Professor Foster reviews the methods now employed to overcome de facto segregation. Placed in the hands of school boards, administrators, teachers and concerned citizens, this article can help to raise the level of understanding and practical action to cope with one of the most serious problems facing America today. Copies are available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, or the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 10¢ each, $7.50 per hundred.

9. Business - Next Target for Integration, by John Perry. Reprinted from Harvard Business Review, March-April 1963. Until now business has been left pretty much alone, and for the most part management has followed a do-nothing policy; but forces are gathering which may well develop into active conflict. Copies are available from Harvard Business Review, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Massachusetts, at $1.00 per copy, quantity prices on request.

10. North Cautioned by Urban League; Broad Plan Offered to Close Gap Between Races and Avert Negro Violence, reprinted from The New York Times, June 10, 1963. Article on the speech made by Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League at the Commodore Hotel. Copies are available from the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y., without charge.

11. A statement by the Board of Trustees of the National Urban League, urging a crash program of special effort to close the gap between the conditions of Negro and white citizens. Copies are available from the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, at 10¢ per copy.

12. Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities, by M. Hayes Mizell. This report is the outgrowth of a conference held at Penn Community Center in the winter of 1963. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

13. Businessmen Point the Way, contains texts of statements made by business groups in a number of Southern cities calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

14. The Great Question, a guide for community action for human rights, sponsored by 34 national organizations. Copies are available from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 50¢ per copy, $35.00 per hundred. (See attached brochure.)

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

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MEETING OF THE MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE OF THE CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION AND THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING WITH THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

September 17, 1963

Among those present: Paget L. Alves, Federal Housing Administration; Doris Beausoleil and Lloyd Trent, State Commission on Human Rights; Leslie Bidwell, United Church Women; Algernon B. Black, Roma Conable, Frances Levenson, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; Rev. Clarence Cove, United Presbyterian Church; Alfred Chernin, National Community Relations Advisory Committee; Frederick Echelmeyer and Charlotte C. Meacham, American Friends Service Committee; David Gerard, Walter Giesey and George Schermer, President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing; Marvin S. Gilman, Renewal Developers, Inc.; John Heyman, City Rent and Rehabilitation Center; Reginald A. Johnson and Edith Macy, National Urban League; Henry Lee Moon, NAACP; Jack E. Wood, N. Y. City Commission on Human Rights; Sol Rabkin and Henry Schwartzchild, Anti-Defamation League, Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; James Scheuer, Renewal and Development Corp.; Boris Shishkin, AFL-CIO; Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplie and Rev. Arthur Walmsley, National Council Episcopal Church; Sonya Kaufer, Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, American Jewish Committee.

1. At the request of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, a joint meeting was held with the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to discuss a national education and information program for open occupancy housing.

2. There was much discussion on the techniques of an education and information program, and what role and responsibilities the President's Committee, national and local civic and religious groups play in setting up machinery for such a program. All present agreed that what is needed is a broad plan for generating public support and participation. A positive posture by the President's Committee was deemed

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essential. One suggestion advanced by participants was the need for success stories, as well as good pictures about integrated middle-class suburban housing.

3. The enclosed paper was presented by George Schermer, and the following recommendations agreed upon:

A Sub-Committee was set up to work with the President's Committee to make suggestions on the format and follow-up of conferences to be called by the President's Committee in pilot communities with industry, business and community leaders. It was suggested that communities with no state or municipal fair housing laws, and with a fairly large Negro housing market, be picked. The members of this Sub-Committe include: Charlotte Meacham, convenor; Marvin Gilman, Frances Levenson, Reginald Johnson and Ed Rutledge. The Committee is empowered to coopt other members if necessary. Some of the communities suggested for possible inclusion in such a program were Cape Canaveral, Florida; Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Ohio; Washington, D. C.; Wichita, Kansas; Des Moines, Iowa; Louisville, Kentucky and Norfolk, Virginia.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

eak
MMCCD, CCD, NCADH

September 13, 1963

A WORKING PAPER ON PUBLIC SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION IN A PROGRAM FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

PREPARED FOR THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING
BY GEORGE SCHERMER

The goal of equal opportunity in housing set forth in President Kennedy's Executive Order 11063 requires effective action by three major groups:

a. Government
b. The Housing Industry
c. The General Public

The government agencies are required to act in response to the EO. The housing industry can be caused to act by the government agencies. The industry, however, will respond with reluctance and resistance unless there are indications of support from the public. What follows is a broad plan for generating public support and participation.

I UNDERLYING CONSIDERATIONS

A. The Elements of Public Support

More than general public good will is required. The emphasis must be upon participation and action by thousands of particular persons and organizations.

First, two groups of dedicated pioneers or pace setters are required:

(a) Middle income non-white families in significant numbers who will deliberately and actively undertake to buy or rent homes on a widely dispersed basis in developments which would normally be exclusively white.

(b) Middle income white families in substantially larger numbers who will deliberately and actively undertake to buy or rent homes next door to pace setting non-white families.

The more important of these two is the non-whites. If non-whites actively seek homes on a dispersed basis the other elements of the program will fall into place. Unless that happens no other part of the program will have any value. This type of pace setting behavior will not emerge spontaneously in response to a mass education program. It must be fostered by civic and religious organizations. A citizen-based pioneering crusade is required.

. Second. Civic, religious, labor, civil rights, and similar organizations in large numbers must voice their support regularly and repeatedly for all affirmative actions on the part of government, the operators of the housing industry, and the pace setters.

Third. Large numbers of white families who may be unready to act affirmatively as pace setters should be conditioned through the organizations and institutions with which they identify, to accept racially inclusive patterns without resistance or panic.

Fourth. The mass media, press, radio and television, should be fully informed so that it can sympathetically interpret both the general program and specific activities and events.

B. The basic Approach

The basic approach then should be organizational. The PC should not attempt to conduct its own mass education program. It is unlikely that the PC can command sufficient staff to sustain an educational program of the vast proportions required.

The PC should place the responsibility for generating public participation upon the shoulders of those institutions and organizations that constitute the civic consciences of the Nation. Tremendous resources and energies are available. The racial unrest of 1963 has generated widespread anxiety and the emotional need to act constructively. The PC has the opportunity to harness this energy and to direct it toward desirable and constructive goals.

Because its own resources are so limited, the PC must be particularly adroit in exercising an inspirational and directive role while avoiding involvement in operational detail. It should chart the general course, generate a broad sense of common cause, stimulate movement and supply general guide lines. Once those things are done, it should do whatever is necessary to sustain the momentum but it should provide ample opportunity to each of the groups to exercise its own creativity in designing the program.

II A BLUEPRINT FOR INITIAL PLANNING FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

A. Elements of General Strategy

The general strategy may be divided into two elements:

1. The mobilization and activation of the organizations and institutions which collectively serve as the civic conscience.

2. The direct utilization of the mass media.

B. The Specific Functions of the PC

1. Define the common goals.

2. Develop the basic theme or message which will serve as the banner for all groups.

3. Mobilize the groups for action.

4. Provide the inspiration and the general guide lines for action.

5. Sustain momentum.

6. Communicate with the general public through the mass media.

C. The Goals

1. In general terms, the goal is an open racially inclusive housing market throughout the United States.

2. In specific terms, the goal is to have a particular Negro family take possession of a home of its choice in a neighborhood which is not likely to become a segregated Negro area. This specific objective must be repeated thousands of times in thousands of localities.

D. Precipitating Affirmative Action

The policy has been established by the EO. The stage has been set. The government housing agencies and the industry have their roles defined. No action will occur, however, except as individual citizens and organizations act. Such action should be directed to achieving the goals. This will occur only if civic organizations are mobilized to act.

E. Mobilizing the Organizations

1. Organizations to be mobilized. The organizations included in the Leadership Conference on Human Relations provide a basic list. Numerous other groups which may have been reluctant to participate in the Leadership Conference may be responsive to a call from the President or the PC. The list of organizations can be extended indefinitely subject to practical considerations of time and resources. (An extended list is in preparation.)

2. Procedure

Step 1. Organize a small planning committee representative of the groups in the Leadership Conference. The Mass Media Committee of the Leadership Conference, with a few additions, would make an ideal planning group. (This group will meet in early September.)

Step 2. Call a general conference of top level organizational leadership. If possible, have the President personally issue the invitations to the conference or arrange for him to meet briefly with the group. At this level, the plans should be outlined in general broad terms. The objective of the meeting is to arrive at agreement in principle on a coordinated program without going into detail.

Step 3. Follow through with a series of working conferences with those representatives who will be responsible for the program in each of the respective organizations.

Step 4. The national series of conferences should probably be supplemented with regional conferences.

Step 5. Establish and maintain a system of communication among the organizations so that a sense of common cause and concentrated action can be sustained.

F. Theme or Message

The over-all program must be strongly inspirational. There will need to be dozens, perhaps hundreds, of distinctive and specially tailored appeals, pamphlets, speeches, persuasive documents, etc. These will be more effective if prepared and distributed by the cooperating groups. However, all must be variations on a central theme. This central theme should be supplied by the PC. (Consultant is attempting to develop such a theme. However, this is something that should emerge after a number of creative people have contributed their thoughts.)

G. Mass Media

1. The message content to be conveyed through the mass media should be designed to condition the public for the programs to be conducted by the organizations in consultation with the organizational representatives.

2. The actual utilization of the mass media should be developed as fully as possible by the PC through its own staff specialist. However, all of the participating organizations should be encouraged to channel their own messages through the mass media, as well.

H. Educational and Informational Materials

1. A few basic informational pamphlets featuring the general theme and the goals should be prepared and distributed by the PC.

2. A periodic informational newsletter should be issued to all the participating organizations.

3. The PC should provide the machinery for expediting the exchange and distribution of educational and informational materials created and utilized by the participating organizations.

I. Staff Requirements

(Consideration has been given only to staff requirements for the education and public participation aspects of the program.

1. Director of Public Affairs and three assistants.

(One assistant for mass media and two for the preparation and exchange of educational and informational materials.)

2. Director of Organizational Activities and four assistants.

(Assistants to maintain liaison and communication with dooperating organizations, promote regional conference, etc.)

J. Intra-Governmental Resources

Substantial benefits will accrue if there is consultation and a degree of coordinated planning on the part of the PC, the HHFA and the Constituent Agencies, the Commission on Civil Rights, and the PCEEO. It would seem advisable that there be established an inter-agency committee at the staff level. In any event, the PC, which suffers most seriously among these agencies with respect to staff inadequacies, should seek assistance from these sources until its own staff structure has been more fully developed.

George Schermer
Consultant

File:

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, JANUARY 31, 1964

V Mr
TW
PA
SB

FLASH!
As we were preparing these minutes for mimeoing, word came that the United States Supreme Court on March 9, 1964 ruled unanimously that a public official cannot recover libel damages for criticism of his official performance unless he proves that the statement was made with deliberate malice. The Court's unanimous reversal of a $500,000 Alabama libel judgment against the New York Times and four Negro ministers should have an important, immediate and helpful impact on press coverage of race relations in the South.

Among those present: Alfred Chernin and Sam Spiegler, National Community Relations Advisory Council; Val Coleman, Congress of Racial Equality; Bernice Graziana, National Council of Jewish Women; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee; Walter Long, American Baptist Convention; Robert McNamara III; S. Gary Oniki, United Church of Christ; Myrtle Passantino, Catholic Interracial Council; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Galen Weaver, National Conference on Religion and Race; Albert J. Zack, AFL-CIO; Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service.

1. Robert C. McNamara III of Chicago discussed his proposal for a Civil Rights Information Service which would operate as a clearing house for public information concerning the civil rights movement. Its principal project would be a daily audio news service to Negro radio stations. A reporter would travel through the South with a tape recorder, to be on the spot as big events occurred, get interviews and other newsworthy recordings, and transmit these twice a day to Negro radio stations via a telephone conference call arrangement. Mr. McNamara estimated that for 6 minutes per recording, twice a day, it would cost the stations $30 to $40 per month.

There were many questions raised by those present. Could this be done so cheaply; could the Negro stations afford this service; would they really want it or need it; did they have the recording equipment necessary to receive these transmissions; how costly would it really be to send a reporter on such a mission; would it not be a duplication of existing news service by newspapers. The consensus seemed to be that while it was a laudable idea, many financial and technical problems remained to be worked out.

Other points of his project -- a clearinghouse for civil rights pamphlets, and a library of films concerning civil rights -- were questioned because they seemed to duplicate existing services provided by the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. It was suggested that it might be cheaper to expand these services rather than initiate a brand-new one.

2. The Arts Division of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California has produced civil rights spot announcements delivered by leading actors and authors, Rod Serling, Gary Merrill, Sam Jaffe, Betty Ackerman, Anthony Franciosa, Burt Lancaster and Rick Jason. The eight announcements on tape can be purchased for $5.00, including shipping charges. These announcements could be used on local

-more-

radio stations to support passage of the Civil Rights Bill. For further information please contact Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

Some organizations reported that some hotel and restaurant business leaders were writing to their Senators supporting the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill, to offset the restaurant lobby against it. The ACLU reported an ingenious method of putting pressure on Congress. Some people write letter to the editors of hometown newspapers - sending a copy of that letter to their Senators to make sure they know who sent it. On these letters, the writers list a "cc to Senator So-and-So" so the editor knows that they are also sending copies to their Senators.

3. The representative from CORE described a serious problem confronting that organization and asked for advice. The St. Louis Globe Democrat ran a series of articles charging CORE with being infiltrated by Communists. Unfortunately, a CORE secretary in the midwest mistakenly said that CORE did not care what a member's political beliefs were, and released such a statement to the papers. However, CORE's constitution states that members of the Communist Party cannot be members of CORE. CORE was thinking of suing for libel, and asked for advice. Suing a newspaper is a very tricky business, because they are in a position to ferret out every skeleton in every closet of the opposition group; American libel laws are looser than those in Britain and harder to pin down; if a favorable decision is not received, your position is worse than before. It was suggested that CORE prepare a "defense packet" such as the ACLU keeps on hand for such occasions, consisting of a group of endorsements by prominent statesmen, standard defense material, etc. It was suggested that another St. Louis paper might be urged to carry a series of articles telling the true story of CORE and its activities. Another suggestion was that CORE run a large ad in the St. Louis Globe Democrat with a blown-up picture of President Johnson talking with James Farmer, and list some of the activities in which CORE is involved.

4. A letter was received recently from Charles Butts, manager of the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS, an anti-segregation weekly at 583½ N. Farish St., Jackson 2, Miss. The paper is now ninth in size in the state. The response from advertisers indicates that people are definitely reading the paper. Many unions, civil rights groups and sympathetic individuals have bought subscriptions to be sent to impoverished Mississippi families. Other groups, unable to contribute money, have contributed the use of their mailing lists to promote an "underwriting" program. Any additional assistance that organizations can give should be sent to the above address.

5. "No Hiding Place" - which was rebroadcast on Monday, February 3 as part of the "East Side/West Side" series and which received the ADL TV award, is now available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, for organizational showings. The prints are for sale at $250.00 per print. A discussion guide is now in preparation.

6. An hour-long documentary entitled, "The Other Face of Dixie," a CBS report shown about two years ago, is the story of how four cities have desegregated their school systems. Three of the cities, Clinton, Tennessee; Norfolk, Virginia; and Little Rock, Arkansas; had either closed the schools or had difficulty in opening on a desegregated basis. The fourth city, Atlanta, Georgia, shows how the school board and city government worked together for compliance of court-ordered desegregation on a peaceful basis. The U. S. Commission of Civil Rights has made this

16 MM film available without charge. It can be secured by writing to Courtney Siceloff, Secretary, South Carolina Advisory Committee, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D. C.

7. "Charm By Choice," a 14-minute sound and color filmslide, released by the National Urban League, has direct appeal to a multi-racial audience, for its models are girls of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds. It shows the ways a young girl can achieve good grooming on a limited budget, yet have a sense of assurance when faced with a new situation such as employment. "Charm By Choice" can be secured from the League's visual aid distributor, Association Films, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

8. EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL (Publication 133), a brief pamphlet listing the AFL-CIO position and activities in support of civil rights -- in unions, industries and communities. Small quantities are available without charge from the AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

9. ARE WE SEGREGATING OUR CHILDREN?, by Dr. Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University. Reprinted from the September 1963 issue of Parents' Magazine. One-class living can bar youngsters from facing some of the essential facts of life. Available from the Community Relations Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 at 5¢ per copy, $3.50 per 100.

10. INTEGRATING THE URBAN SCHOOL, edited by Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster. Taking the stand that integrated, democratic schools are a primary and necessary force in releasing each child's potential, more than 130 key community and education leaders of New York City met to discuss these and other questions. This book, one of the results of the intensive conference held at Teachers College, Columbia University, defines the schools' role in the total process of integration. It demonstrates the need for clear policy on all aspects of integration from school site selection to curriculum planning; calls for more Negro and minority group personnel at all levels; and emphasizes the need for special training for all who work in inter-cultural situations. The book, which provides a selected up-to-date bibliography of books, pamphlets and articles which give concise and practical information on integration, can be purchased from the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 West 120th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027 at $1.95 per copy. Quantity prices upon request.

11. NOT LIKE OTHER CHILDREN, by Bernard Asbell. Reprinted from the October 1963 issue of Redbook. A report on inadequacies of using I.Q.s to determine potentials of "culturally deprived" children and exciting methods used in schools in Chicago and St. Louis to motivate such youngsters to achieve in schoolwork and jobs. Copies are available from the Community Relations Service of the Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 at 10¢ per copy, $5.00 per 100.

12. WE MOVED TO AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD, by Lois Mark Stalvey. Reprinted from the May 19, 1963 issue of The Sunday Bulletin Magazine (Philadelphia). Mrs. Stalvey explains, in persuasively refreshing and rational terms, why a white Christian family preferred to move into a neighborhood which is 24% Negro and submit a child to classmates who are 55% non-white. Copies are available from the Community Relations Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. at 5¢ per copy, $3.50 per hundred.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

MMCCD, CCD

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Dreyer, Mr. Stanley
The Cooperative League of the USA

Make Feeder

REGARDING

May 1 and 2 trip to Atlanta and the southern region to observe Co-Op efforts in the South.

DATE

March 24, 1966
PA's reply dtd. April 4, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Original letter and PA's reply turned over to Al Ulmer 4/4/66

Make file
Cooperative League
of the U.S.A.

June 8, 1966

Mr. Stanley Dreyer
Assistant Executive Director
The Cooperative League of the USA
59 East Van Bu ren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Dreyer:

Please forgive me the long delay in answering your letter of May 25th. I would have responded sooner, except that I have been out of the office during most of the time since then.

I was very happy to hear that your trip went so well. I think we all benefitted from it.

We're in complete agreement with the soundness of the six conclusions listed in your letter, and we particularly look forward to substantial cooperation. The Cooperative League has a great deal to offer, and I think that working together we can accomplish a great deal more than either of us could separately.

Al and I hope that we can move as soon as possible in some form on preparing the inventory

of the existing cooperatives. We have discussed this with a number of people, and all agree they could make considerable use of it.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

50th Anniversary (25th Biennial) Congress, St. Paul, Minnesota, October 12-14, 1966
THEME: "Beginning the Second Half-Century"

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director

Chicago, Illinois

May 25, 1966

(2)

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Chuck Ihlenfeldt and I wish to take this belated opportunity on behalf of the League to thank you for permitting Mr. Al Ulmer to make arrangements for and to accompany us on our cooperative survey trip through the South. This was a highly successful trip as far as we were concerned, and we hope that Al felt it was worth his time and effort.

We are much impressed by Al's contacts and knowledge of the field, and the objectivity with which Southern Regional Council approaches the economic problems of the South.

As you may know, The Cooperative League is working quite closely with Father McKnight of Southern Consumers Cooperative in Lafayette, Louisiana, on cooperative development work in Louisiana and Mississippi. We also have had contacts with the North Carolina Fund, and in the State of Kentucky we have contacts with Mr. James Wyker who operates independently as a cooperative consultant with headquarters at Berea. We also are acquainted with some housing plans of the Kentucky Statewide Electric Cooperative Association. Wherever credit union activities are involved, we coordinate with the Credit Union National Association, or the State Credit Union League. We work with the Foundation for Cooperative Housing (Stamford, Connecticut) in programs of cooperative housing.

Aside from these special liaison arrangements and subject to any action on the part of our board of directors in the future, The Cooperative League would very much like to coordinate its contributions to cooperative development in the Southern United States in collaboration with the Southern Regional Council. Whereas we feel that we have the expertise in cooperative education, organization, development and training, or know where it can be found, and whereas we have appropriate contacts in Washington which would aid in resolving some of the problems which we found people facing during our visit to the South, we feel that your organization and Mr. Al Ulmer have the acquaintance

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 312-922-0667
Harold Hamil, chairman of the board • *Bowman Doss, vice president-vice chairman*
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 202-628-8765

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

and understanding with which to make the best use of our resources, and thus we feel that our efforts would be most effective when coordinated with the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Some of our conclusions reached as a result of our trip are as follows:

1. We feel that there is a need for a coordinated information center on cooperative developments in the Southern states. We would like to look upon the Southern Regional Council as that coordinated information center, and we would cooperate in trying to maintain it as such.

2. We plan to keep Al informed on our correspondence and contacts with people in the Southern states concerning cooperative development among low-income people.

3. We feel that there is a need for an inventory of the existing cooperatives and the maintenance of a record on cooperative experience among low-income people in the South, and we hope that such a program might be worked out through your offices.

4. We would like to respond to requests from Southern Regional Council for such information and materials as you feel are needed, and to assist in the location of technicians to meet the cooperative needs.

5. We would hope that, through our contacts with cooperative leadership in the South among the major farmer cooperatives, we might be able to further bring those resources to bear upon the problems of the low income people.

6. We plan to assist in and help conduct a much needed conference which we hope Southern Regional Council will sponsor on the subject of exploring the needs and possibilities of a co-op educational program for low-income people.

We sensed a great desire for cooperative effort and a real need for technical assistance in the cooperative field, during the course of our visit. To meet this growing need, we hope that Al Ulmer's program might be expanded as he sees the need for its increase within the programs and objectives of the Southern Regional Council.

Again, may we express our appreciation for the time which Al put into this effort, and we hope that this type of relationship will grow and that you are in general accord with the scope of our relationship mentioned above. We would welcome further suggestions and ideas as to how we might further collaborate and coordinate our efforts to obtain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for the people of the South.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Dreyer

Stanley Dreyer
Assistant Executive Director

SD:es

cc: Father Albert J. McKnight
Mr. Al Ulmer

PA

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

50th Anniversary (25th Biennial) Congress,
St. Paul, Minnesota, October 12-14, 1966
THEME: "Beginning the Second Half-Century"

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director
Chicago, Illinois

August 5, 1966

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
Program Associate
Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Edley:

Mr. Dreyer and I very much appreciated and enjoyed the opportunity to visit with you in Detroit. We were indeed pleased to note your interest in the cooperative development program for the South and your desire to explore the possibility of aid to the Cooperative League for assistance in its cooperative development activities in poverty areas of the U. S. and a technical training program for potential cooperative personnel.

We were pleased that you and staff members of your organization are willing to meet with the planning committee of the cooperative development and action program for the South. In accordance with our discussion, we will attempt to have this meeting during the earlier part of September. We will be in touch with you to determine a specific convenient date. This meeting will prove helpful to you and your associates in appraising the elements in the program for the South and it will also be helpful to the planning committee members in the South to get first-hand your approach to a possible project of this nature.

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 312-922-0667
Harold Hamil, chairman of the board • Bowman Doss, vice president-vice chairman
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As we discussed, in the near future we will send you the preliminary draft of the proposed program, so you and your fellow staff members can review it before meeting with the committee in the South. We deeply appreciate your interest in this program and we are looking forward to working with you in its further consideration and implementation

We are taking the liberty of sending you a folder on the Cooperative League and its latest year book.

Thank you again for a most pleasant visit in Detroit.

Very sincerely yours,

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck Ihlenfeldt

B. F. Ihlenfeldt, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

BFI:LG
Enc.

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director

Chicago, Illinois

errat to copy to A. Ulmer
Mahe folder

October 21, 1966

Mr. Christopher F. Edley,
Program Associate, Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

In accordance with our discussion, the Cooperative League will act as the applicant to the Ford Foundation to conduct the cooperative development program in the South if this is acceptable to you and to the interested organizations in the South. The reasons that prompted the League to do this are:

1. In accordance with your suggestions at the Atlanta meeting, the program has necessarily become a two year demonstration project in a restricted area.

2. The area of activity for the two years will very likely be in Louisiana, Mississippi and Southwest Tennessee. The League has a very close working relationship with existing low-income cooperatives in this area -- particularly Southern Consumers Cooperative at Lafayette, Louisiana.

3. It is anticipated that a federation of existing low-income cooperatives in this area will be established and will have a key role in the conduct of the program.

4. The emphasis in this two-year program will be to strengthen the existing cooperatives as well as to establish selected new ones. With the Cooperative League's involvement in the program on this basis, we feel we will be able to enroll the needed resources and help of established successful regional cooperatives.

The next meeting of the committee will be held at Lafayette, Louisiana at the offices of Southern Consumers' Cooperative on November 14th and 15th. At this meeting final decisions will be made on the elements and structure of the two year program. Shortly after this meeting, you should have the proposed plans and program.

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 312-922-0667

Harold Hamil, chairman of the board • *Bowman Doss, vice president-vice chairman*

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 202-628-8765

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Should you have any additional comments or suggestions, we would appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck

BFI:LG

B. F. Ihlenfeldt, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Rev. A.J. McKnight

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director

Chicago, Illinois

File

December 1, 1966

File

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

When Stanley Dreyer and I visited with you at your office, you mentioned that you and the President of Miles College were both going to be in Chicago on December 7. You indicated that it might prove possible for you to visit the Cooperative League offices.

We hope that these plans are materializing and that your schedule while in Chicago will permit a visit with us here at the Cooperative League. We also have a particular suggestion we would appreciate discussing with the President of Miles College.

Please let us know if your plans for December 7 are unchanged and whether and when we might be able to get together with you. We have numerous items that we would be interested in discussing with you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck

BFI:LG

B. F. Ihlenfeldt, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Department

cc: Mr. Stanley Dreyer

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 *312-922-0667*

***Harold Hamil**, chairman of the board* • ***Bowman Doss**, vice president-vice chairman*

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 *202-628-8765*

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8

Exp - Cal - Dec 6

Airline 1.50

Lackmuff & Pauley 4.00

Taxi 2.00

Apt pkg - 1.75

768

File
Cooperative League
in U.S.A.
Cr. ref. Community Org. Proj
re: Al Ihlen's cooperation
in assisting in forming
Federation of Cooperatives

March 6, 1967

Mr. B. F. Ihlenfeldt
Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program
The Cooperative League of the U. S. A.
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Chuck:

Thanks you for your letter and comments on the meeting. I, too, am convinced that it is an historic development, and agree with you on Al's contribution to it.

I am delighted to know that the Cooperative League is placing a person in the South and equally delighted that Merlin will be that representative. Certainly, we will be happy to assist in any way, and look forward to an even closer cooperative relationship. In fact, we will be happy to offer Merlin temporary office space should he find that a convenience.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director

Chicago, Illinois

March 1, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The two-day meeting in Atlanta to organize the Federation of Cooperatives in the South will go down in history as one of the significant milestones in the cooperative development in this country.

The work that Al Ulmer did in planning this meeting and in effectively guiding it by staying in the background was most outstanding. Testimony to his success was the discussion and decisions on fundamental policy questions which the new temporary board of directors made towards the close of the meeting. This was most inspiring to witness and of course, gives one great hopes for the future.

Paul, the Cooperative League has, as you know, taken a vital interest in the cooperative development among low-income people in the South. To make the resources and services of the League more effective and readily available in the South, we have decided to have a League representative located in the area to assist the efforts of low-income people in cooperative self-help endeavors. I briefly discussed this possibility with Al Ulmer at the meeting last week. There were two types of representation which the League could establish in your area. One would be an effective and competent co-op organizer to do detailed community stimulation and organization work. The other could be an experienced advisor and counsellor to be a resourse and information person that had an extensive background in cooperatives and the Cooperative League and could be most helpful in making the resources of the League and other cooperatives available, as well as advising the already established organizations on educational, management and operating programs.

We have decided to have Merlin Miller be the League's representative. He has accepted this position and will be contacting you

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 *312-922-0667*

***Harold Hamil**, chairman of the board* • ***Bowman Doss**, vice president-vice chairman*

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 *202-628-8765*

and other groups in the South very shortly. Merlin has an extensive international as well as national cooperative background. In our judgment, there was no more qualified person that the League could make available to the cooperative development in the South than Merlin Miller. I am sure that you and Al will enjoy working with him. The efforts and influence of the Southern Regional Council is, of course, most important and essential in the future cooperative development in the South.

We deeply appreciate the work that Al did in the meeting last week and the effective work he did which led up to this meeting. Frankly, Merlin and I pretty well failed in keeping ourselves in the background, and I hope we did not do too much damage. From the standpoint of the Southern Regional Council, you can certainly feel that you have successfully launched a significant program that will have a very basic meaningful effect on the lives of individuals and communities in your area. We will look forward to giving such assistance as we can in its further development.

Should you or Al have any comments or suggestions to us at any time, we would be pleased to hear from you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck

B. F. Ihlenfeldt, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

BFI:LG

cc: Mr. Al Ulmer

File Cooperative League of USA (if there is one)

March 6, 1967

Mrs. Analoyce Clapp
The Cooperative League of the USA
Global Project Office, Room 1404
1012 14th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Analoyce:

Thanks for thinking of us and sharing the CNS mention of the meeting. I think it was really a historic occassion and that something new of importance has been born.

How we do miss you, sassy-faced or not! Certainly the Potomac isn't the same. Do finagle a way to come East and South to visit some day.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

3-4-67

Our paths cross again —

I do hope the co-ops in the rural south can be successful. It does take a while, but in the end the results are worthwhile —

I'm temporarily with the Co-op League's International Dept (Information) — but I leave at the end of March.

I miss all your sassy faces since I left Potomac —

Analoyce

ATLANTA, Ga. (CNS) -- In an enthusiastic two-day meeting here February 24 - 25, representatives of 26 cooperatives from nine states formed the Southern Federation of Cooperatives.

The participating organizations, all small, represent a variety of activities: women's sewing cooperatives, farmers' supply and vegetable marketing co-ops, self-help housing, and credit unions.

What they have in common, leaders said, is the need for educational, management, marketing, and technical assistance, which can better be obtained through federation.

The National Sharecroppers Fund, Cooperative League, and CUNA International participated in the plans for the meeting, which was called by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

The Southern Federation of Cooperatives will be chartered in the District of Columbia. Temporary officers are Charles Prejean, Southern Consumers Cooperative, Lafayette, La., president; Robert J. Miles, West Batesville Farmers Cooperative, Batesville, Miss., vice-president; and Mrs. Lewis Black, Greenala Citizens Credit Union, Greensboro, Ala., secretary. -- CH

* CNS *

U.S. Agency Forms War-on-Hunger Office 2-28-67

WASHINGTON (CNS) -- A War-on-Hunger office has been established by the Agency for International Development (AID), with Herbert J. Waters in charge. Waters was formerly head of the Office of Material Resources, which has been abolished. Primary purpose of the material resources office was to stimulate agricultural development in food-deficient countries.

The new office will include a Food-for-Freedom service, a nutrition and child feeding facility, and a population branch, among other services.

Waters, 54 and a native of Santa Rosa, Calif., has been AID's assistant administrator for material resources since March 1962. He has been a newspaper editor, an assistant in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and top staff aide to then Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. -- JWC

* CNS *

Cooperative News Service (Chicago) -

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Stanley Dreyer, president

Make file if there's not one

March 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As you know, many low income people are taking a new look at cooperatives as a means of improving their standards of living and making necessary adjustments. All of us I think, would like to help low income people help themselves. Such efforts however, should be on a sound basis since cooperative failures do no one any good and they reflect on successful cooperatives.

The Cooperative League is working with the Office of Economic Opportunity to assist low income people interested in cooperatives. We recently signed a contract with O.E.O. to provide nationally, advisory services, some training, and development of pilot cooperative projects.

Being concerned with sound cooperative development and the increased responsibility we felt it desirable to have an experienced cooperative organizer located in Atlanta to act as a liaison among ourselves, those seeking information on cooperative development, and the existing cooperative, credit, and extension leadership of the South.

As you will see from the enclosed news release, we have asked Merlin Miller to carry on this work for us. He will be located in Suite 200, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303, Telephone: (404) 523-0245. To help make his work most beneficial to all concerned Mr. Miller will want to consult with you personally and discuss developments taking place in the co-op field among low income people. We hope you will share your concerns, ideas and resources with him.

A number of examples could be given in the South of how the Extension Service, existing cooperatives, the Farmers Home Administration and others, have been of service to low income people. A number of people in such groups have promptly responded to inquiries we have forwarded them.

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

8

In answering requests from low income people for assistance, our policy has been to first suggest that the person contact local leadership knowledgeable about cooperatives. Second, we suggest that inquiry be made as to whether the services requested could be provided by any presently existing cooperative. At times it is found that special consultants are needed.

We are interested, as I know you are, in sound, constructive cooperative development. We hope this effort will help. If you have any questions or suggestions regarding this whole area of endeavor, I hope you will feel free to contact Mr. Miller.

Truly yours,

Stanley Dreyer

Stanley Dreyer
President

L.R

SD:nc
enclosure

COOPERATIVE NEWS! SERVICE

Merlin Miller To Represent Cooperative League in South 3-7-67

CHICAGO (CNS) -- Merlin G. Miller has joined The Cooperative League as a consultant on cooperative programs in the South.

He will assist in the development of new cooperatives and will serve as the League's liaison with existing cooperatives and with extension, educational, religious, labor, governmental, and other organizations. He and Mrs. Miller will live in Atlanta, Ga.

B. F. Ihlenfeldt, director of the League's Economic Opportunity Department, announced the appointment. He said that Miller's work comes within the cooperative development program being carried on by the League under contract with the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

Miller joined the staff of The Cooperative League in 1957 and had charge of its international affairs until 1962, when International Cooperative Training, Inc. was formed at Madison, Wis. He became ICT's first program coordinator, working closely with the International Cooperative Training Center at the University of Wisconsin. He retired December 31, 1965.

Prior to joining the League staff, Miller served 20 years as educational director for Consumers Cooperative Association (now Farmland Industries, Inc.) in Kansas City, Mo. -- CH

A Service of THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A. • 59 EAST VAN BUREN STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605 • 922-0667

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Cooperative League of U.S.A. (CLUSA)

REGARDING

The Federation of Southern Cooperatives
(Sub-Contractor)

Copy of Contract between the ~~two~~

DATE

First
May 1, 1967

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Federation of Southern Cooperatives

File
Cooperative League
of USA

June 6, 1967

Mr. Stanley Dreyer
President
The Cooperative League of the USA
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Stan:

The idea of a meeting as proposed in your letter of June 2nd is an excellent one, and certainly I would like to attend. At the moment all of the dates you proposed are open and August would be a particularly good time for me.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Stanley Dreyer, president

June 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many organizations working in lower-income areas have expressed a deep interest in cooperatives as an effective means of social and economic change. In recent months private foundations and the Federal government have funded important programs in which the Cooperative League has had a particular interest.

In the South, these projects include cooperative education and development, crop conversion, and marketing; in the rural North, young livestock and farm management programs; and in metropolitan areas, bargaining, housing, and supply cooperatives. This is most encouraging to me as I'm sure it is to you.

In light of this heightened cooperative interest, we would like to explore with you and others the possibility of a broad and significant program to reach those never before reached by cooperatives. Together we can work out package proposals that will be large enough and challenging enough to appeal for substantial grants from public and private agencies. The grants will be used to finance planning, training for, and development of a coordinated program of self-help cooperative action among lower income citizens.

In formulating these plans we need your full participation. Key organizations such as Southern Regional Council, Inc. are essential to success. The Cooperative League can help provide the technical "know-how," for such program proposals. Your organization can provide concrete and precise evaluations of programs as they relate to your work.

We are inviting key leaders from the following organizations to meet with us: AFL-CIO, Catholic Conference on Working Life, Catholic Rural Life Conference, Congress of Racial Equality, CUNA International, Foundation for Cooperative Housing, Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organization, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Council of Churches, National Farmers Union, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, National Rural Electric Cooperative

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

Association, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Southern Regional Council, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The meeting will be held in Chicago at a mutually convenient date. We have been thinking of August 10, 11, 14, 21, or 28. The agenda will include inquiry into possible cooperative solutions to problems, an analysis of the resources needed for success in a cooperative venture, and a projection of proposals for funding. I feel strongly that by working together, we can evolve an imaginative and energetic plan for effective use of skills and resources to help create an economic base for many lower-income people.

At your earliest convenience I would appreciate your reaction to a one-day meeting of this kind and, if favorable, when it would be possible for you to attend.

Sincerely,

Stan

Stanley Dreyer
President

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Stanley Dreyer, president

July 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We were pleased with the response received to our suggested Summit meeting of key organizations to explore the possibility of a significant program to reach those never before reached by self-help cooperatives.

The most convenient date for the meeting seems to be August 11. Therefore, we are securing facilities at the O'Hare Inn, 6600 North Mannheim Road, Des Plaines, Illinois (2 miles North of O'Hare Airport). The meeting will be from 10:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

I have attached a form which I would appreciate your completing at your earliest convenience so that we can guarantee your exact reservation requirement.

We plan to mail you another letter outlining in detail the Agenda for this meeting. We look forward to having you with us on August 11.

Sincerely,

Stanley

Stanley Dreyer
President

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

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The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Stanley Dreyer, president

August 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

To finalize details regarding your attendance at our meeting August 11, I thought a word or two would be in order to clarify situations perhaps not outlined in detail in previous letters.

In my last letter, as you may recall, I mentioned that this Conference has been organized with the intent purpose of reexamining the benefits of cooperatives with regard to low-income people, and to explore with groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference the possibility of a broad and significant program to reach those never before reached through self-help cooperatives. We will, however, also be considering a proposal as a possible first step in financing the planning, training needs and development of a coordinated effort for low-income citizens. At present, we are assured of representation from some thirteen groups.

Although an Agenda for the meeting will not be available until August 11, I am enclosing two brochures for your perusal. The first is a brochure outlining the Cooperative League, its staff, members and general philosophy. The second is a pamphlet describing the general scope of cooperatives in the U.S. today.

We look forward to having you with us August 11.

Sincerely,

Stanley

Stanley Dreyer
President

encls:

P.S. The meeting will be from 10:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. The address of the O'Hare Inn is 6600 N. Mannheim Rd., Des Plaines, Illinois

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: *59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726*
WASHINGTON OFFICE: *1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000*

Bowman Doss, *chairman of the board*
Robert E. Morrow, *vice-chairman*

8

See Cooperative League of the USA

August 14, 1967

Mr. Stanley Dreyer
President
The Cooperative League of the USA
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Stan:

It was a good meeting and I appreciate having been a part of it. Let me know if I can help in any followup.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See U.S. cooperative Finance

August 15, 1967

To Paul Anthony

Attached is a story that appears in today's issue of the Cooperative News Service. I thought you would want to see it.

Carly G. Hodgkins
Editor

managers and experienced grocery checkers to train workers in the co-op.

The former manager of a large and successful chain food store in the Newark area has already donated his services to help get the co-op launched.

Frank P. Anastasio, general manager of Mid-Eastern Cooperatives Inc., Carlstadt, N.J., helped get the co-op started and Mid-Eastern supplies it merchandise. When Consumer's Cooperative closed its doors in 1952, some of its members had carried on as a buying club making purchases from Mid-Eastern. -- JWC

* CNS *

Group Seeks Funds To Organize Poverty-Area Co-ops 8-15-67

CHICAGO (CNS) -- Cooperatives can wield a mighty stick to break the back of rural and urban poverty, and they must get more money, manpower and other resources to help them do so. They especially need trained organizers.

That, in effect, was how leaders from eleven national and regional organizations, including the Cooperative League, assessed their present work and future prospects in the poverty field.

They conferred here for the first time Aug. 11 at the League's invitation and, as one participant said, agreed "we should have met five years ago." They voted to meet again Nov. 17 as the Co-op Group on Low-Income Co-ops, to review a fund-raising program and other activities, particularly the training proposal. Funds will be sought from foundation and other sources to make possible the training of people to launch new cooperatives and strengthen present ones.

Participants in addition to Stanley Dreyer, League president, and B.F. Ihlenfeldt, League economic opportunity director, were: Msgr. Edward O'Rourke, National Catholic Rural Life Conference; Robert Osborne, National Urban League; the Rev. Shirley E. Greene, National Council of Churches; the Rev. C.T. Vivian, Urban Training Center; the Rev. A.J. McKnight, Southern Consumers Cooperative; Sydney Finley, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council; Roger Willcox, National Association of Housing Cooperatives; Gerald King, Credit Union International, and Arthur Hillman, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. -- PJD

file

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

Stanley Dreyer, president

file

August 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We enclose a brief summary of our discussion at O'Hare Inn August 11. Copies have gone to all participants and to top leaders of the organizations represented, including yourself.

We appreciate deeply your active and enthusiastic participation in this meeting, which we consider to have been of great significance to the aims we hold in common. We were particularly pleased that you wished to continue this discussion November 17 and will look forward to seeing you at that time; we also plan to invite others as we discussed.

In a relatively short time you will be hearing from us further on the draft proposal that we discussed. Again, very deep thanks for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Stan

Stanley Dreyer
President

Encl:

Thanks also Paul for your letter re: the aug 24 conf in D.C. We hope an invitation to the League will be forthcoming.

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

8

SUMMARY of August 11 meeting called by The Cooperative League of the USA in Chicago to consider a proposal for training of staff workers in the expansion of economic self-help efforts by low-income persons and families.

In general, this meeting produced the broadest kind of interest and active support from the representatives who attended. Not only were positive statements and suggestions made for joint action, but there was unanimous agreement that another meeting of the same representatives, with further representation from other groups, to be held November 17 in Chicago.

A possible proposal was outlined briefly by The Cooperative League. The proposal called for a cooperative training program funded by a national foundation or other source. This program would enable participating organizations to secure persons trained in effective techniques for economic self-help action. The trainee would work in the community or area from which he has been recruited. There he would develop in the local situation the kind of self-help economic action programs needed and determined by the people themselves.

The following were some of the comments by organizational representatives present at the August 11 meeting on the significance of this type of program.

Comments re: August 11 conference on cooperatives for low-income people

Sydney Finley, NAACP: "We found in riot areas that people are concerned about what happens to them as a group. We need to channel this feeling into well-functioning cooperative ventures that are tailored to individual communities. We will help in any effort or in development of techniques:

Robert Osborn, National Urban League: "The Urban League is much involved in self-help cooperation."

Msgr. Edward O'Rourke, National Catholic Rural Life Conference: "(We) perennially have urged the cooperative approach as an excellent way for humans to be human and to grow in economic ways."

The Rev. Shirley Greene, National Council of Churches: "I am delighted to see the Cooperative League taking its share of the load. We may have gotten too sophisticated in cooperatives. The simpler forms still have a place. We in the Council will help any way we can."

Arthur Hillman, National Federation of Settlements and Community Centers: " We have had in mind ourselves calling a conference to explore the ways that self-help, including cooperatives, may help to further our program."

The Rev. A. J. McKnight, Southern Consumers Educational Foundation: "We use urgent needs of people as an instrument for their involvement. We need to change institutions. Black power is an attempt to change the Negro's thinking about himself." (The Rev. McKnight explained how his Foundation is using a sizeable two-year grant from the Ford Foundation to staff a program of cooperative organization and development for low-income persons in four southern states.)

Gerald King, CUNA International: "We (in credit unions) could do ten times as much as we are doing. There are enormous possibilities among communities that already recognize the need for self-help economic activity. There is much more need among communities that don't even know about the possibilities."

The Rev. C. A. Vivian, Urban Training Center, Chicago: "We need to create a new community where we are (in inner cities). Co-ops are basic to everything the Negro people are trying to do. Civil rights efforts are sometimes fragmented, but the groups are united on the need for creating a program in which pride and personal values can come into being. Co-ops do create those values."

Roger Willcox, National Association of Housing Cooperatives: "We can organize a cooperative anywhere now using housing as a framework. People grow to meet the challenge."

Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council: "All of us are five years too late. The League should spearhead efforts to get our organizations to open a cooperative department." (The Council is organizing a federation of Southern cooperatives of low-income people.)

These were other significant points brought out by participants:

King: "Let's start building models. We already can send people for intensive training in a place reasonably similar to where they want to work."

Finley: "There are many Negroes already in supervisory roles in co-ops and credit unions. They might be trained in a shorter time."

Vivian: "One source of trainees are present organizers who have rapport and can develop natural leadership."

Willcox: "Urban America has a proposal for housing trainees and internship in a one-year training and field seminar work. We may need a whole family of training proposals."

McKnight: "We should talk about total needs. A proposal might be broken into components so one part could be funded independent of others."

O'Rourke: " A committee (like the ad hoc one formed August 11) might act to see the overview, gaps, overlaps. We may need more projects, not less. We may need to work to guide, educate, promote, create more understanding in Washington. And we need more people to come out publicly in favor of this."

King: "We could do ten times more. We ought to be thinking of $4 billion like the REA program"

Stanley Dreyer, the League's president, asked those present to consider these points:

1. Would it be possible for each major organization to assign one person to devote full time to be a link between themselves and cooperatives?

2. Can cooperatives and other self-help activities be included as a subject in seminars and workshops that these groups hold?

3. Will the organizations approve a statement urging VISTA neighborhood youth corps, etc., to put more intensive co-op and self-help elements in their training programs?

August 3, 1967

Ref to PA

Aug 7th

File
Cooperative League in USA

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Stanley Dreyer, president

File

August 21, 1967

Messrs. Andrew Heiskell
A. Philip Randolph, Co-Chairmen
Emergency Convocation: The Urban Coalition
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Gentlemen:

It is with appreciation I received your letter of August 12, to attend the Emergency Convocation; The Urban Coalition. Unfortunately, I have a previous, important commitment, and am therefore asking Mr. Dwight Townsend, Vice President of the Cooperative League and Director of our Public Affairs Department to represent me.

Your group is to be commended for addressing our nations' attention to this urgent problem.

Sincerely,

Stan

Stanley Dreyer
President

SD:lj

bcc: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Dwight Townsend, V.P., The Cooperative League

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

note file
ref to PA

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

Stanley Dreyer, president

Aug 5 '67

July 25, 1967

file

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We were indeed pleased to receive your reservation form confirming that you will be with us for the meeting at the O'Hare Inn on August 11. The address of the O'Hare Inn is 6600 North Mannheim Rd., Des Plaines, Illinois. The meeting is scheduled to begin at 10:00 A.M.

We look forward to having you with us then.

Sincerely,

Stanley

Stanley Dreyer
President

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

8

January 17, 1968

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

Last March a group of poor people representing 22 grassroot cooperative movements from ten southern states met in Atlanta and formed what is now known as the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. Since the co-operative approach seemed to be a means of attacking some of the problems locally, it seemed to the group that this same approach could be used even more successfully on a more regional level. Thus the Federation of Southern Cooperatives was created as a result of this thinking.

The Federation is having its first annual meeting March 16th in the Jackson, Mississippi area; the exact place has not been selected as yet.

In behalf of the Board of Directors of the Federation and its entire membership, I would like to extend to you an invitation to be our guest speaker. Your acceptance and presence at our meeting would give us an undeserving honor.

Cooperatively yours,

Charles O. Prejean
Executive Director
Federation of Southern
Cooperatives

COP/km

January 17, 1968

Dr. C. E. Prothro
Regional Economic Development and
Business Service Center
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Prothro:

Enclosed is a listing of all the member cooperatives of the Federation and a brochure which describes the purposes of the Federation.

I am looking forward to meeting you on Tuesday, January 23rd.

Cooperatively yours,

Charles O. Prejean
Executive Director
Federation of Southern
Cooperatives

COP/km

Enclosure

January 17, 1968

Mr. S. Levey
American Express Company
Credit Card Division
P. O. Box 1934
New York, New York 10008

Dear Mr. Levey:

Please send me an application blank for an American Express Credit Card.

I was referred to you by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Cooperatively yours,

Charles O. Prejean
Executive Director
Federation of Southern
Cooperatives

COP/km

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Stanley Dreyer, president

File

January 22, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Much has happened in the nation in our program to aid low-income people develop cooperatives, since our last meeting in Chicago November 17. Several additional organizations have expressed active interest in our program and particularly in the proposal for foundation funding and for institutes where training could be given staffs in cooperative principles, methods and programs.

We propose that our February 16 meeting at 10 A.M. at the Cooperative League headquarters, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois consider first the report of the sub-committee of CUNA and the Cooperative League, on the proposal for foundation support of projects outlined at our November 17 meeting.

We propose that the rest of the time that day be devoted to a sharing of ideas and pinpointing of action on these points:

- Subject matter of the training institutes and their length in time.
- Location (East, midwest and south have been suggested) and dates.
- Who will attend.
- Nature of the training to be given, and who, in general, will give it.
- Methods of financing the institutes.
- Follow-up -- staff participation in future action programs.

The program will include institute "warm-up" presentations by consultants

Please use the enclosed reply form to indicate your participation in the February 16 meeting without delay.

Sincerely,

Phil Dodge

Philip J. Dodge
Assistant to the President

encl:

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

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See Cooperative League of U.S.A.

April 4, 1968

Mr. Philip J. Dodge
Assistant to the President
The Cooperative League of the USA
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Dodge:

Regrettably, it will be impossible for me to be with you on May 10 and 11. However, Mr. John Lewis, director of the Council's project in Community Organization and Education, is available and I would very much like to have him come as our representative.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

Stanley Dreyer, president

Paul:
I can attend
John

March 25, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a program for what we expect and hope will be a most significant event -- and a pioneering one in the United States.

For the first time, a number of important national organizations* have taken the initiative in providing an opportunity for their staffs and others (see attached sheet) to receive some orientation and perspective on the formation and operation of cooperatives in low-income areas, both urban and rural.

This institute will not provide all the answers on how and why to form cooperatives in these areas. But it will provide some very useful background information on what cooperatives are, what they are doing now, and what they will enable residents of these areas to do for themselves and their communities.

This information will have important implications for the staff people from the participating organizations in this program, in their own work and in their relation with the individuals and families involved. Emphasis, but not exclusive emphasis, will be on work in the eastern states. Two national foundations have considered this institute so important that they have made funds available for it. The expectation is that registration fees will help finance other such institutes elsewhere in the nation, later in 1968.

You will note that the enclosed program has a return postcard attached on which the names of registrants can be listed. No money should be sent, but should be paid at the time of registration. Those registrants wishing to participate in a tour group should so indicate on the form.

Additional copies of the program are available on request to this office.

Sincerely,

Phil Dodge

Philip J. Dodge
Assistant to the President

PJD:mt

Encl.

Reply to: GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605/312-922-0726
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005/202-628-9000

Bowman Doss, chairman of the board
Robert E. Morrow, vice-chairman

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* The following are the TYPES of individuals whom the arrangements committee believes should be invited to participate in the May 10-11 program:

- For present low-income leaders of cooperatives:
- For staff liaison between national organizations and cooperatives:
- For field representatives of national organizations
- For local staff people of participating organizations:
- For private and public technicians in rural and urban low-income fields:

The following are the organizations participating in the Committee on Cooperatives in Low-Income Areas:

Monsignor Edward O'Rourke
Catholic Rural Life Conference
3801 Grand Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa

Gerald King
CUNA International
P.O. Box 431
Madison, Wisconsin

Sydney Finley
NAACP
431 South Dearborn St.
Chicago, Illinois

Rev. Shirley E. Greene
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Arthur Hillman
National Federation of
Settlements & Neighborhood
Centers
72 East 11th St
Chicago, Illinois

Father Albert J. McKnight
Southern Consumers Education
Foundation
P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. C.T. Vivian
Urban Training Center
40 N. Ashland Ave.
Chicago, Illinois

Doris Wilson
YWCA of Metropolitan Chicago
1001 North Dearborn Street
Chicago,Illinois

Reuben Shears
Community Renewal Society
116 S. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois

Ida Curtis
FCH Services
69 West Washington Street
Chicago, Illinois

James Brewer
Foundation for Voluntary Service
1 Mitchell Place
New York, New York

Dorothy Haight
National Council of Negro Women
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Donald Newey
Action for Boston Community Development
18 Tremont St.
Boston, Mass. 02108

Emil Seliga
National Catholic Conference
on Interracial Justice
3500-225 W. Manchester Blvd.
Inglewood, California

Stanley Dreyer
Cooperative League of the USA
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois

3-25-68

Preliminary Program

FRIDAY, MAY 10

9:00 AM Registration and welcome

9:30 AM What cooperatives are and how they work
Stanley Dreyer, President, The Cooperative League of the USA

10:00 AM Questions and break

10:30 AM **How we have put cooperatives to work**
Cora Walker, Harlem River Consumers Cooperative
Ed Pitt, Mobilization for Youth, New York City
Jerry Diederich, Economic Opportunity Department, CUNA International
William Martin, Action for Boston Community Development

Noon — Lunch
Film **"With No One To Help Us"**

1:30 PM **Workshops** — what cooperatives offer to low-income families and where specific help and guidance can be obtained

Resources: Credit and finance —
Mr. Diederich, CUNA International.
Government help — Dick Saul, Office of Economic Opportunity.
Consumer goods — Wayne Whitehead, Cooperative Consumers of New Haven
Housing — Jac Wasserman, Foundation for Cooperative Housing.
James Cassels, Parkchester Cooperative, Washington, D. C.
Marketing and Products — Merlin Miller, Cooperative League Bill Stewart — Cooperative Development Project, Cleveland

3:00 PM Break

3:15 PM Workshop discussion continues on financing methods and
How to use volunteer help

6:30 PM Dinner

7:30 PM **How we view cooperatives' role in low-income areas**

Moderator, Al Marble, Mid-Atlantic Regional Director, OEO

Panel: Donald Martin, Administrative Assistant, United Housing Foundation
Msgr. Edward O'Rourke, Director, National Catholic Rural Life Conference
Rev. Shirley Greene, National Council of Churches

SATURDAY, MAY 11

9:00 AM Registration

9:30 AM Co-op problems and opportunities as we see them
Panel of staff workers and directors of cooperatives in low-income areas

10:15 AM Break

10:30 AM Questions to and discussions with panel

Noon Questions from participants, on topic:
What problems do you anticipate in promotion and development of cooperatives in your area?

1:30 PM Replies from co-op resource specialists

2:30 PM Break

2:45 PM **Where do we go from here?** Response from representative spokesmen for participating organizations

3:15 PM Tour (optional) of New York City cooperatives

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

312 Witt Building
249 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 1, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Inex Tillison
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Tillison:

Please pardon my delay in sending you the material on cooperatives. Enclosed is a copy of a report entitled "Agricultural Cooperatives" and a list of some publications dealing with cooperatives.

I hope these materials will be useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frank D. Alexander

Frank D. Alexander, Regional Leader
Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare
Southeastern Region

Enclosures 2

February 5, 1946

Dr. Frank D. Alexander
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
312 Witt Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Thank you for sending the material on agricultural cooperatives.

I have forwarded it to Miss Annie Byrd in Nashville who had inquired about such material.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

No.

The *TRUTH* About

FARMERS COOPERATIVE EXCHANGE

Its

VOLUME — NET MARGINS — TAXES

YEAR ENDING, JUNE 30, 1946

Volume & Net Margins

Number Patron-Members ..... (over)	54,000
Volume of Business during past Fiscal Year by Class:	
State Office with Distributors and Affiliated Warehouses	$6,447,291.00
Affiliated Warehouses and Departments with Patrons	7,455,384.31
Local Marketing by Warehouses	1,288,974.08
Net Margins (receipts less expenses before patronage dividends or interest on stock paid)	352,443.54
Total of Patronage Refunds paid	301,833.20
Dividend paid on Stock	45,581.33
Undivided Margins	5,029.01

The taxes listed in the chart to the right are the taxes paid by the Farmers Cooperative Exchange in 1946. They were paid on the same basis as any other business firm in North Carolina.

Had the Farmers Cooperative Exchange been required to operate under the same rule as ordinary commercial corporations, it would have paid, in addition to the taxes listed on right, a franchise tax of $1.75 per $1,000 on its capital stock of $1,964,165.70 or $3,437.28 instead of the $270 paid as license tax in lieu of the franchise tax, or a total of $3,167.28 more than it paid. Also, it would have paid a 6% income tax on savings of $45,581.33 that was distributed as dividends on capital stock and on undivided margins of $5,029.01. The total tax on these would have amounted to $3,036.62.

The total amount of additional taxes the Farmers Cooperative Exchange would have been required to pay in 1946, under the rule applied to regular commercial corporations, would have amounted to only $6,203.90.

We hereby certify that we were employed by the Board of Directors to audit the books and accounts of the Farmers' Cooperative Exchange for the year ending June 30, 1946, and that the above statements regarding volume, margin and taxes are true.

A. T. Allen & Company
Certified Public Accountants

Taxes Paid By FCX

Sales Tax	$19,205.46
Old Age Tax	4,573.62
Unemployment	11,810.76
City Tax	9,997.07
County Tax	9,039.21
Intangible Tax	1,341.14
License Tax in lieu Franchise Tax	270.00
Truck License	4,997.95
Chick Dealer	180.00
City License and permits	258.00
Seed Dealer	490.30
TOTAL	$62,163.51

WHAT IS THE REAL ISSUE?

Volume & Net Margins

Number Patron-Members ..... (over)	54,000
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TOTAL	$62,163.51

WHAT IS THE REAL ISSUE?

Statements have been made by representatives of the North Carolina Merchants Association, inferring that farmer cooperatives were great octopuses reaching out to grab everything and giving nothing in return. In fact, they have created an impression that farmer cooperatives do not pay taxes. It has also been contended that the State of North Carolina was losing millions of dollars in revenue and that the farmer was not carrying his end of the tax burden.

The Farmers Cooperative Exchange offers the certified statement of a reputable accounting firm, which stated above that in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, the Farmers Cooperative Exchange, owned by the farmers of North Carolina and operating under the Cooperative Law, paid $62,163.51 in taxes on exactly the same basis as any other business in the State.

Had it been required to pay the State income tax and franchise tax as required of ordinary commercial corporations, it would have paid $6,203.90 in additional taxes.

With only $6,203.90 more tax, it is obvious that it is not the amount of taxes involved that many of the merchants are fighting, but the farmers and their rights to own and operate their own cooperatives in order that they may better their economic condition, enjoy a higher standard of living, and farm in a competitive world.

Farmers of North Carolina have always paid their share of taxes. They had to list every mule, every plow, and everything else they owned because those things were tangible. That has not always been true with other groups.

Many merchants in the state own farms and farm in direct competition with the farmers, who depend 100% on farming for a living, yet they frown upon the idea of the farmer organizing his own business in competition with the merchant.

What is the real issue? Is it taxes or is it the farmer's right to organize his own business?

Why The Farmers Cooperative Exchange Was Organized?

It was not by choice or chance that the farmers of North Carolina organized their own business—they were forced to in order to exist.

For 66 years, they tilled the soil producing food and fiber for their fellowman, waiting and hoping for help and advice that never came.

Finally, after years of waiting and hoping, they were forced to provide help for themselves.

Hardly had the farmer recovered from the depression of the early twenties, his fourth since the Civil War, before the depression of 1932 was at hand. During that year, North Carolina's 1,600,000 farm people were forced to accept conditions that will never be forgotten. Cash farm income sank to an average of 18 cents per day per capita and an average farm family of five had but a total of 90 cents per day to provide clothing, medical care, hospitalization, and to meet religious, educational and social obligations. Practically every farm market was glutted.

Many merchants, who up until that time had been the farmer's chief counsel and adviser, failed to step into the gap and help the farmer.

At this point the farmers of the State began to look around them and take stock. They found out that from 1925 to 1932 the average per capita cash income had been only 38 cents per day and that over 50 per cent of the State's 332,000 farm homes had depreciated to the extent that they had a value of less than $500 each.

It was because of these deplorable conditions that agricultural leaders decided something had to be done. North Carolina's farm economy had broken apart. The farm markets were glutted and the farmer's purchasing power was getting smaller by the year. In most cases, many merchants, who had proven such staunch friends in the better days when the farmer had money to spend, turned their back on the farmer once his money or farm was gone. They had made little or no effort to help the farmer develop a market, but rather expected the farmer to sell on a glutted market during the fall months for whatever price he could get.

The Farmers Cooperative Exchange was organized in 1934. Its first investment was in a modern seed and grain cleaning plant to aid the farmers in producing more seed and grain.

The second move was a fertilizer factory to assist the farmers in taking advantage of the information and research data given out by the State Agricultural College and North Carolina Test Farms.

The third step was to build a feed mill to provide a market for the farmer's grain and manufacture their own feeds by formulas recommended by the State's Agricultural College. It should also be pointed out that prior to this time they had no way to take advantage of the research and information and experimental work of the College and the Department of Agriculture.

Since that day the Farmers Cooperative Exchange has provided numerous marketing services for its owner-members. In eggs alone, it has saved the farmers thousands of dollars and in grain and seed, furnished the farmer a year-round market.

Today, North Carolina farmers, through their own organization and with the help of North Carolina State College and the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, are rapidly turning North Carolina into a balanced agricultural State, which is the only hope for the future security of our economy.

The only way to make farming a profitable business is to lower cost of production and to market in such a way as to give farmers their share of the consumer dollar—this is what farmers are doing through their own cooperatives.

Make Agriculture a profitable way of life and our whole economy will be safe.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE EXCHANGE

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Filed under Cooperatives

NATIONAL COOPERATIVES Inc.

343 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS • TELEPHONE WABASH 7680

August 18, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchel
Director Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Ave.
N.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In between summer activities, I have to overtake my correspondence file. For many weeks it has been way out ahead. Ever since coming back from the Southeastern swing, I have been on the move.

I do want to thank you for the fine hospitality enjoyed in your home. Will you be so good as to tell your wife how much I enjoyed the stay there? The several days in Atlanta were most delightful.

With this letter you will find a copy of the report which I wrote up after the trip to Va., N.C., and Ga. Your reactions to my observations would be welcome. Naturally, I do not expect them to be too sound, for the time was extremely short. Perhaps I am over optimistic in my premises as to the future of that area, but it certainly seems to me that there are forces that work with tremendous power.

I'll look forward to other reports on your activities to learn of the progress you are able to make. I am not sure how soon we will be able to do a great deal on the cooperative front, but our board is on record as Morris has probably reported to you, to help finance educational and organizational work on a rather intensive scale.

Hubert Jackson has sent me clippings from the Atlanta papers about the opening of their store. He seems to me a very sound thinking and capable gentlemen. A lot will depend on his success of this first cooperative venture in Atlanta. I hope his mistakes will be few.

I do not know when I will get down into that area again, but I look forward to meeting you in the not too distant future, here, there, or somewhere.

Cooperatively yours,

C. J. McLanahan
fP.

C. J. McLanahan
Educational Director

CJM:fp
Enclosure

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Summary of My Views on the Future of the Southeastern Cooperative League

C. J. McLanahan
May 19, 1947

One can sum up quite definitely, that there are "stirrings" in the Southeast. Stirrings of a new sort, which indicate that there is going to be a natural strong move toward cooperatives. This is all part of a growing determination by the people of the area to build up the resources and assets of the South.

Right now there are only a number of cooperative outposts, rather widely scattered throughout the whole territory. It would be impossible to draw these together to form a regional wholesale at the present time.

It would seem wise that the Southeastern Cooperative League be immediately financed to the point where it could employ personnel to keep in close touch with existing cooperatives, and individuals and groups which are concerned with the development of new cooperatives. This same person would supply services, materials and experience that would make the growth of cooperatives in the area sound and rapid.

It would be most unfortunate if it should continue that there would be no one in a position to give any direct assistance or aid to the various groups which are anxious to establish cooperatives. It would be my recommendation, that at least $2000 be raised to permit the employment on a part-time basis of some individual who would serve as Secretary of the Southeastern Cooperative League. Of course, if more money were available, full-time could easily be used in this work.

I do not feel at this time, that a decision for concentration of effort should be made. There is not enough evidence available to say just where one would be justified in concentrating. And since there is so little power to concentrate, it is not terribly important that one area be developed to the exclusion of another.

From a commodity standpoint, it is obvious that the first service to the area, must come through the Southeastern Cooperative League on a brokerage basis. The Southeastern League to make up orders for local cooperatives, and plan for a carload or truckload shipment at periodic intervals. For the most part, however, the present cooperatives and those which will come into existence in the near future, will have to rely on local sources of supply.

There is the possibility, that in combination with non-profit organizations such as hospitals and schools, sufficient volume would be available to permit earlier and more frequent shipments of merchandise, either from National or Eastern or Central States.

I believe with one person, even part-time on the job, within six months, it would become clear just where greater effort should be placed in the interest of establishing a cooperative wholesale. Without making a study from the standpoint of actual shipping costs, it would seem very likely that two wholesale points would be established. One in the Virginia-North Carolina area, and one in Atlanta. It would be quite practical for one of these to be served as a branch of the other. Both represent definite trade centers.

The people in the South do not want a subsidy from the North, in the sense that they expect other people to carry the load for them. They will start, and have already started to raise funds to help in the work outlined above. It is obvious, however, that they are going to need some outside assistance in getting off dead-center. If the Cooperative League and/or individuals interested in the development of cooperatives in the Southeast, will give a hand at this time, I am sure it will not be many years before the Southeast will be on its own feet and making good progress toward the establishment of another strong regional wholesale.

60-0P5

OHIO FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, INC.

COLUMBUS 16, OHIO

245 NORTH HIGH STREET
TELEPHONE MAIN 1141

January 18, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Calvin Kytle has forwarded your request about our council program to me.

I am including a brief discussion of our council program and samples of our Advisory Council Guide, which we send every month as an aid to group discussion.

From time to time we include in our mailing such pamphlets as those enclosed, and suggest related articles, books and other publications.

I hope these will prove useful to you in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Carl R. Hutchinson Jr.

Carl R. Hutchinson
Director of Education

CRH:jr

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL PROGRAM IN OHIO
(As conducted by the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation)

***

In its first few years the Ohio Farm Bureau, like other state farm bureaus, enjoyed a phenomenal growth. Within a period of four years our membership reached around 90,000 families. From that time on to 1933, with a few exceptions, our membership went through a constant decline. By 1933 the membership had dropped to around 7,000 families. Up to that time we had depended largely on township organizations and township meetings to create local interest and activity.

In search of an effective method to get members to assume responsibility and take an active part in their organization, Mr. Murray D. Lincoln, our Executive Secretary at that time, visited Nova Scotia to explore their program of neighborhood discussion groups. This was in the summer of 1935. In April of 1936 the first Advisory Councils were organized in Shelby County. The County Farm Bureau Board divided itself into 4 teams and invited other Farm Bureau members to join them in a neighborhood group which would meet monthly in the homes of members. Each group limited its membership to 12 families. In this way the Board members could explore the thinking and needs of a larger circle of farmers and take advantage of their suggestions and advice. These groups were called "Advisory Councils."

The state organization prepares discussion material to help stimulate the thinking of these groups. The plan was also developed whereby the Advisory Councils make carbon copies of their monthly minutes and mail the extra copy to the State Farm Bureau office. In this way a two-way flow of ideas circulates back and forth from small local units through the County Farm Bureaus to the State organization. The copies of minutes received by the State office are checked and returned to the County Farm Bureau office.

As the Council program developed the value of these small neighborhood groups became more and more clear. Through the past 13 or 14 years in which we have maintained this program, we have learned a great deal about the servicing of Councils in order to keep them functioning in a vital way.

Today we have approximately 1,550 groups representing close to 30,000 adults. Our present Farm Bureau membership to date is approximately 62,000 families, which means that about 25% of our Farm Bureau members belong to these Councils. Approximately 10% of our Council members are non-Farm Bureau members, but as non-members become better acquainted with the program through participation and they frequently join the sponsoring organization.

Except for the summer months, average intake of minutes will run well over 1,000 copies per month.

Other states have adopted a similar program, notably the Michigan Farm Bureau which has now over 850 active groups. In Michigan these groups are known as "Community Farm Bureaus." They operate very much as our groups do in Ohio. The Vermont Farm Bureau has in the neighborhood of 75 groups, and Maryland around 100.

How Councils are Formed

Most of our counties in Ohio have Organization Directors who are responsible for building membership, and developing Councils. Very often the Organization Director encourages the members of a Council to help form a new one. Various procedures are being employed, but they often follow this pattern: One or more families in a neighborhood who have expressed an interest are contacted. The Council program is explained, usually in conference with both husband and wife. If this couple is willing to take the next step they invite two or three of the neighbor families to discuss the idea further. If they are ready to proceed they select an evening for the first meeting and each family invites some of their immediate friends and neighbors to come. In this way the group begins with a certain degree of unity based on social ties.

Care is exercised from the beginning to encourage the new Council members to use their initiative. They choose their topics for discussion, elect their own officers, plan their own programs, and arrive at their own decisions. Meetings are quite informal, especially as members become better acquainted. While the dis-

cussion often gets serious, the atmosphere of the meetings is friendly and sociable.

Relationships

The State organization encourages this program through its field force, through its publications, radio, and public meetings. The County organization authorizes the Council program through action of its board. Councils are strengthened by the assurance that their ideas are given serious attention. We find that farm people are quick to sense anything that is not genuine. The program is based on the belief that farm people have the ability to think through and handle many of their own problems, if they can be brought together in small groups, given the necessary information and stimulated to act. The greatest progress in Council development has taken place in those counties where this faith in people has been given its fullest expression.

Integration

Sooner or later the small groups discover that their problems extend beyond their own reach and power. They need help from other groups. Leadership is alert to this need and makes provision to meet it by encouraging Councils in a given community to have joint meetings. Eventually a County Coordinating Council is developed which is made up of representatives of each of the local groups. This Council group brings together the instructions, thinking, and wishes of local groups and attempts to find a common ground for local action. It is not a legislative group, but always advisory, which makes recommendations to the Board. Members of the Board are represented on the Coordinating Council.

ACTION

The achievements of the Advisory Councils is a test of their vitality. Many of their projects are of a local character, which are achieved by the neighbors within the group. Others are the result of County action and still others of district and state action. A list of Council projects is attached to this report.

One of the important functions of Councils is the preparation of County and State Resolutions which are submitted to the Resolution Committee for consideration

of resolutions on local issues, while September is devoted to resolutions on State and National issues.

The recommendations of the Councils for 1950 have been tabulated for this report.

Principles and Methods

Without attempting to present a complete list of principles or to weigh the relative importance of each, the following considerations growing out of Ohio Farm Bureau experience in working with small neighborhood groups, seem significant:

1. An Advisory Council is a permanent, stable neighborhood group of farm families who meet monthly in their homes.
2. The program needs a sponsoring organization whose leadership believes in the capacity of people functioning cooperatively, in small integrated groups, to deal effectively with their problems.
3. Boards and management must be prepared to back up their faith with sufficient funds, and wait for results.
4. The freedom of each individual group must be respected.
5. An important function of leadership is to keep the channels of communication open between Councils and the central organization.
6. A sponsoring organization must be ready to accept a responsibility for keeping the major focus of attention of people's felt needs and problems rather than on the institution.
7. As the number and influence of groups increase in the community, the program and emphasis will become correspondingly community-centered.
8. The strength of an organization depends on the kind and degree of membership participation. The task of leadership is to encourage active participation in a two-way flow of ideas within and among groups.
9. Cooperative, problem-solving activities are integrating and socially satisfying.
10. Unless people are stimulated and permitted to face their problems together in small, informal voluntary groups, a dynamic democracy is impossible.

Murray D. Lincoln

RECEIVED
JUL 30

July 28, 1953

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For some time now I've been trying to think through the critical, confused state of the world -- always with the hope of working out some constructive, practical program for peace. Knowing that you've been thinking along the same lines, I'm enclosing a copy of a speech I recently gave at Antigonish which probably sums up my thinking to date as well as anything I've yet put on paper. I thought you might be interested in reading it.

If you care to make any comments I would certainly appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Murray D. Lincoln

Murray D. Lincoln

js
encl: speech

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Farm Bureau Insurance Companies
Farm Bureau Mutual Automobile Insurance Co., Farm Bureau Mutual Fire Insurance Co., Farm Bureau Life Insurance Co., Columbus, Ohio

copies

August 3, 1953

Mr. Murray D. Lincoln, President
Farm Bureau Insurance Companies
246 North High St.
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Mr. Lincoln:

My warmest praises for your Angigonish speech.

I wish we could have as President of the United States a man who thinks as you do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

File Community Org. Proj 8/19/66

Self-Help Struggle

Dixie Negroes Start Co-Ops to Break Their Dependence on Whites

Poor People's Corp. Markets Dresses, Candles; Jobless Workers Build 'Strike City'

Supermarket Plan Stagnates

By NEIL A. MAXWELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JACKSON, Miss.—Seldom has a more unlikely business venture got off the ground.

It's headquartered in the back bedroom of a rented frame cottage. Its chief executive makes his rounds between office, warehouse, and retail outlet on a shabby white Honda motorcycle, the corporate books strapped to its seat. The company's nearly 200 employes, working in 15 branches scattered over Mississippi, sometimes take home less than $5 a week and rarely approach the $1.25-an-hour Federal minimum wage.

But the employes don't complain. They own the company, Poor People's Corp.—a Negro cooperative that is only one of dozens quietly springing up across Dixie these days to help break Negroes' dependence on a white-run economy. For many Negroes, the co-op is one concrete manifestation of "black power," the idea, sometimes rather vaguely defined, of Negro independence from whites.

Some of the groups adhere strictly to the dictionary definition of a co-op as a business owned by its customers. Included are a loan company and a gasoline marketing venture that have been started lately. Other "co-ops" are employe-owned businesses in which a few women, for example, pool their time and talent to make candles or to market fruitcakes by mail order.

Most of the co-ops are shaky, loose-knit affairs with management and capital problems that would drive conventional businesses into bankruptcy. But the co-ops somehow survive, and if they spread, civil rights authorities believe, they could become important tools for achieving gains now assured Negroes by law but difficult to attain in practice.

Seeking $7.5 Million

"There's a tremendous interest developing in co-ops because of growing desperation by Negroes over their economic situation," says Al Ulmer, who has helped start several co-ops as a staffer for the Southern Regional Council (SRC). The Atlanta-based human rights organization is making the rounds of philanthropic foundations to try to raise $7.5 million for a five-year program to organize new co-ops and nurse them through their first year. It hopes to establish a central co-op advisory service with mobile units that would go into the field with advice on how to start co-ops and keep them running.

Despite formidable obstacles, the Negro co-ops sometimes become solid businesses. At a frame cottage in the Negro quarter of Lafayette, La., the Rev. A. J. McKnight, director of Southern Consumers Cooperative, tells how his group's assets have risen to more than $200,000 from less than $25,000 two years ago. Membership has grown to more than 2,000 from 600. To join, each member pays $5, which goes into an education fund, and pledges to invest $300, generally at the rate of $1 a month. That money becomes capital for the co-op's two ventures, a small loan company and a bakery.

The co-op's sales manager, Alfred McZeal, a former janitor at a McCrory's store, says his sales crew is signing up between 20 and 50 new members a month. There are other benefits besides providing loans to Negroes at much lower interest rates than elsewhere, and opening jobs at the bakery, he says. About 50 members who grow pecans, for example, sell part of their output to the bakery, which makes fruitcakes.

Deep South civil rights struggles are being fought increasingly on economic grounds, civil rights leaders say, and they think that thriving co-ops could, in many disputes, prove efficient weapons to tip victory into the hands of Negro forces.

The Strike City Story

A co-op may make it possible, for example, for striking Negro plantation tractor drivers at the cooperative community of Strike City, Miss., to weather the loss of their jobs. They walked off in May last year complaining that their employer wouldn't pay the minimum wage. To build new homes (they had lived on the plantation), the drivers organized a co-op, financed by contributions from civil rights sympathizers. In constructing their houses, the drivers learned how to make kitchen cabinets, and "we're now trying to set up a cabinet-making co-op to sell to other builders," says Frank Smith, who directed construction.

The co-op concept is playing a vital role at Freedom City, Miss., where 94 Negroes are settling down in 24 igloo-like plastic structures grouped on 400 acres of land the co-op is buying. The Negroes lost their jobs and homes to farm mechanization. Later they were evicted

Please Turn to Page 12, Column 1

Candle Co-Op Snuffed as Wax Flow Tops Cash Flow

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

ATLANTA, Ga.—The cooperative Vine City Candle Co. became so successful that it went temporarily out of business.

Started by three women, the co-op made colored candles by dropping crayons into the wax in milk-carton candle forms. A big Atlanta department store ordered 160 candles, a tremendous order for the women.

They used all the cash they had to buy supplies and were broke by the time they filled the order. "We were under the illusion that 'cash on delivery' meant that you got your money when you delivered the goods," says one of the women. But partly because the women neglected to attach an invoice to the candles, payment was delayed five weeks, during which the co-op was idle.

Self-Help Effort: Dixie Negroes Launch Co-Op Business Ventures

Continued From Page One

from an Air Force base where they tried to set up housekeeping.

"The whole thing is a cooperative development," says 21-year-old Isaac Foster, a Negro helping to plan Freedom City's future. Home-building and farming have been undertaken as cooperative enterprises. A wheat-growing venture brought in the group's only substantial income a few months ago ($2,000). Now, foot-high soybean plants wave in the warm Southern breeze on 375 acres, and this crop should fetch considerably more money when harvested.

Freedom City residents are aware, though, that they can't support 94 people on 375 acres for long. So they are thinking of setting up co-op industrial ventures, perhaps a sewing project or a frog farm—"unless we can get an industry to move in here," says Mr. Foster.

Southern white reaction to the co-ops is mixed. When the co-ops don't intrude on their way of life, whites wish them well or ignore them. Otherwise, they complain. Mrs. Mary Chandler, head of the Mt. Nebo Sewing Center Cooperative near Prairie, Miss., says that "Every time I go to town the white folks ask how we're doing and wish us luck." But a co-op worker at McComb, Miss., says: "The whites don't like it a bit—for every woman who comes to work out here, that's one more gone from a white woman's kitchen."

A white shipper of sweet potatoes at Sunset, La., grumbles about the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative, Inc., which competes with him. "When the U.S. Government goes into competition with me, I don't like it, especially when I pay taxes for them to fi[illegible] [illegible]." He refers to the co-op's application for a Government loan.

For Negroes in the Deep South, there are key advantages to doing business the co-op way. A co-op can get started on a minuscule scale, and if it flops, nobody is out much money. The capital investment in a candle-making co-op being organized at West Point, Miss., by Poor People's Corp. was only $200. The most lavishly financed of the 15 Poor People's Corp. ventures is a dress factory in an abandoned plant at Canton, Miss., started with $1,000 and later bolstered by another $800.

A co-op can last, without sinking, longer than an ordinary business; its members are ready to accept reduced wages without quitting. "We are supposed to be making $20 a week, but since we started back in March, we've only made that once," says Mrs. Steve Lewis, manager of the Beartown Sewing Cooperative near McComb. "We owe me $54 in back pay," she quips.

"Garbo" Hats

Mrs. Lewis worked for a white family 21 years before she quit in May to work full-time at the co-op. She says much of its revenue from the sale of dresses goes to pay operating expenses such as rent, $30 a month; electricity, around $7; and $6-a-month payments on a used sewing machine purchased for $65. The co-op owns five other obsolete sewing machines that were given away by a nearby knitting mill.

The McComb Leather Cooperative, however, is distributing sizable payments to its members—by their standards, anyway. Mrs. Lila Mae Wells, manager, says that one memorable week members got almost $30 each. A full-time maid in McComb usually earns only $15 a week or so (plus lunch). The co-op of five Negro women and two men makes items such as hip-pouch purses and floppy "Greta Garbo" hats.

Locating in buildings that nobody else wants helps some co-ops to trim spending. The Mt. Nebo sewing co-op uses an abandoned, paint-peeling farm house on the edge of a cotton field down a dusty road from Prairie. The rent: $5 a month.

Customer loyalty helps the co-ops survive economic hardships. The Mid-South Oil Consumers Cooperative, which sells petroleum products in three counties east of Memphis, Tenn., counts on this loyalty to keep it in business even though its customers can buy the same gasoline as cheap or cheaper from a white co-op that sells the Negroes their supplies.

Oil Co-Op Expands

Formed last spring because many white service stations refused to serve Negroes at all, the Negro co-op operates one gasoline bulk plant, and pumps at seven country stores. It has 150 tanks on loan to farmers; they are filled by trucks from the bulk plant. "Things are going so well we're planning to add 20 more pumps," says James Johnson, manager. "It's a little slow during the summer, about 6,000 gallons a month, but we'll pick up to 18,000 as soon as harvesting starts next month."

Officials of the People's Enterprise, Inc., co-op at Lafayette, La., credit members' pride with its remarkably low loan delinquency record. The loan company has handed out more than $75,000 in two years of existence, but not a single loan has gone sour. A couple of current ones are, however, in precarious shape because borrowers are on the brink of bankruptcy.

Some co-ops try to market their products among Negro and white civil rights advocates outside the South. "Our goods are made mostly for a Northern market and are Northern price-oriented," says Miss Doris Derby, production director for Poor People's Corp. Such goods include women's bags priced up to $22.50, dresses to $10, and suede hats to $12.50. They are sold through college campus representatives and some New York stores — Khadejha Designs, Kiki Boutique, and Outrageous.

Supporters of the Freedom Democratic Party in New York and Kansas City have raised nearly $3,000 to help build a new plant for the [illegible]una Sewing Cooperative in Mi[illegible]. Now housed in a rickety church building with a rusty tin roof, the dress and toy making co-op has bought an acre of tree-shaded land next door on which to put up a 40-foot by 60-foot concrete building.

A problem for some co-ops is lack of capital. Some have been able to borrow from Federal anti-poverty sources, but co-op directors say Government loans are hard to come by when needed.

At Sunset, La., 375 Negro sweet potato farmers who started the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative counted on a $68,000 Farmers Home Administration Loan to tide them over harvest. Not until early this month did they get it. "We just almost had to shut down before the money came through — the harvest was in full swing and we were broke," says Wordy Guillory, manager. The co-op applied for the loan in April.

"Every Imaginable Problem"

The Grand Marie group was able to borrow some money from a civil rights organization to stay in business. "If we had to shut down, we would have lost all our prestige, and our members would have had to go back to the white shippers who have been exploiting them all these years," Mr. Guillory says.

"We ran into every imaginable problem," puts in John Zippert, a civil rights worker helping the farmers. "At one point when we were getting desperate, the Government people told us they couldn't talk to us because they had to leave for a meeting on how to expedite poverty program loans!"

Jesse Morris, the Honda-riding head of Poor People's, waxes bitter over the alleged ineffectiveness of Federal assistance. "They are planning to spend $75,000 to make a study of whether or not our type of operation is economically feasible," he says indignantly. "If they would give us the $75,000, it would make it feasible."

While co-ops are easy to envision, getting members together and actually starting one is quite a bit more difficult. Last November, Floyd McKissick, national chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, talked of a chain of 50 co-op supermarkets that would be built in North Carolina "within a couple of months." So far, the only concrete start has been a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity to spend $250,000 for one supermarket to demonstrate its feasibility—and no action has been taken on that.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

COOPERATIVES General

REGARDING

Transfer of funds from Target Areas Service, Inc. to Operation Self Help

DATE

4-17-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

File on Tennessee Council on Human Relations

See Co-Ops General

JLc

COMMITTE ON LOW INCOME COOPERATIVES

Room 400, 59 East Van Buren Street

Chicago, Illinois 60605

May 21, 1968

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The National Institute on Cooperatives among low-income people has taken place and a series of recommendations were passed regarding the intensification of cooperative development. Monsignor O'Rourke has made a fine summary of the institute which we are enclosing.

It is urgent to meet together and act upon these to chart the future role of the Committee on Low-Income Cooperatives. It has been proposed that representatives of a cooperative in a low-income area be involved in any future activity. It is my assumption that implementation of such action should take place at our next meeting. It is suggested that each organization bring along to the meeting a representative of a cooperative from a low-income area.

In order to establish the best date for the next meeting, please return the attached form by May 31.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip J. Dodge
Assistant to the President

PJD:mt

Encl.

TO: Committee on Low-Income Cooperatives
Room 400, 59 E. Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois

Attn: Mr. Philip Dodge

SUBJECT:

CLIC meeting in Chicago 10:00 a.m.

Most convenient dates are:

June 14____ 17____ 18____

July 8____ 9____ 10____

We accept the suggestion to bring a representative of a cooperative from a low-income area _____

We plan to bring _____

from _____

Topics we suggest for the agenda are: (Please add to the list)

- Implementation of Institute recommendations
-
-
-

Name_____

Organization_____

Date:_____

5/21/68

SUMMARY OF INSTITUTE ON COOPERATIVES FOR LOW-INCOME PEOPLE
by
Monsignor Edward W. O'Rourke

During the past two days persons interested in cooperatives among low-income people have had an extremely useful exchange of views. At times the discussions were somewhat heated. This is due to the intensity of the concern of all those who participated in this conference, and also to the fact that the participants have widely different experiences and points of view.

Among the participants are some who have been engaged in cooperative organization and administration for many years. Others of the participants are expert in the problems of low-income people, and some are leaders of civil rights groups. These latter groups may not have had extensive direct contact with cooperatives.

During the exchange of views a challenge was presented to leaders of the cooperative movement by those who have more direct contact with low-income people and the civil rights movement. In regard to certain of the assumptions and the policies of cooperatives, and most particularly regarding the pace we have set for ourselves in making the cooperative a means of assistance to low-income people.

I repeat, I feel that this discussion has been extremely useful. It became more apparent as the program and the informal discussions unfolded, that there are legitimate differences of view. Those who would urge extremely prompt results from cooperatives have been reminded that cooperatives require a certain degree of education and of participation by members, that cannot be accomplished in a very short time. On the other hand rightfully do the representatives of the poor urge all co-op leaders to begin promptly and to act vigorously on the issue at hand.

Also in the area of self-help, differences of opinion have come to light. Among us who are old-timers in the cooperative movement, self-help is our first and most treasured rule. On the other hand, we have been reminded that it is not unreasonalbe for cooperatives, particularly those who serve low-income people, to seek financial assistance from foundations, governments and other sources. The leader of the traditional cooperative was warned, however, that if too much dependence on such outside help occurs, the essential character of the cooperative as an instrument of self-help may be destroyed.

There have been some differences of opinion, too, among us about the extent to which a cooperative or a group of leaders such as ourselves should be concerned with the economic services of such an organization, and to what extent we should be involved in political action, -- in lobbying to help to bring about more assistance by our governments -- state and federal -- to meet the needs both of cooperatives and of low-income people.

In all fairness, we must recall that in addition to the description of the theory of cooperatives, presentations have been made at this conference by persons who have been directly engaged in the formation and strengthening of cooperatives among low-income people. I am confident that as the proceedings of this conference are ready by participants and others that the experiences of these people, their successes and their problems, will prove a valuable guide to all interested in this technique.

I think that those of us who helped to plan this conference must admit that we made some mistakes in our planning. We have failed to clearly make up our minds and communicate to those who have been invited to this conference, precisely what group was to be served at this specific conference, to what extent it was to be a meeting by leaders of low-income people or to what extent it was intended as a meeting of low-income people. Perhaps this is one of the sources of the conflict and difference of opinion which I've just described.

The resolutions that were adopted at this final plenary session make it abundantly clear to ourselves and to others that most of the participants are strongly convinced that cooperatives are an important tool in the effort to enable low-income people to better their economic welfare. It is equally apparent that there is a strong desire by most of us to have conferences that definitely will be for low-income people to which the majority of the participants will be of the low-income group.

It is also apparent, I think, from the resolutions that the majority of participants are convinced that the needs of low-income peoples are so very urgent that we may not go on with "business as usual". We must stir ourselves and seek out diligently both private and governmental money and also personnel which will enable all of us and many of the groups we represent to move vigorously toward the goals about which we have spoken during these past two days.

It is my earnest hope, that as we conclude this conference and go back to our various communities, various organizations and various activities, that we will bear toward one another a spirit of good will and tolerance, that we will focus our attention on the great common concerns that should bind us together and resolve to negotiate and to dialogue about those issues in which we still have differences of opinion.

I should like to conclude my remarks with the story of the man who was considering with one of the members of his family the planting of a shade tree at his home. The other party reminded this man that it would take about 25 years before the shade tree would be of any use. The original proposal was that they would plant the tree next week. Upon averting to the fact that results would require 25 years, the man resolved to not wait until next week, but to plant the tree today.

To the extent that bonifide co-ops require organization, education, training, financing, structuring, and therefore, a certain amount of time, it becomes our duty not to wait until next week, but to begin today to move us toward the situation in which the cooperative movement will truly serve the needs of all our people, particularly those in low-income brackets whose needs are great.

- - -

COMMITTEE ON LOW-INCOME COOPERATIVES
Room 400 59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

June 6, 1968

To: Members of CLIC Committee

From: Phil Dodge, Cooperative League

Subject: Committee Meeting

A majority of those responding to our earlier memo were able to attend a meeting of the CLIC committee on JULY 10th in Chicago.

Therefore, the meeting will be held at United Airlines Lounge #1, O'Hare International Airport, starting at 10 AM, July 10th. Please let me know by use of the return postcard:

1. Whether or not you will be able to attend

2. If you cannot attend, the name of your designated alternate

3. The name of the person or persons from a low-income area who will attend with you or your alternate.

You will recall that it was the wishes of the New York institute registrants that low-income persons be specifically invited to participate in the planning of the next action by the CLIC committee. In the event that such a person can only attend the Chicago meeting if his or her way is paid, please let me know and we will try to arrange for this expense to be met from New York institute proceeds.

The suggested agenda for the July 10th Committee Meeting is enclosed. Please give me your suggestions or comments on this agenda, based on your observation of the New York institute or other developments.

PJD:mt

PROPOSED AGENDA for meeting
Committee on Cooperatives in Low-Income Areas

10 AM, July 10, 1968
United Airlines Lounge #1
O'Hare International Airport, Chicago

1. Review and discussions of reactions of New York institute.

2. Financial report of New York institute

3. Planning for regional institute (s) in 1968:

   A. Location and timing
   B. Program topics
   C. Duration
   D. Participants
   E. Financing of speakers
   F. Transportation for low-income participants
   G. Other costs
   H. Administrative costs

4. Joint efforts by CLIC member organizations to seek funding of efforts to develop cooperatives in low-income areas. What has been done, what can be done.

5. Other proposals

6/6/68

June 6, 1968

I (we) will attend CLIC committee meeting July 10 at O'Hare Airport ___

I (we) will not attend CLIC committee meeting July 10 at O'Hare Airport _____

Name _____

Organization _____

FL
JW
mJ - file

HILTON HEAD FISHING COOPERATIVE, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 1067
HILTON HEAD ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA 29928

REQUEST TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION

The Hilton Head Fishing Cooperative, Incorporated, requests a grant of $46,033.00 from the Field Foundation to expand its present operation at Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. The expansion of the Co-op would include an addition to the present plant which would provide more space for expanded operation, the purchasing of additional equipment, and the hiring of additional workers on a permanent basis.

In January, 1967, ten low-income blak men of Hilton Head Island, all with previous experience and/or interest in the fishing industry, came together and formed a cooperative for the purpose of catching and marketing seafoods with the initial step being shrimp. The formation of the co-op was inspired by a feasibility study that was done by Continental-Allied, Inc., 1035 30th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A loan of $66,290.00 was obtained from the Farmers Home Administration for the initial construction with sufficient funds included to begin operation. The co-op opened the first of October, 1968, but after two months of operation, we have found that the present facilities are inadequate to handle the volume of business that is anticipated in the future. There is also a

desperate need for additional equipment, and no funds were included in the loan for the hiring of needed personnel.

Low-income residents of the Island have always strived toward self-reliance and independence, even years before the bridge which connects Hilton Head Island to the mainland, was constructed. During that time, the population of the Island was predominantly black, and people depended on crops grown on small acreage but mostly on shrimp, fish, crabs and oysters which they caught and sold at a minimal price. After construction of the bridge, the black low income people of the island found themselves caught up in a rapidly growing tourist area with no substantial means of earning a living that had real hope for the future. The fishing cooperative is the beginning of a dream that a large seafood industry could be established on the island owned, operated and controlled by the people of the island.

During the short peiod of time that the co-op has been in operation, one can hear remarks like "We are proud to have the fishing co-op. For the first time we have something that is 'ours.'" There has already been marked improvementsxin the living conditions of some members of the co-op. One member has renovated his home and two others have installed deep wells and indoor plumbing in their homes. The co-op, even with its limited operation, has provided work for some of the high school

REQUEST TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION

students which has enabled them to remain in school more days per week.

The co-op is chartered by the State of South Carolina and has license required by the state for operation.

The need of funds to expand the Hilton Head Fishing Cooperative, Inc. during the "off-season" is crucial. If these funds could be obtained by the first of the year, 1969, most of the work could be done by the members themselves and thus save the cost of labor which is not included in the amount estimated.

At present membership in the co-op is ten, but as the business expands, we hope that new members will join. The only requirement is that a member must own his vessel. It is our desire to establish a credit union through the fishing cooperative.

A grant of $46,033.00 from the Field Foundation would assist greatly the low-income people of Hilton Head Island toward self-reliance and self-pride.

A visit from a representative or representatives from the Field Foundation would be welcome at any time.

Submitted by: _____
President

_____
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachments: List of Members
Estimated Budget For Expansion

December 6, 1968

HILTON HEAD FISHING COOPERATIVE, INC.

List Of Members

Mr. David Jones, President, 41; mechanic-fisherman, trained at A & T College, Greensboro, North Carolina, member of the Beaufort County Board of Directors

Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr., 33, Secretary-Treasurer; 3 years at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama with major in social service, community development study in Puerto Rico, two years with local Office of Economic Opportunity, ten years of fishing experience.

Mr. Thomas Bryan, 32, Mangger, Junior High School, lifelong fisherman.

Mr. Jacob Driessen, 43, Vice President - Lifelong fisherman.

Mr. Arthur Stewart, 37, bricklayer-fisherman.

Mr. Henry Driessen, 28; fisherman-heavy-duty equipment operator.

Mr. Freddie Chisolm, 56; Lifelong; built his own vessel, Founding Father of the organization.

Mr. Abraham Gadson, 68; lifelong fisherman.

Mr. James Cleveland, 47, retired government worker on disability, was part-time fisherman while emplpyed by government

December 6, 1968

HILTON HEAD FISHING COOPERATIVE, INC.
ESTIMATED BUDGET FOR EXPANSION BASED ON FEASIBILITY STUDY BY OEO

EQUIPMENT		
Rubber Tire Wagon to transport shrimp	$ 400.00	
Emergency Bilge Pump	125.00	
Battery Charger	195.00	
Tools	145.00	
Chain Hoist for Engine & Transmission repair	318.00	
Office Equipment	1,000.00	
Chlorinated Apparatus & Portable Steam Cleaner	1,225.00	
Grading Machine	3,500.00	
Retail Counter	350.00	
Deveining and Peeling Machine	2,035.00	
Additional Space Needed	5,400.00	
Total Equipment		$14,693.00
PERSONNEL (Figures are based on a year-round operation)		
Talley Clerk	4,200.00	
Grader	4,200.00	
Assistant	3,840.00	
Material Handler	3,840.00	
Social Security & Other Fringe Benefits @10%	1,680.00	
Assistant Manager ($85 per week)	4,080.00	
1 Secretary-Bookkeeper	6,000.00	
Inventory of Supplies and Training Of Personnel	3,500.00	
Total Personnel		$31,340.00
GRAND TOTAL		46,033.00

12/6/68

Bluffton Oyster Coop, Inc.
Rte. 1 Box 240
Goethe Road
Bluffton, S.C.
Aug. 11, 1969

SRC
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir,

This letter is to ask your immediate assistance in securing funds for the Bluffton Oyster Cooperative.

The Bluffton Oyster Co-Op consist of 27 members and have applied to FHA for a loan in the amount of $100,000.00. $75,000. for purchase of property, oyster leases, and up dated equipment. The remainder is for operational funds.

FHA has advised the Board of Directors indirectly, that OEO has not allocated funds to FHA for Co-Op loans for fiscal year 1970.

This Co-Op is a member of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the Federation does not have funds available at this time.

The Oyster season opens September 15, 1969 and all persons in the Beaufort County area will be in desperate need of employment.

Your speedy reply to this matter will be highly appreciated.

The field staff person assigned to this project is Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr. Office telephone 803 785-2989.

Yours truly,

Joseph Frasca - President

Mathew Stoney - Sec.-Treasurer

air mail special September 24, 1969

Messrs. Joseph Fraser, President
Matthew Stoney, Secretary-Treasurer
Bluffton Oyster Cooperative, Inc.
Route 1, Box 240
Goethe Road
Bluffton, South Carolina

Dear Messrs.Fraser and Stoney:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in responding to your request. While we had no funds of our own available for this purpose, we had some hope that a small foundation in New York could be of assistance to you. That foundation has taken an unusually long time in responding to our inquiry in your behalf. To our great disappointment, the response was negative.

Do let us know if you have found some other solution to your problems.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

January 21, 1970

Mr. Bernard Broussard
P. O. Box 192
Franklin, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Broussard:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in responding to your letter. It was largely delayed because of the new tax bill which has made our own financial situation so uncertain. We still do not know what size operation we will have in the future, or what funds will be available to us. However, I am interested in knowing more about your work and your current needs.

Frankly, we would prefer, if money is available, to provide funds for some of your immediate program needs rather than for your publication program. We would, however, not rule this out entirely. Other possibilities, regardless of our financial means, would be editorial assistance and off-set printing, if this is still a need of your group.

Let me hear from you. And, again, my sincere apologies.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Sept. 3, 1969

Dear Sir:

Our group has been active in human relations and civil rights work for several years. We are operating a credit union for poor people, a vegatable cooperative comprised of poor blacks, two day care centers in rural areas, and the first Single Dwelling Rent Supplement Program in the U.S.A. We are also working closely with farm laborers through Mr. H.L. Mitchell of New Orleans, and al so work closely with anti-poverty programs. Now we are hoping to expand our field of operations and hope SRC can be of assistance to us.

This is our plan: to form a small publishing company that will (1)publish material dealing with black history in Louisiana(2) to discover, encourage and develope young Negro writers, poets, etc. We plan our first book to deal with the history of black people in Louisiana. As you know, such an operation is quite complex and expensive. We are starting literally on a shoestring and need all the help we can get. Is it possible to get a grant from SRC to help defray some of the cost of the first publication? Any amount, no matter how small, would be a great help. Perhaps SRC could do a feature article on our operation, or give us some free publicity or maybe even do our printing for us at a nominal rate. Thanking you in advance for any help you can give us, I am,

Sincerely,

Bernard Broussard

Bernard Broussard
P.O. Box 192
Franklin, Louisiana

File – CORA

Self-help breaks the poverty cycle in Appalachia

Ben Poage

Sulphur Gap Chair and Wood Works Company near Jackson, Kentucky, produces traditional hand-crafted chairs with woven hickory bark bottoms. All the workers are within walking distance of the industry. (Photo by Kenneth Murray)

In the waning months of 1969, a struggling group of low-income East Kentuckians in the hard-core poverty counties of Wolfe and Breathitt needed help. They turned to the Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA), which extended aid through its self-help human/economic development task force. CORA provided staff and developmental costs for the Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation, a local economic development company.

The results today appear encouraging. GREDC, in the past three and one-half years, with the churches' help, has created four new local businesses with the potential of reversing the pattern of outmigration and breaking the cycle of poverty in that remote and difficult area of Appalachia. Independent, self-determined enterprises are now owned and operated by local residents.

Mr. Poage, a minister of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), was director of the Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation in Jackson, Kentucky, and currently is director of human/economic development for The Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA). An earlier article by Mr. Poage appeared in the May, 1971, issue of *World Call*.

CORA believes the Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation enterprises have shown that community economic development, using local resources and skills, is a heretofore ignored aspect of regional economics. It is an aspect that enhances and develops the local person, allowing for indigenous development of business and industry alongside the government-supported growth center factories.

Community development projects, such as this in Appalachia, focus the concerns of the church toward long-range solutions to human need on an economic base. They offer a platform from which poor people can begin to help themselves and thereby alleviate the misery of poverty, paternalism and colonial domination in their lives.

Near Bethany, Kentucky, on a winding rural road two miles off state highway 15, the fifty members of the Kentucky Mountains Feeder Pig Cooperative held a gala opening of their new building in mid-April, this year, complete with sandwiches, soft drinks and door prizes.

The three-year-old cooperative had reason to celebrate. It was organized to help its members market their pigs better, purchase feed and medicine

more cheaply and show others in the area, especially low-income farmers, that this can be a profitable business. Plenty of low-income families live in Wolfe and Breathitt counties, the section of eastern Kentucky from which the cooperative draws its members. Many families have so little cash coming in that they raise as much of their food as possible; it's not uncommon for the only "store-bought" item at a meal to be a soft drink.

Feeder pigs are young hogs weighing up to forty pounds. When they reach this size, which takes about ten weeks, northern growers will buy them for finishing out to butchering size. One sow, which usually has two litters a year, can easily bring its owner $100 or more a year clear profit, if he joins the cooperative and follows its suggestions on feeding and care.

Before the existence of the cooperative, farmers had to sell their feeder pigs to "pen-hookers" who often doubled their money on pigs purchased in the area. Until the opening of the new building, Kentucky Mountains members' pigs were picked up by the cooperative's truck (procured through funds received from the Reconciliation program of the Disciples of Christ) which then delivered them to markets in Winchester and Lexington. Now pigs can be brought to the facility for sorting and holding in the front half of the building, and the purchaser's truck can pick them up from this central location.

The back half of the building is a feed store, open three days a week to any farmer in the area (not just cooperative members). It sells reasonably-priced feed—for pigs and dogs—and medicine. Cooperative members receive a percentage of the total amount of their purchases back at the end of the year, the percentage depending upon how much the store has sold during the year.

The cooperative also offers its members good breeding stock to elevate the bloodline of their herd—some of it donated by Heifer Project, Inc., of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Chairs from the gap

Four young Appalachians turn out hand-crafted quality rocking chairs, ladderbacks, children's rockers and stools in the small Sulfur Gap Chair and Woodworks Company near Jackson (Breathitt County), Kentucky. They have little trouble selling all they produce of that sturdy, handsome furniture (about 800 chairs a year).

The men, who took a sixteen-week on-the-job training course under a Department of Labor program to learn woodworking techniques, are all Appalachians who once worked in the north but were delighted to have a chance to come back to the mountains once employment was available to them. The factory is located in a rented building located on a good, useable, year-round road. The surrounding area has an abundance of the hard woods, chiefly walnut, which are used for the furniture.

In the two and a half years it has been in operation, there has been no turnover of personnel at all. The venture is a profit-sharing one which the workers will eventually own and control.

Most of the funding for the project came from the Presbyterian Church, through CORA, and from Office of Economic Opportunity craft training funds.

Rabbits, rabbits everywhere

Incorporated in November of last year, the Breathitt Rabbit Producers Corporation is about to get off the ground and into the cages of the building which the cooperative is now constructing. There is a

The Kentucky Mountains Feeder Pig marketing facility in Wolfe County, Kentucky, home of the Disciples' Hazel Green Academy, provides a marketing service for pigs produced by the sixty members of this self-help co-op. (Photo by Kenneth Murray)

lively market for rabbits from the area as experimental animals for national laboratories or for meat in urban areas.

Once the cooperative corporation is in operation, members will raise rabbits until they are weaned (at about eight weeks of age) and then deliver them to the corporation facility for holding until they can be guaranteed to be free of disease and have reached the age and size desired. The corporation expects to be able to guarantee to its purchasers a steady supply of somewhere between 12,000 and 25,000 rabbits a year, once it is fully operational.

Rabbit-raising is a traditional mountain activity, and many local families will probably be eager to participate. A family which has 100 pens each producing 30 rabbits a year is expected to be able to net $3,000 a year. In addition, members will be given a percentage of the profits at the end of the year in proportion to the number of rabbits they have delivered.

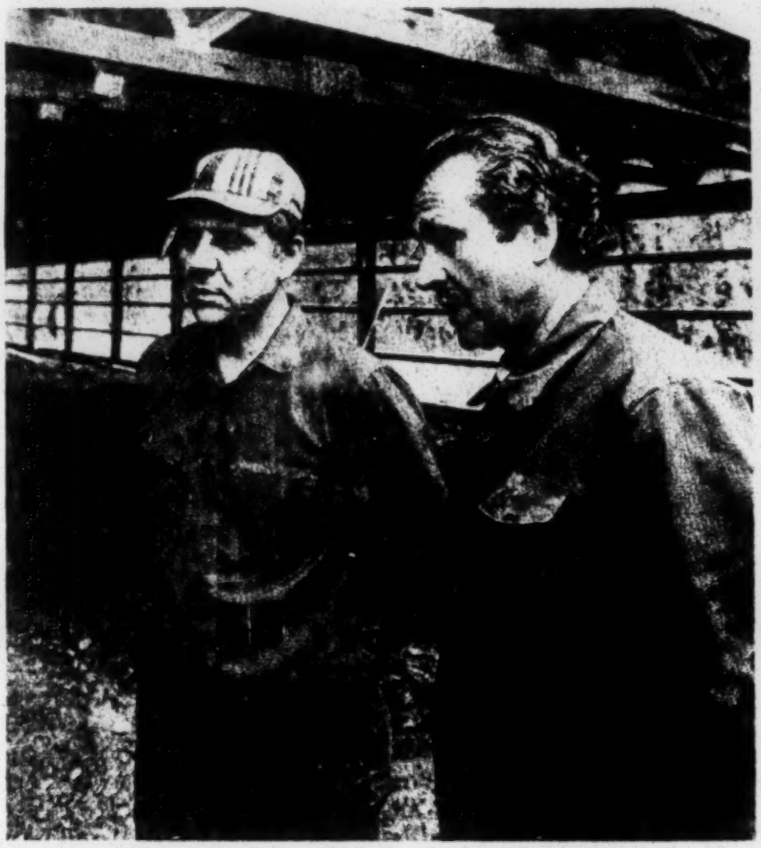
The Mt. TOP experience

The biggest project the Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation is involved in is just about to start construction. It will be the Mountain Timber Owners Processing Corporation, or Mt. TOP, Inc., a sawmill near Jackson, Kentucky, which will employ forty to fifty workers and will be a twin mill, processing both high-grade and low-grade lumber. The mill is expected to be in operation eight months after construction starts in the spring of 1974 and should have gross receipts of $750,000 to $1,000,000 a year.

The funding for the site and the building was procured from government agencies and local bankers (through a local development fund); hardest to obtain has been the high-risk working capital. The United Christian Missionary Society has loaned Mt. TOP $25,000 of this high-risk capital. The site is a 22½-acre plot near a spur of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad; already on the site is a residence that will be converted into offices for the mill.

The sawmill hopes for a mix of at least 50 per cent high-grade lumber that is more profitable to cut. It can make a profit, however, with 40 per cent high-grade to 60 per cent low. Low-grade lumber and high-grade scrap can be used for pulp for the frames of upholstered furniture or for industrial pallet parts. Bark can be sold for mulch.

The sawmill should have a great impact on the area, not only because it will employ so many workers but because it will spur logging operations. These mean more employment and may attract furniture factories or pallet assembly plants to the area. The feasibility study estimates that for every employee in the mill, one and one-half will be involved in logging. Small logging businesses may very well grow up in the wake of the factory.



Wayne Sheffel (right) is the manager of the Breathitt Rabbit Producers Corporation, a profit-sharing enterprise owned by a number of local rabbit producers. He talks with Wesley Stoltsfus, chairman of the corporation's board of directors, about the new marketing facility being constructed. (Photo by Kenneth Murray)

Developing participation

Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation, the guiding spirit behind the four enterprises, wanted to suggest by its name how important local participation would be. Its purpose is to help establish new businesses owned, managed and operated by local people, a goal whose importance for Breathitt and Wolfe counties, where jobs are at a great premium, can hardly be overestimated.

The Commission on Religion in Appalachia's relationship to GREDC is indirect rather than direct. It has offered technical assistance, loans and subsidies and has also helped Grass Roots get all of these from government agencies, universities and foundations. CORA does not fund GREDC directly, but many of CORA's denominations contribute to its budget. For example, the Reconciliation program of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) has contributed $6,500 to GREDC in the past two years.

As it matures, the future looks bright for GREDC, its projects and its people. This is the model to which CORA proudly points as true grass roots development in Appalachia.

Self-Help
Human/Economic
Development
Task Force

File

THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION IN APPALACHIA, INC.

CORA

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REV. BEN POAGE
Director
864 Weisgarber Road
Knoxville, TN 37919
615/584-6133

January 22, 1974

Mr. George H. Esser, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear George;

I'm enclosing, for your information, a copy of the Self-Help Human/Economic Development proposal and transmittal letter which went to Rod Petrey of the Clark Foundation earlier this month.

I realize that, from time to time, you do cross paths with Petrey and felt that it would be good if you knew what we were asking them for. I would also appreciate any comments you might have on the proposal and/or ideas about other places we might try to market it.

I enjoyed being with you in New York at the last NSF Board meeting.

The best for '74.

Most sincerely,

Ben

Ben Poage
Director
Human/Economic Development

CC: Max Glenn

BP/ct

THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION IN APPALACHIA, INC.

MAX E. GLENN
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864 Weisgarber Road, N.W.
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January 8, 1974

Mr. Roderick N. Petrey
Vice President
The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Petrey:

I am enclosing three (3) copies of a proposal for funding the work of our Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force, and five (5) specific community economic Development (CED) corporations in Central Appalachia, during 1974.

This proposal comes out of our work in this area for the past five years and represents a closer and stronger supportative relationship between the Task Force and the CED corporations, which has been achieved during '73. You have visited some of these groups and understand first hand the necessity of the planning, organizational, technical, training and funding assistance the Self-Help Task Force can and must provide.

This proposal requests a total of $86,000 -- $36,000 to fund the supportative assistance role of the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force, and $50,000 for vital staff and staff-related support of the five (5) CED corporations. These groups met together in December and asked Ben Poage to write their corporate section of the proposal reflecting the following specific needs for 1974 (page 3 of CED proposal):

. Appalachia CDC, Appalachia, Virginia	$ 4,000
. Frakes Feeder Pig Cooperative, Wofford, Kentucky	8,500
. Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation, Jackson, Kentucky	15,000
. Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation, Clairfield, Tennessee	7,500
. Scott-Morgan CDC	15,000

RESEARCH PLANNING EDUCATION SERVICE

uniting to fulfill the church's mission in Appalachia

American Baptist Convention • American Lutheran Church • Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) • Church of God • Church of the Brethren • Episcopal Church • Friends United Meeting • Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) • Lutheran Church in America • Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod • Mennonite Central Committee • Presbyterian Church, U.S. • Reformed Church of America • Roman Catholic Church • United Church of Christ • United Methodist Church • United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. • Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc. • Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. • National Catholic Rural Life Conference • National Council of the Churches of Christ, U.S.A., the ten state councils of churches, and Christian Associates of Southwest Pennsylvania.

Each one of these CED corporations has either developed from or is now supported as a ministry of "the church" in direct response to the elevation of human need and the development of economic empowerment. Yet, it is beyond the resources of the church to continue the necessary development support these corporations must have for survival and eventual victory.

We feel these symbols of effort represents a powerful force for Appalachian self-development. Therefore, in all humility, we now invite you to join us in this struggle; our hope for freedom and dignity.

Sincerely yours,

Max E. Glenn

Max E. Glenn
Executive Director

MEG/jl
Encls.

cc: Ben Poage

SELF-HELP
HUMAN/ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
AND
COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS
GRANT REQUEST

SUBMITTED TO:
EDNA McCONNELL CLARK FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

BY: REVEREND BEN POAGE, DIRECTOR
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THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION IN APPALACHIA, INC.
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SELF-HELP

HUMAN/ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

PROPOSAL INDEX

A Proposal for the Funding of the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force.

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1. Task Force Membership List
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SELF-HELP

HUMAN/ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

I. THE PROBLEM

Over one-third of Appalachia's 18,000,000 people earn an income of less than $3,000 a year, and two-thirds of the families earn less than $6,000. The mountain's young people are rapidly leaving the area for the increased opportunity of northern industrial cities. The widespread use of strip-mining, clear-cutting and speculative land development has led to the deterioration of Appalachia's environmental resources to the advantage of only a select few.

Wolfe and Breathitt Counties, in Kentucky, are prime examples of the depressed economic condition found throughout Central Appalachia. In the latest census, these counties were among the fifteen poorest in the nation. Per capita income was $1,119 in Breathitt County, with 55% of all families having income below the poverty level as compared to $1,083 in Wolfe County, with an even higher figure of 59% of all families having an income under the poverty level. Even worse, economically speaking, the median family income of those persons "up the hollows"--those not touched at all by county seat evidences of economic affluences--was rarely more than $1,000 per annum--and in many cases, families existed on home gardens and food stamps with no cash income at all.

Welfare, food stamps and other governmental aid programs cannot, by their very nature, begin the task of regionwide development necessary for improving the lives of the Appalachian residents.

In the past, huge amounts of federal money have been funded into the region, but little has trickled down to meet the real human development needs of the region. Government programs are traditionally acted out along brick and mortar and/or service lines, no matter what the original intent of the program might have been.

Regardless of individual income, however, Appalachia will remain an impoverished area without the parallel development of individual opportunity, ownership and decision-making power. At this point, native Appalachians have little opportunity to develop their own resources, human or economic. The scattered nature of the population makes the development of any widespread social action exceedingly hard. Jobs, provided by the predominant mining industry, have not contributed to the overall development of either the Appalachian worker or the region itself. In essence, the right to ownership and the right of individual liberty are meaningless in the face of an externally-controlled economy. And thus, the traditional and social education that historically enables Americans to choose or alter their life style has yet to be felt.

If Appalachian men and women are ever to develop individual or community business opportunities, their success will depend on the availability of good financial and technical assistance. Without such assistance, these attempts at self-development will surely fail.

II. THE PROPOSAL

The Commission on Religion in Appalachia is seeking the funds to support its Task Force on Self-Help Human/Economic Development for 1974.

Philosophy of CORA and the Self-Help Task Force

The Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA) is a non-profit organization established in 1966 by the seventeen largest national Christian denominations for the purpose of developing a coordinated approach to Appalachian development. CORA believes that only through internal organization and a philosophy of self-help will Appalachia achieve the freedom of choice necessary for vitality, and the autonomy necessary for pride that will promote functional redevelopment. Essentially, CORA wishes to act on the belief that increased participation by people is the key to changing the conditions under which many Appalachians live.

CORA hopes to accomplish this goal through local organization. In virtually every town, the church exists as a primary social institution, encompassing all aspects and ages of the community. Hence, the church offers, perhaps, the greatest potential for cohesive action with widespread results. Through the present framework of churches in the Appalachian communities, CORA can provide the social education, through the teaching and demonstration of problem-solving, which will act as a catalyst for Appalachia's own social action. However, CORA's purpose is in the development, implementation and self-direction of programs, rather than continued sponsorship.

Much of CORA's activity has been to help people find new ways of earning a reasonable income near home. At the same time, CORA initiated projects aimed at maintaining a sense of dignity and self-reliance among the people through its emphasis of local community control.

In 1968, CORA created the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force to assist Appalachian community groups to help themselves in developing meaningful economic alternatives to poverty and outmigration.

Self-Help Human/Economic Development is based on the timeless Christian principle of ministering to the whole person--fostering dignity and feeling of individual worth--through the building of individuals and groups toward eventual self-sufficiency. No government agency is currently functioning--any place in the region--based on this principle.

The Task Force objectives are based on the belief that human resources and the strengthening of the democratic institutions, experiences and political awareness which can develop them, are the foundations upon which genuine Community Economic Development (CED) must be built.

The Task Force seeks to achieve these objectives through providing the technical and resource mobilization assistance to Appalachian men and women so that they are able to develop their own economic alternatives. Therefore, the Task Force program emphasizes:

The creation of local jobs for local people
Mobilizing and creating capital at the community level
Creating and expanding the rural economic base
Assuring control of the economic base by community residents to insure economic justice

In 1972, the Self-Help Task Force, in addition to its extensive practical field experience, conducted an in depth field survey of all the community economic development groups in Central Appalachia. (This was later compiled into a benchmark report for the Appalachian Regional Commission.)

Through its experience, survey and numerous conferences and workshops held with community and economic development groups in the region, CORA has recognized that for rural Appalachian communities, the sort of enterprises most likely to succeed are those that use local resources and skills similar to those Appalachians already have; enterprises which fit in with the traditional Appalachian way of life. However, organizing and operating their own businesses often necessitates management training and initial capital that is simply beyond the capacity of low-income rural citizens. This is where CORA, through the Self-Help Task Force, steps in.

With CORA's leadership, people in Appalachia are beginning to organize economic development corporations to help establish new businesses, which will quickly be self-sustaining, owned and operated by local people. To date, these direct efforts have helped organize businesses to include:

* Two feeder pig cooperatives which are currently helping hundreds of low income farmers in eastern Kentucky to market their pigs, to purchase feed and medicine more cheaply, and to supplement their incomes by more than $1,000 per year.

* A chair factory which turns out quality, hand-crafted rockers, ladderbacks and stools.

* A rabbit producing cooperative to raise laboratory research animals. Families in this cooperative can supplement their incomes by as much as $3,000 per year.

* A small factory in Tennessee which manufactures wood pallets--flat, lightweight, platforms for industrial use in product handling. A ready market is available for these pallets.

III. Task Force Accomplishments in the Last Four Years

-- Raised $1,250,000 for Community Economic Development (CED) in Appalachia: $282,000 from Church sources, $86,000 from foundations, $572,000 from government, and $310,000 from private sources. (See attached chart)

-- Mobilized 450 days of technical assistance valued at $125,000 from universities, government and other supportative agencies for CED in Appalachia.

-- Directly assisted local groups and individuals in starting more than 10 Economic Enterprises; a local development corporation, a feeder pig cooperative, a feed mill, a domestic rabbit industry, a furniture factory, a wood pallet factory, a primary wood industry, a food service cooperative, a federation of Appalachian craft groups, and several craft cooperatives which are directly providing more than 300 jobs.

-- Provided the leadership and forum for pulling Central Appalachia (CED) groups together to form a supportive base CED organization to facilitate the development of:

* A Central Appalachian MESBIC
* Government supported technical assistance and training organizations

-- Accomplished extensive research in the field of CED through:

* An Appalachian-wide craft survey identifying 120 groups with 5,000 low-income members
* Field interviewing and analyzing in depth, more than 25 CED groups in heartland Appalachia

This has resulted in the formation of the Federation of Appalachian Craft Groups, the publication of a workbook on: Structures for Cooperative Development, and a benchmark report on the status of CED in Central Appalachia.

-- Held five training conferences on low-income cooperative development, jointly sponsored, with the CSM Regional Economic Development Commission. A two-day Appalachian Cooperative Development Exchange and a tent display on cooperative development at the CSM Annual Meeting, provided staff support to five two-day workshops and one six-day training experience for church leaders on Economic Development as Christian Mission.

-- Helped in the organization and fund-raising efforts of the Appalachian Development Fund in order to provide a localized and specific source of grant funds for CED in Appalachia.

-- Less tangibly, but no less important, we have manifested the concern of "The Church" for the whole man, catalyzed the socio-economic, political, spiritual community in local communities, through providing project handles, developed some leaders and have given low income people a rallying point for self-development.

IV. Objectives of the Self-Help Task Force for 1974

The primary program objectives of the Task Force for 1974 are:

--- helping local people to analyze the current needs of their local community economic development (CED) units, including organization, technical and management assistance, training, marketing and funding.

--- engaging in research with community, through a stance of listening and working to develop CED and other tools capable of bringing about change in systems which will free people from dehumanization and poverty.

--- training church and community leadership for direct involvement in CED and indirect change to support CED.

--- supporting the development of affiliated organizations assisting CED through credit, technical assistance, training, marketing, political development, etc., including the intra-organization development and funding of a comprehensive rural CED program for Appalachia.

--- stressing the human side of development and economic justice through initiating processes of study, advocacy and action leading to the promotion of, and organizing, motivating and mobilizing for, self-help CED within church, community, agency and institutional structures in and serving Appalachia.

--- engaging in specific (but necessarily limited) technical assistance training and other support with existing projects (a priority to CORA-related projects) so that they can achieve actual human/economic developmental goals.

The Task Force will approach these objectives by assisting the development of Appalachian organizations through the strengthening of (A) Human Resources and (B) Economic Resources.

A. Human Resources

One of the most crippling aspects of Appalachian poverty is the low level of development of the region's human resources, and the scarcity of social institutions which might improve this situation among very low-income rural people. This basic lack stifles all aspects of life and locks the doors to economic opportunities for the people who need it most.

Human resources, and the strengthening of the democratic institutions and experiences which can develop them, are the foundations; only on this base can economic development be built. Efforts which reach the problem, in depth, must start here.

The human resources development conceived by the Task Force as essential to successful human/economic development starts with an appreciative understanding of the sub-culture of Appalachian poverty which has produced what Rev. Albert J. McKnight (Director of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund) calls "the undeveloped people." It builds on the insight that economic, human growth and community development concerns can be merged; indeed, they cannot be separated.

This approach points up the obvious but frequently ignored principle that economic development cannot be pursued by itself nor vis-a-vis; instead, it depends upon development of the whole person in the total social and political environment relevant to his entire life. This means working simultaneously with individuals and with structures, institutions and processes in which lives are shaped. Not many economic development programs have been willing to undertake this larger, deeper task, or have even seen it as necessary. The Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force proposes that such development is possible and necessary, but it must sensitively accomodate the pace and style of mountain life. Further, the Task Force dedicates itself to the refining of such development techniques, building on the strengths in mountain culture and pledges support of projects which are directed toward such development.

The human development thrust of the Task Force is acted out, by and large, in economic and community development base organizations. These organizations develop, in individuals, the ability to cooperate with others in groups to solve common problems, and most crucially, they develop those grassroots social structures in which the skills of democratic group participation, leadership and political understanding can be learned. In such groups, leadership is a function shared by all the members more than it is the right of an authority figure--as is the case in many mountain community groups.

B. Economic Resources

Behind the general regional situation, the economic development problem among the very low-income group might be pictured as a series of gaps which need to be closed:

--- The gap between large-scale, long-delayed regional efforts to bring in new industry, and the need for jobs now--this decade before this generation gives up and takes the dreary escape route to the urban slums.

--- The gap between economic growth centers and the hinterlands--both in physical and psychological distance.

--- The gap between available jobs requiring technological skills and the skill level of most of the unemployed or underemployed workers.

--- The gap between existing vocational and adult education programs, centralized and formally-conducted, and the need of the hard-core poor for such training in forms he can utilize.

--- The gap between the ability of the mountain man to work inventively and hard in enterprises close to his way of life which he can control and the capital and know-how needed to get such enterprises into operation.

It's toward the closing of these gaps that the Community Economic Development (CED) Program advocated by the Task Force is directed.

Community Economic Development emphasizes human and economic resource development with low-income groups, in order to create small decentralized, low-capital, high-yield businesses, being controlled by the workers and/or the community through cooperatively-organized community economic development corporations (LEDCs and CDCs).

Community Economic Development is comprehensive; it promotes realist development in the remote, rural areas of Appalachia and moves in concert with the overall economic development planning for Appalachia, alongside and in support of future larger-scale regional industrial development.

CED places the necessary emphasis on human, community and political development as the foundation for wholeistic economic development, and is realistic and hard-headed about the demands of each.

The CED self-help, cooperative approach at the grassroots level has been shown to have high "multiplier" value both as an entry point, and then in enhancing human resources development. While it may not be feasible for every operation to be a cooperative technically, the principles of self-help will always be present.

One important key to economic development among low-income communities is bridging the gaps referred to earlier. CED, as defined by the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force is designed to innovate and experiment in this area, usually slighted by traditional growth center economics. The models and methodologies coming from task force learnings should prove valuable, not only for Appalachia, but for underdeveloped peoples everywhere.

V. Organization and Staffing of the Self-Help Task Force

The Self-Help Task Force is composed of selected Appalachian pastors, indigenous persons involved in grassroots community economic development, project leaders, and rural development specialists, (see Appendix for list of current Task Force members) who formulate and approve policy, develop program objectives, budget, etc.

Ten of the twelve members of the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force are pastors, church project related persons, or specialists living and working in Appalachia. In addition, eight of those ten directly relate to grassroots community economic development efforts in the Central sub-region.

Ben Poage is the Director for CORA's work in Human/Economic Development. Ben Poage has had wide experience in community development programs and his background and assistance is most necessary for development of these Task Force programs. A resume for Mr. Poage is attached with this proposal. Specialized personnel may be assigned by the Task Force to specific projects depending on the technical needs of the project.

The Director will be assisted by a full-time secretary. The secretary's functions will include:

* telephone communication
* correspondence
* bookkeeping and financial record assistance
* filing
* operation of duplicating machines
* ordering supplies
* general staff support assistance

VI. Evaluation of Task Force Activities

The Project Objectives and Staff Work Program will be measured through monthly and annual progress reports covering:

Monthly

1. Specific program accomplishments in that month.

2. The actual number of man days given to specific priorities in that month.

3. The projected accomplishments for the next two months, including man days anticipated to achieve the projected activity.

Annually

1. Accumulative monthly reports.

2. Dollars and technical assistance given and generated for CED.

3. Projects initiated and served.

4. Training events conducted.

5. Research accomplished

6. Human development progress.

VII. Sources of Past Support

The Self-Help Task Force has received support in the past from the following organizations:

Church: Members in Joint Strategy and Action Committee and all member denominations of CORA, both singularly and as an ecumenical unit, including church agencies such as: National Catholic Rural Life Conference and Heifer Project, Inc.

Government: (1) National and Regional--Appalachian Regional Commission; USDA; Farmers Cooperative Service; Office of Economic Opportunity; Economic Development Administration; Small Business Administration; U.S. Department of Labor, and Tennessee Valley Authority. (2) State--planning, program development, economic and community development agencies in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia; Kentucky Department of Labor and HEW; Universities of Kentucky and Tennessee; Concord College, Athens, West Virginia; Kentucky Department of Forestry and Office of Developmental Services; Business Research and Extension Services, Kentucky and Tennessee; and Kentucky Farmers Home Administration.

Foundations: Rockefeller; New York; Sears-Roebuck

Private: National Sharecroppers Fund, Federation of Southern Cooperatives; Southern Cooperative Development Fund; Equal Opportunity Finance (MESBIC).

VIII. BUDGET

CORA is seeking $36,000 to operate the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force for 1974.

ITEMS		1974 Minimal
(1) Travel		4,000
Staff	3,600	
Consultant	400	
(2) Telephone		2,100
(3) Supplies		1,000
Office	400	
Training	600	
(4) Services		4,200
Office Machine Rental	1,500	
Vehicle Lease	1,500	
Maintenance	1,200	
(5) Postage		500
(6) Stipends - Cons.		1,000
(7) Salaries		20,790
Director		
Basic	9,800	
Housing	5,800	
Secretary (½ time)	3,300	
Fringe	1,890	
(8) Rent		900
(9) Program		1,300
(10) Subscriptions & Memberships		210
TOTAL		$36,000

IX. Conclusion

The Commission on Religion is action-oriented. Its efforts through the Task Force on Self-Help Human/Economic Development have been to provide the technical assistance and capital for the people of the Appalachian area to approach community problems themselves. Since the creation of the Task Force, many Appalachian men and women now have self-owned and locally-operated employment opportunities for the first time. Assistance to the Self-Help Task Force is most important for continuation of the development of these new economic opportunities.

C O R A
SELF-HELP HUMAN/ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE

Appendix 1

MEMBERS & STAFF

Task Force Membership Categories:
(1) Selected denominational persons involved in rural economic development
(2) Indigenous persons involved in grassroots economic development
(3) Selected agency persons responsible for Human and Economic Development from: ARC approach of LDDs, EDA, OEO, TVA, Universities
(4) Training consultants

Members (category in parenthesis)

(1) Rev. Glenn Biddle, Director (Task Force Chairman)
Jackson Area Ministries
United Methodist Church
333 Pearl Street
Jackson, Ohio 45640
Telephone: 614/286-1320

(1) Dr. Robert F. Lundy, Exec. Sec'y
(Alternate: Rev. Israel Rucker)
Southeastern Jurisdictional Council on Ministries
The United Methodist Church
159 Forrest Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 404/659-8809

(1) Dr. J. Benton Rhoades
Executive Secretary
Agricultural Missions, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027
Telephone: 212/870-2553

(2) Rev. Ed Ehresman, Director
Red Bird Mission
Beverly, Kentucky 40913
Telephone: 606/337-3300

(2) Ms. Anne Leibig
Mountain People's Manor
Main Street
Appalachia, Va. 24216
Telephone: 703/565-0292

Temporary Address:
(until December, 1973)
328½ - 12th Street
Dunbar, WV 25064
304/768-9383

(2) Rev. Dean Olson
P.O. Box 742
Somerset, Ky. 42501
Telephone: 606/678-4003 (office)
606/678-4011 (home)

(2) Rev. Dwayne Yost
RR #3, Box 418
Manchester, Ky. 40962
Telephone: 606/598-5127

(2) Mr. Charles LeRoy Lawson
Frakes Feeder Pig Cooperative
Wofford, Ky. 40770
Telephone: 606/549-2049

(3) Mr. Simon J. Blattner, Jr.
President - General Manager
Rittenhouse Paper Rolls, Co.
Box 407
Jefferson City, Tn. 37760
Telephone: 615/475-9027

(3) Dr. Brady Deaton
University of Tennessee
Dept. of Agricultural Economics
302 Morgan Hall
Knoxville, Tn. 37916
Telephone: 615/974-7231 (office)
615/522-7285 (home)

(4) Mr. Wilbur Hitchcock, General Mgr.
Mtn. TOP, Inc.
Box 764
Jackson, Ky. 41339
Telephone: 606/666-7596 (office)
615/482-4276 (home)

(4) Fr. John Rausch (Task Force Sec'y)
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Staff

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864 Weisgarber Road
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864 Weisgarber Road
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September 15, 1973

Biographic Data

Name:	The Reverend Bennett Dean Poage
Present Positions:	Director; Human/Economic Development: Self-Help HUMAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT Task Force - The COMMISSION on RELIGION in APPALACHIA (CORA) (CORA address: 864 Weisgarber Road Knoxville, Tennessee 37919)
	Member, Economic Development Task Force of the Kentucky Appalachian Development Committee (United Methodist Church, Louisville, Kentucky), Advisory Board; Jackson Area Ministries, Jackson, Ohio.
	Board Member, National Sharecroppers Fund, Washington, D.C., Mt. TOP, Inc., Jackson, Kentucky.
Born:	September 24, 1934; Hannibal, Missouri
Family:	Married; Nina - two children: Nannett & Wynn Del
Education:	Public schools in Hannibal
	Hannibal LaGrange Junior College Hannibal, Missouri----A.A., 1959
	University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri B.S. in Agricultural Economics, 1961
	Lexington Theological Seminary, Lexington, Ky. Master of Divinity, 1968
	Various Armed Services--Related Courses
Positions Held:	U.S. Army, 1954-56 Served in Germany Reserves: Civil Affairs Food and Agricultural Officer and Chaplain (Major)
	Farmer and Farm Manager, Missouri - 1956-59
	Assistant County Agent Missouri State Agricultural Extension Service-1961
	Agricultural Economist, (GS-9), U.S. Department of Agriculture (doing research on agricultural export and trade programs, and office manager) 1961-64
	Rural pastor in Kentucky, 1965-66

Positions Held: (continued)

Agricultural Project Director, Church World Services project in Jamaica, West Indies (organizing low-income vegetable co-ops) 1966-67

Economic Development Director for the Appalachian Volunteers, Prestonburg, Kentucky, 1968-69

Director, Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation, Inc., Box 703, Jackson, Kentucky 41339, 1969-71

Activities:

Author of several articles on agriculture and community development; Review of Restrictive Agricultural Import Measures (1964); Growing Vegetables in Jamaica and The Ministry of Seeds (1967); A Look at Southern Co-ops, Appalachian Outlook (1969); Help at the Grass Roots in Appalachia, World Call (1971); Structures for Cooperative Development (1972); Community Economic Development, Mountain Life & Work (1972); Community Economic Development: A New Heart for Central Appalachia, Center for Community Economic Development Newsletter (1973); The Church & The Rural Poor -- The Cooperative Movement Among the Southern Rural Poor, published by Abingdon Press (1973); numerous proposals and reports on community programs.

Organizations:

Alpha Zeta, Honorary Fraternity; Gamma Sigma Delta, Honor Society of Agriculture; Council of Southern Mountains; National Association for Community Development; Cooperative League of the USA; Associations of Cooperative Educators (ACE) & National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT

CORPORATIONS

IN

CENTRAL APPALACHIA

PROPOSAL INDEX

A Proposal for the Funding of Specific Community Economic Development Corporations in Central Appalachia.

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Appendix

1. Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation--A Case Study
2. Self-Help Breaks the Poverty Cycle in Appalachia--A Case Study

A PROPOSAL FOR THE FUNDING OF SPECIFIC COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS IN CENTRAL APPALACHIA

I. The Area

The War on Poverty and the Appalachian Regional Commission's efforts to date have made little appreciable impact in improving the economic or the human conditions of Central Appalachia.

This sixty-county sub-region, stretching from southern West Virginia and western Virginia on the East, through eastern Kentucky to northeastern Tennessee in the West, is the home for 1.5 million people, a population which contains the most severe social and economic problems in the entire Appalachian region. The per capita personal income remains at 50 to 75% of the national average and much lower than other parts of the region. High school drop-out rates constituting the highest in the region remain 10% higher than that of the nation. The more mobile of the population continue to leave the area, and major investment capital, the life blood of indigenous development, flows out; 54 million dollars in 1970.[1]

> Effective programs to motivate the poor must be based on their economic involvement in projects, considered by them, as pressing and important. The poor can be assisted by helping them to help themselves. But, specific projects must be ones the poor themselves decide are pressing and urgent.

II. Community Economic Development - The People's Alternative

Yet, around the edges of the Appalachian Regional Commission's (ARC) road and growth center thrust; and the Office of Economic Opportunity's (OEO) largely band-aid approach, numerous indigenous grassroots economic development projects have emerged. The people's cry for jobs and higher income has found organizational roots in Community Development Corporations, Local Economic Development Corporations and Cooperatives stressing "Community Economic Development" (CED).

[1] See Checci and Company (ARC) Study, Capital Resources in the Central Appalachian Region.

> The target group of Community Economic Development is the low-income people who live in the isolated, small communities which comprise much of Appaalchia and are bypassed by most growth center development programs. The aim is to begin now to help the people at the "head of the hollow" create and successfully hold jobs in small, local businesses which they own and control. Thus, a real choice will be opened up -- to stay in the hollow with a decent income, or to take a job in more technically-advanced industry.

This dramatic demonstration of "self-help" on the part of local low-income people is the grassroots response to the real needs of rural Appalachia. However, it has been the church and foundations which have given primary support in continuing the early developmental efforts of these self-help projects.

III. The Status of CED in Central Appalachia

The Commission on Religion in Appalachia's Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force has completed an in-depth study of Community Economic Development (CED) in Central Appalachia. This study, completed under a contract with the Appalachian Regional Commission, includes the analysis of community economic development achievement, of obstacles to success that CED groups confront, and of the fundamental problems that underlie those obstacles. Conclusions, resulting from the analysis, leads the Task Force to believe that self-help economic activities in the 60 hard-core counties of Central Appalachia could be significantly bolstered and advanced through: (1) the legitimization and strengthening of community-based economic development institutions; (2) the availability of an adequate supply of the full mixture of necessary financial support, including investment capital, loan funds, and public and private grants; and (3) the application of a wide range of skills through management training and technical assistance programs.

This proposal is designed to meet the first recommendation: the legitimization and strengthening of community-based economic development institutions. (Community Development Corporations, Local Economic Development Corporations and Cooperatives hereafter referred to as CED corporations.)

The following CED corporations in Central Appalachia have requested funds from the Task Force for key staff support and facilities in 1974. The total amount of the request is $50,000 (specific amounts and needs follow). This proposal is a request for that funding.

IV. CED Corporations Requesting Funding

	CED Corporation	Address	Organizational Model	Counties Covered	Amount Requested
1.	Appalachia Community Development Corp., Inc.	Mountain People's Manor Appalachia, VA 24216	Community Development Corporation	Wise in Va.	$ 4,000

Funds to be used for staff support in November and December, 1974. (Funds from church sources will be used through October, 1974.)

2.	Frakes Feeder Pig Cooperative, Inc.	Wofford, KY 40470	Agricultural Cooperative	Bell and Whitley in Ky.	8,500

Funds to be used for 50% staff support during 1974. (Co-op business is providing the other half of staff support.)

3.	Grass Roots Economic Development Corp., Inc.	Box 703 Jackson, KY 41339	Local Economic Development Corporation	Wolfe and Breathitt in Ky.	15,000

Funds to be used for staff support (Administrative Assistant; Program Coordinator) during 1974. This request is for approximately 60% of the total budget requirements, the remaining will be funded from church sources.

4.	Model Valley Industrial Development Corp., Inc.	Clairfield, TN 37715	Community Development Corporation	Claiborne and Campbell in Tn., and Bell in Ky.	7,500

Funds to be used to assist in the construction of an office building for MVIDC. None currently exists, but land is owned by the corporation and church funds are available for staff in 1974.

5.	Scott-Morgan Community Development Corp., Inc.	Deer Lodge, TN 37926	Community Development Corporation	Scott and Morgan in Tn.	15,000

Funds to be used to hire developmental staff in 1974 for this beginning CDC.

TOTAL $50,000

V. The CED Corporation Enterprises

The above CED corporations act as umbrella organizations and cooperatives providing packaging, technical assistance, trainins and, in many cases, marketing assistance for more than nine (9) enterprises (with several more being planned) that directly employ more than 250 persons at the present time. Many more Appalachians are indirectly

assisted through providing the necessary raw materials, services, etc. The vast majority of the people employed were not previously working, primarily because the enterprises to provide jobs did not exist. Many of these employees were classified as hard-core poor, designated untrainable by government standards and destined to a life of hand-outs, misery and determinism by the structures in power.

> We believe that there is a close relationship between motivation, team effort, and economic advancement. People who control the financial processes of a region, control the power structure (economic, social and political) of that region. When the poor acquire economic motivation, they also acquire a greater team spirit and responsibility in all areas of community life. If economic progress is to result in a change in the quality and status of the poor American, then they must be involved in effecting this change.

The CED corporations and their existing enterprises are listed below:

1. Appalachia Community Development Corporation (CDC)	Appalachia Builders and Supply Co-op - workers cooperative for housing repair
	Bread and Chicken House - workers resturant cooperative
	Mountain Manor - retirement hotel
2. Frakes Feeder Pig Cooperative (Agricultural Cooperative)	Feed Mill - grind and mix mill for animal feed
	Feeder Pig Production and marketing
3. Grass Roots Economic Development Corporation (LEDC)	Mountain Timber Owners Processing Corp. (Mt. TOP) - primary/diversified wood industry (lumber, pallet and furniture parts)
	Sulphur Gap Chair & Wood Works Co. - Chair and furniture manufacturing and marketing
	Kentucky Mountains Feeder Pig Co-op - feed sales, feeder pig production and marketing
	Breathitt Rabbit Producers Corp. - domestic rabbit production and marketing for laboratory use

4. Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation (CDC)	Model Valley Folk Arts - handcraft production and marketing Clairfield Pallet Co. - industrial wooden pallet production and marketing (under spin-off LDC; Clairfield Local Development Co.)
5. Scott-Morgan Community Development Corporation (CDC)	woodcrafts and furniture industry in development

The economic salvation for Heartland Appalachia is not through enticing outsiders to come in and set up factories, but is found in our own ability to use our human and natural resources, with some outside capital and technical assistance, to launch community-owned and run enterprises.

VI. The Support Role of the Self-Help Human/Economic Development Task Force

The Self-Help Task Force program, organized in 1968, is designed to help Appalachian communities to help themselves in developing meaningful economic alternatives to poverty and outmigration. The Task Force objectives are based on the belief that human resources, and the strengthening of the democratic institutions, experiences and political awareness which can develop them, are the foundations upon which genuine Community Economic Development (CED) must be built.

The Task Force seeks to achieve these objectives through providing the technical and resource mobilization assistance to Appalachian men and women so that they are able to develop their own economic alternatives. Therefore, the Task Force program emphasizes:

The creation of local jobs for the local people
Mobilizing and creating capital at the community level
Creating and expanding the rural economic base
Assuring control of the economic base by community residents to insure economic justice

Specifically, the Task Force will directly relate to the five (5) preceeding CED corporations in 1974 through organizational and planning assistance, technical assistance, training, funding and credit assistance.

Basically, CED corporations have five early functions in community economic development:

- community organization
- need identification
- entrepreneural/enterprise identification
- project packaging *
- resource mobilization *

Later functions include:

- coordination of training, technical assistance and marketing for developing enterprises *
- continued three-fold linkage between the community, the enterprise and resources supporting the enterprise *
- performing a "trust function" in capital-sharing operations
- developing and acting out successful "spin-offs" of maturing businesses *
- continuing the involvement, identification, packaging, mobilization process *

The Task Force, as requested, will relate at any functional level. However, it will target its assistance at the functional levels followed by an asterisk (*) in the preceeding outline.

During 1974, the Task Force will also continue to develop the following support institutions which will, in turn, directly relate to the needs of the CED corporations:

1. A Central Appalachian MESBIC[2] (through Equal Opportunity Finance)

The need for a MESBIC is based on the researched and experiencial belief that if Appalachian men and women are ever to develop individual or community business opportunities, their success will depend on the availability of good financial and technical assistance from outside sources. The MESBIC program, based upon a concept of fianncial leverage and with a staff of business experts, can provide the necessary assistance. The MESBIC is designed to aid minority groups' entrance into private business by providing sources of credit and technical assistance in such areas as accounting, insurance and related management services. Technically, this service, operated by the Small Business Administration and the Office of Minority Business Enterprise of the Department of Commerce, is available to "disadvantaged" persons, regardless of race, and offers a greatly-needed opportunity to new Appalachian entrepreneurs, in the hard core poverty central sub-region.

The MESBIC operates by establishing federally-regulated investment companies which are granted advantageous tax treatment and which can then lever from federal sources matching funds in the ratio of three or more to one for monies they raise for use of loans to disadvantaged small businessmen. The MESBIC is required to have a specialized investment policy under which it provides not only loans, but management assistance to qualified enterprises. The Central Appalachian MESBIC will be organized initially as a part of Equal Opportunity Finance--EOF (the Ashland Oil/Courier-Journal MESBIC).

$150,000 is being sought for investment in EOF which will, in turn, be matched on a three to one basis by SBA funds and the entire $600,000 will be utilized for loans in Central Appalachia. Moreover, this amount, based on existing MESBIC experience, can lever additional SBA Guaranteed Bank Loans in excess of two million dollars.

[2] Separate proposal available upon request.

2. A Mountain Management Institute[3]

Community Economic Development projects established in local mountain communities suffer from a lack of local trained managers. Many projects, therefore, end up with outside management, which hinders the process of long range development and self-determination. This institute would train local leadership to be managers and bookkeepers of community businesses and cooperatives. The Institute is already underway in the limited sense that two workshops (one in bookkeeping and one in management) have been held and two others are in the active planning stages. The proposal for this program has been submitted to several church and foundation sources. Support has been assured from several church bodies. Also, the Glenmary Society of the Catholic Church has made one of its priests, long active in the work of the Self-Help Task Force, available on a quarter-time basis to develop the Institute.

> Our challenge is not to join mainstream America. It is to recreate a renewed and authentic form of what the mountains have always been. From the time that the first white settlers deliberately cut their ties with the coastal culture of colonial America to start a new life in this wilderness, the mountains have offered an alternative to mainstream America. . . .
> The task before us is to renew this alternative and endow it with the capabilities (including an adequate economic base) it will need to survive the late twentieth century America.
>
> From Appalachia: Notes of a Native Son on Turning 31.

Mike Smathers
Lees Jr. College
Jackson, Kentucky

[3] Separate proposal available upon request.

From: "Mountain Life and Work", March, 1972

Bob Loveday, first manager of the pallet factory

Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation

Even small wonders are at a premium these days. The sights of the United States in 1972 seemed geared millions of miles above and beyond the concerns of the small populations of the unincorporated areas in Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky of which this article will treat. In spite of the unbelievable pace of this industrial minded nation, there are individuals and groups of individuals who have proven that human interest can generate steam that is recreative to the economy and the general community interest. Such is the intent of the men and women who comprise the Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation (MVIDC). For reasons that are more easily felt than expressed, the members of the MVIDC have come to believe deeply in what could be the future of their valley. They seem to grasp well the basic concept that survival is dependent upon their ability to band together as a force intent upon developing creative avenues for building strength economically, culturally, socially.

MVIDC is a not for profit Community Development Corporation organized for the sole purpose of facilitating healthy growth within the rural communities of Clairfield, Egan, Hamblintown, White Oak, Duff, Stinking Creek, Habersham, and Morely in Tennessee, and Pruden, Fonde, Frakes, and Davisburg in Kentucky—an area often referred to as Model Valley.

The following explanation will provide the reader with an account of the struggles and development of the MVIDC. Since the MVIDC has been legally organized as a Community Development Corporation, we will henceforth refer to it by the "CDC" title.

Model Valley is entirely rural, meaning that its communities are unincorporated, have a coal mining economy, are totally dependent on the nearest towns, have poor housing and few jobs, impure water and wornout soil, no high schools and roads which are all too often hazardous. Hence, another nonprofit activity such as the CDC is easily understood by the residents of the valley. What makes the CDC different from other local groups,

however, is that it includes interest in profit making endeavors which will supply financial returns for those needed community services that engender no return of themselves.

This element of total community concern is essential to the life of the CDC. It involves risks that rarely emerge as complete successes. Total community concern is about people first. A sound economy is simply the means to achieve a better world for the members of the community.

The group, as it uniquely relates to our "rural" situation, does in some ways provide services that would ordinarily be handled by an incorporated town, thus offering some experience in government otherwise denied. For example, there is no tax revenue coming into the CDC, but the group has been able to develop programs that do bring revenue—revenue that can be used for communtiy development.

The CDC has 25 members. The executive board composed of three men working for coal companies and one craftswoman meet regularly with a staff of four people (two local and two outsiders). They are secretary, promoter and sales manager, economist, and community developer. Committees, other work groups and independent groups that have relations with the CDC meet when necessary. By and large the mutual support and understanding, through common goals and struggles, are building a more cohesive community.

Although there are no mechanisms for public voting, community opinions are voiced at public meetings and via the involvement of people as committee members. The rewards for involvement in this manner are few, for failure is more often known than success. Nonetheless, the common good is served through these individuals who are able to tangle with the fickleness of such a venture.

There is no established relationship of the CDC with the County Courts, County Planning Commission, Development District, State Planning Commission, or ARC. This is probably due to the fact that the Development Corporation receives no government funds and because there is no legal, established, or official channel for CDC to relate to such public bodies. On the one hand, we simply do not possess the necessary machinery to have elected officials, and, on the other, our state and federal governments lack the know-how of dealing with unincorporated areas. For these reasons the CDC sees itself in a position of urgency to help search for the solutions to the problems facing rural Appalachian communities.

Without at least a minimum of funds and basic personnel, the council could not function. For five years it has managed and has learned through trial and error the beginning steps of growth. In the years to come the group will endeavor to increase its understanding of the processes which lead to eventual economic independence. Until that time, however, outside assistance is essential.

The most current venture of the CDC has been to initiate discussion and technical advice toward the planning for the development of a village square. Clinic facilities, office space, meeting hall, craft shop, general store, etc., would constitute a square. Several of these groups have developed to the point whereby they could pay their own rent. Such a project could prove to be an excellent business investment. It could be designed aesthetically as well as usefully and, moreover, it would be socially enriching to the members of the community.

But the village square is still very much in the dream stages. The firstborn of the CDC is the Clairfield Pallet Company, a very concrete and positive thrust forward and an investment in the valley's future.

When it became apparent that a pallet factory could be a sound business venture, the CDC approached other members of the community inviting them to form a LDC (Local Development Corporation.) This move was necessary since SBA (Small Business Administration) loans could not be offered to the CDC if it held shares in the new company, which was, of course, a major objective for the CDC. The LDC, then, took on a functionary role—Model Valley's "bureaucracy". But more than this, the members of the LDC have demonstrated their faith and support in the overall endeavor to the Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation.

Along with the support and shared faith, there is a ring of permanency to the LDC. The members recognize their 15 year committment in which to repay their debt to SBA and eventually, the many other folks who loaned them the 10% that had to be put up in order to obtain a loan from SBA.

The total amount of capital that was necessary in order to make a pallet factory in reality was $90,000. SBA gave loans for land, building and equipment. Money for wood supply and salaries was raised by the CDC. A breakdown of funds looks something like this:

SBA	$40,000
Bank	$20,000
Raised in stock	$30,000
	$90,000

The LDC put in 10% of the SBA loan—$6,000, while the CDC maintained control of the factory by purchasing $15,000 worth of stock. Although volunteered services could have represented a sizable amount toward the LDC's 10% share of the SBA loan, such contributions were not acceptable. Most of these funds came from the churches, foundations, and interestingly, from two other community groups.

The LDC has come to be an integral fact in the growth process of Model Valley. In the near future it may well be called upon to request future SBA loans for a sewing factory, a saw mill and a village square. It is already in the process of appealing for church funds for the required 10% of whatever future needs arise from the community. For more information, write Model Valley Industrial Development Corporation, Clairfield, Tennessee 37715.

Fire Co-Op's General

JWC
JLC

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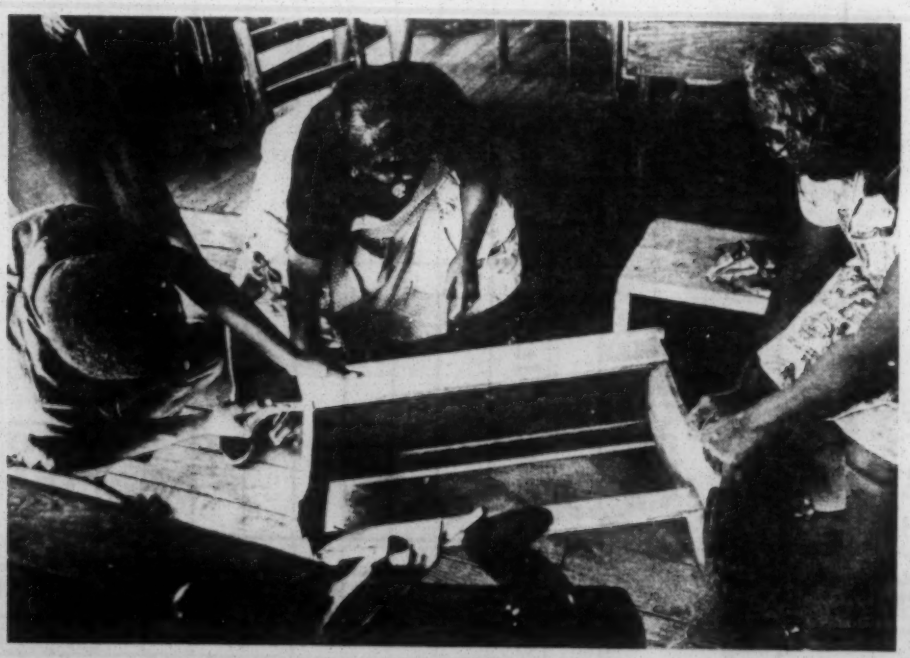

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Name of Publication	Received From
1. Cooperation in Rural Sociological Research on an Interstate and Regional Basis. By - Taylor, Carl C., August 30, 1940	U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Washington 25, C. C.
2. Cooperative Agricultural Planning in N. C. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1942	N. C. State College Raleigh, N. C.
3. Cooperative Agricultural Planning in S. C. Outline of Procedure adopted by: S. C. Agricultural Planning Committee Prepared by: Joint Land-Grant College-BAE Committee, January, 1941	Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.
4. Cooperative Associations Act with Specimen Articles of Association. R. J. MacSween, Inspector of Cooperative Associations, Markets Branch Bulletin #122, 1936	Nova Scotia Dept. of Agriculture - Markets Branch Halifax, Nova Scotia
5. Cooperative Land-Use Planning in S. C. Prepared by Joint Land-Grant College-BAE Committee of South Carolins January, 1941	Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.
6. Cooperative Marketing and Price Control Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 271, Octover, 1926	University of Kentucky Lexington, Ky.
7. Cooperative Marketing of Tobacco Kentucky Bulletin No. 288, October 1928	University of Kentucky Lexington, Ky.
8. Farm Cooperatives and Farm Women W. A. Anderson - May 1945	Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station Ithaca, N. Y.
9. Consumers' Cooperation in 1940 Serial No. R. 1275 (March, 1941)	U. S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics Washington, D. C.
10. Consumers' Cooperatives in 1941 Bulletin No. 703, Parker, Florence E. March, 1942	U. S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics Washington, D. C.

TITLE OF PUBLICATION	RECEIVED FROM
11. Cooperative Purchasing of Farm Supplies in Georgia Francis, Gerald M. - June 1940	Farm Credit Administration U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Washington 25, D. C.
12. Co-ops for the Small Farmer	Farm Security Administration U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Washington 25, D. C.
13. Farmer Cooperatives - August 1942	U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Washington 25, D. C.
14. Farmers' Cooperative Associations in Florida Status and Legal Phases Marvin A. Brooker and H. G. Hamilton Bulletin # 245, April 1932	Agricultural Experiment Station University of Florida Gainesville, Florida
15. The Story of Farmers' Cooperatives Elsworth, R. H.	Farm Credit Association U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Washington, D. C.
16. Cooperatives Purchasing of Farm Supplies in Georgia Francis, Gerald M. - June 1940 Circular C-120	Farm Credit Administration U. S. Department of Agriculture Washington 25, D. C.
17. Cooperative General Culture Test American Council on Education - National College Sophomore Testing Program Revised Series Form R.	Cooperative Test Service 15 Amsterdam Avenue New York, N. Y.
18. Membership Relations in Cooperative Organizations Anderson, W. A. and Sanderson, Dwight April, 1943.	Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Ithaca, N. Y.
19. Organization and Management of Consumers' Cooperatives and Buying Clubs Bulletin No. 665 - 1941	U. S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics Washington, D. C.
20. Organization, Practices, and Membership Participation of Two North Carolina Farm Cooperatives Clement, S. L., N. C. Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 311, July, 1937.	N. C. State College Raleigh, N. C.

COUNCIL AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
187 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL AFFILIATES

FROM: ROBERT C. L. GEORGE, Executive Director

SUJBECT: Regulations re: ABRAHAM SCHWARTZ AWARD

for Effective Human Relations Leadership in Community & Government

A. Presented at Annual Finance Dinner of the Council Against Discrimination of Greater Chicago

B. The award consists of a plaque with the name of the individual or organization and a five hundred dollar purse

C. Terms of the Award

1. Any individual or organization performing some particular act or continuing acts of leadership in creating better understanding among people.
(Agencies, organizations or individuals who spend the major proportion of their time in intergroup relations are not eligible)

2. The Council Against Discrimination is greatly interested in giving recognition to activities which show that understanding and cooperation are possible among people of varying religious and racial groups.

3. In evaluating nominations the Council will consider the following factors:

a. promotion of merit employment by an employer, by a shop steward, by an organization, labor or business.

b. equitable use of public facilities - owners and managers of such properties - individuals who have helped to make these facilities available to people regardless of race, color, creed or national background, neighborhood groups or organizations which have helped to promote the full use of facilities in their communities.

c. development of health facilities and services to all people. Doctors, nurses, medical technicians and others in the health field who have worked to open both public and private hospitals, clinics and other services to people in conformity with regulations which apply to all alike. Medical organizations or facilities which have taken the lead in getting health facilities and services open to all.

d. extension of adequate housing to all. Any individuals or organizations which have produced recognizable gains in public or private housing for people on terms applicable to all.

e. full educational opportunities - individuals either engaged professionally in the field of education — teachers, principals, specialists, or as citizens in PTAs or other school or educational organizations who have promoted equal education for all alike.

Organizations, agencies or groups which have helped to promote equal training opportunities for all people in Chicago.

f. cooperative community relations - individuals who as citizens or as leaders in community groups have promoted opportunities for people to meet and know each other in various parts of the city.

Either or both clergy and lay groups who have taken the lead in integrating ethnic or racial groups in their churches.

Business, professional or fraternal groups which have used leadership in achieving integrated racial, ethnic or religious memberships.

4. All nominations must be presented in a letter to the Council giving specific details and listing the name, address and telephone number of the nominator and two references with their address and telephone numbers. Supporting documents, clippings or other material may be included.

5. Nominations will be accepted by the Council until December 15, 1954.

6. All nominations and supporting documents shall be subject to the review and acceptance of the Award Committee and the Board of Directors of the Council Against Discrimination of Greater Chicago without restriction and shall become its property.

7. All nominees shall be residents of the Greater Chicago area including Cook, Lake and DuPage Counties.

D. Nominations shall be open to affiliates of the Council, individual members of the Council Against Discrimination or members in good standing of any of the affiliate groups.

E. All communications should be addressed:

Awards Committee
The Council Against Discrimination
187 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

11-16-54

We try to see to it that every message has its reply in the *shortest possible* time.

YOUR COOPERATION by sending your answer promptly will be very helpful.

4383

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AB884 MA658

=A M•CB410 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 4=

1955 JAN 4 PM 11 02

GEORGE S MITCHELL=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

PLANNING TO HOLD ANNUAL DINNER MARCH 18TH OR 25TH STOP WOULD BE GREATLY HONORED TO HAVE YOU AS MAIN SPEAKER STOP WILL APPRECIATE HEARING FROM YOU REVERSE CHARGES AT EARLIEST CONVENIENCE AS TO YOUR AVAILABILITY AND FEES=

ELMER L SHIRRELL CHAIRMAN OF BOARD COUNCIL AGAINST DISCRIMINATION OF GREATER CHIAGO 187 NO LASALE ST=••

Rec'd 1/5/54

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	COLLECT			1/6/55

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. ELMER L. SHIRRELL
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD
COUNCIL AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
OF GREATER CHICAGO
187 NORTH LASALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

WILL GLADLY COME MARCH 18TH FOR EXPENSES AND $50.00.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 10, 1955

Mr. Bruno Tausig
Council Against Discrimination
187 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Tausig:

This confirms my wire of today agreeing to be available in Chicago on March 16th to speak to the meeting of the Council Against Discrimination. Under the terms of my wire of January 6th, you were to cover my expenses and give a fee of $50.00 to the Southern Regional Council.

Here is a photograph and a biographical data sheet.

Let me know later on the time, place, and circumstances.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

SENDER IS AWAITING A SPEEDY

answer

PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

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LT=International Letter Telegram

(28)

Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1955 JAN 10 AM 11 30

AA31

A.LLB158 (S.CB070) PD AR=CHICAGO ILL 10 958AMC=

GEORGE S MITCHELL=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

ATLANTA

JAN 10 1955

12:10 p.m.

CHAIRMAN OF BOARD VERY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT BUT HAVE TO CHANGE DATE TO MARCH 16. HOPE THIS IS POSSIBLE FOR YOU PLEASE REPLY TELEGRAM CHARGES REVERSED ALSO SEND AIRMAIL PERSONAL DATA FOR PUBLICITY=

BRUNO TAUSIG COUNCIL AGAINST DISCRIMINATION 187 NORTH LASALLE ST=(

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Council Against Discrimination

OF GREATER CHICAGO
187 NORTH LA SALLE STREET CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS
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THOMAS E. COLGAN
Organizational Secretary
BRUNO TAUSIG

MEMO

TO: BOARD OF DIRECTORS
BOARD OF ADVISORS
AFFILIATES AND SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ELMER L. SHIRRELL, CHAIRMAN OF BOARD

SUBJECT: FUND RAISING DINNER

The Chairman of our Committee on Affiliates, Mrs. Elsie W. Johnson, announces that arrangements have been completed for our Annual Fund Raising Dinner to be held Wednesday, March 16, 1955 at 6:30 p.m. in the Terrace Casino - Hotel Morrison.

Our main speaker will be Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, and one of the foremost authorities on the status of Negroes in the South. The Chicago Tribune of January 4, 1950 carried a feature story on an interview with him. "From a national standpoint, (our treatment of minorities) is the most urgent of all domestic issues". More information about Dr. Mitchell, who incidentally is a Rhodes scholar and has a record of distinguished service in Federal administration and labor organizations, will reach you in the near future.

Tickets will be $5.00 of which $4.89 will go to the hotel for the meal, tips and taxes, leaving no margin for the Council's benefit.

IMPORTANT:

1. You are asked to go to work immediately and fill reservations for tables which will seat 6,8, or 10 persons respectively. We suggest that if you are not able to fill a whole table, you may want to combine with another group to do so. Since this is a fund raising dinner it is hoped that each table will include at least two new guests who will be able to make substantial contributions to the Council.

2. Our Advance Gifts Committee will appreciate if you send us the names of two or three potential substantial contributors whom you feel would not attend the dinner but could be contacted for advance gifts.

3. As last year, we are preparing attractive invitations for your use. Let us know how many you would like; they will help you fill your tables.

1-12-55

Founded in 1943 as a non-profit organization to coordinate and initiate civic efforts to eliminate inter-group tensions. Membership list on request.

the council against discrimination
of greater chicago

187 N. LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS • RANDOLPH 6-0593

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Executive Director
Robert C. L. George
Organizational Secretary
Bruno Tausig

January 14, 1955

JAN 17 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your telegram and letter, with enclosures, of January 10. Our Board is very pleased indeed that you have consented to be with us on the occasion of our Annual Dinner.

Since desegregation of schools at the moment is in everybody's thought and it seems likely that it will be still more so in March, our Board feels that, unless you have already a subject in mind, they would be interested to hear you discuss the effect of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 on feeling, attitudes, and practices in the South, and how this decision will have its effect on other fields in which discrimination is practiced.

I hope you understand that this is only a suggestion. But I would be grateful if you could let me know as soon as possible what subject you wish to discuss and what the title of your talk will be.

Connected with the dinner is the presentation of our Annual Abraham Schwartz Award which last year went to Archibald Carey. I am enclosing a memo which gives details. This year's recipient has not been selected yet. A few of our publications are being sent to you under separate cover.

Some of the details of the dinner are contained in the enclosed letter. We will let you have further details as our preparations mature.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Bruno Tausig

Bruno Tausig
Organizational Secretary

Founded in 1943 not for profit to promote equal opportunity for all and to coordinate and initiate civic efforts to eliminate inter-group tensions.

March 16th

January 20, 1955

Mr. Bruno Tausig
Council Against Discrimination
187 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Tausig:

Sorry our correspondence didn't cover subject. Segregation in the schools of the South is about my proper topic, and I am glad we could settle on that. But just how you phrase the entitlement is of secondary importance to me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

the council against discrimination
of greater chicago

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Organizational Secretary
Bruno Tausig

February 2, 1955

FEB 3 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We have settled on the title "De-segregation in Southern Schools—Expanding Frontiers of Equality".

This may seem somewhat long and unwieldy, but we felt that it took care of the main point of your discussion with some phases which we would like to have emphasized.

It is, as you know, easy for the northern states to become complacent about their "excellence" in the matter of human relations. We feel that the whole impact of the segregation decision will spill over into other areas of our national living.

Although segregation does not exist by law in Illinois, in practice, it is very evident, because of housing conditions, school transfers and custom. As de-segregation is enforced in the South it seems to us that it will affect neighborhoods, access to other public accommodations, medical services and the like.

It is for this reason that we use the term "Frontiers" with the hope that it will be possible for you to touch on the implications of the Supreme Court in these other fields.

It would also seem to us that "equality" implies problems of human dignity as well as simple services. We are, therefore, interested in the implication of the decision in relation to the human qualities emphasized by it.

Lastly, there is much loose talk in Chicago about newcomers to the city at this time—This includes whites, Negroes and Puerto Ricans. I think if you might be able to touch on the values people bring

Founded in 1943 not for profit to promote equal opportunity for all and to coordinate and initiate civic efforts to eliminate inter-group tensions.

with them to Chicago and some of their expectations about the city it would be most helpful.

I do want you to know how very much we appreciate your taking time out of your busy schedule to be with us in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Robert C. L. George

Robert C. L. George
Executive Director

RCLG/ml

February 7, 1955

Mr. Robert C. L. George
The Council Against Discrimination
of Greater Chicago
187 North La Salle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. George:

The title suits me exactly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

the council against discrimination
of greater chicago

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Sidney R. Yates
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Executive Director
Robert C. L. George
Organizational Secretary
Bruno Tausig

March 8, 1955

MAR 9 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As things get underway for the dinner on the sixteenth, I thought it might be helpful to give you the following information.

A suite has been reserved for you at the Morrison Hotel for Wednesday night. We would be happy to meet you on your arrival if you can give us the details of your plans for travel.

The metropolitan press has requested an opportunity for a press conference with you which we will set up for 2:30 Wednesday afternoon if you can be available by then.

We are not planning a reception in the formal sense; however, the members of the Board and a few guests would appreciate having a chance to chat with you before the meeting; so we are asking them to come to the hotel around six o'clock.

It will be our very real endeavor to begin serving at 6:45 and to conclude the program by 9:30 to 9:45. With this in mind, we will hope to give you the time from 8:45 to 9:30 or a little longer if you desire it. Knowing something of the nature of the speakers for the awards who will precede you, we will have accomplished something of a minor miracle to be this sharply on time. I also add that the appeal for funds will come prior to your speech; however, we have become applied psychologists after a number of these affairs and would like to hold our audience through the all too painful extraction process, then let them enjoy the kind of talk you give so beautifully.

If you desire any further information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Robert C. L. George

Robert C. L. George
Executive Director

RCLG/ml

March 10, 1955

Mr. Robert C. L. George
Executive Director
The Council Against Discrimination
of Greater Chicago
187 North La Salle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. George:

Many thanks, and I am looking forward to the dinner on the 16th.

As you know, I have to be in Cincinnati the night before to talk to the Urban League. I will ride the Riley the morning of the 16th. She leaves Cincinnati at 8:30 a.m. and I believe gets to Chicago around 1:00. In any case, no earthly need for anybody to meet me. I will get myself over to the Morrison Hotel and claim my room which you have so kindly engaged and be available to the press at 2:30 p.m. at the Morrison Hotel that afternoon. Or if the press wants me moved somewhere else, I will appear where they say.

All straight to be on hand at the Terrace Casino at 6:00.

My guess is that the kind of speech you want depends more on how the guy feels than on what is in his head. I will try to be feeling good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 21, 1955

Mr. Robert C. L. George
Executive Director
The Council Against Discrimination
of Greater Chicago
187 North La Salle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. George:

Here are the expenses for that part of my recent trip from Cincinnati to Chicago and back as far as Cincinnati: Train (day coach) Cincinnati to Chicago, $11.50; plane, Chicago to Cincinnati, $20.90; taxis, $.75; tip, $25; meals, $.81; telephone, $.15; airport bus, $1.25; total I figure is $35.61.

If you can afford some modest honorarium on top of that, our Council would be grateful, but I acknowledge the working of the principle of inter-agency commenting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: KS

the council against discrimination
of greater chicago

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Mrs. Augustine Bowe
Thomas J. Burke
Wells D. Burnette
Clifford J. Campbell
Daniel M. Cantwell
Archibald J. Carey
Thomas E. Colgan
Stella L. Counselbaum
Earl B. Dickerson
Kermit Eby
Dr. Arthur G. Falls
Lillian P. Falls
Joseph Germano
Elmer Gertz
Ralph Helstein
William E. Hill
Msgr. Reynold Hillenbrand
Harold A. Katz
Marshall Korshak
Mrs. Milton J. Krensky
Maynard C. Krueger
Samuel Laderman
John A. Lapp
Dr. Theodore K. Lawless
George N. Leighton
Leo A. Lerner
Francis W. McPeek
Dr. Joseph C. Meyer
Barratt O'Hara
Riley Pittman
George L. Quilici
George M. Schatz
Ellsworth H. Smith
Edward Sparling
Dr. Alfred B. Stein
Lea D. Taylor
Turner Trimble
Jerry Voorhis
Benjamin Weintroub
Sidney R. Williams
John Yancey
Sidney R. Yates
Guy D. Yoakum

Executive Director
Robert C. L. George
Organizational Secretary
Bruno Tausig

April 1, 1955

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APR 4 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is check for your expenses as guest speaker for the Council Against Discrimination on the occasion of our twelfth annual fund raising dinner, Wednesday, March 16, 1955.

We will be happy to make a contribution of $50.00 to your Council and its work in the very near future.

Thank you again for a most enjoyable speech.

Sincerely,

Robert C. L. George
Executive Director

RCLG/ml

enclosure

Founded in 1943 not for profit to promote equal opportunity for all and to coordinate and initiate civic efforts to eliminate inter-group tensions.

April 5, 1955

Mr. Robert C. L. George
The Council Against Discrimination
of Greater Chicago
187 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. George:

I am most grateful for the travel check. And it is kind of you to plan to send us $50.00 when you can. Each check is quite a help to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	✓
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	PAID		THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. BRUNO TAUSIG
COUNCIL AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
187 NORTH LASALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

16TH ALL RIGHT. WILL BE THERE. INFO COMING.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

September 20, 1944

Miss Mary Draper
The Council Against
Intolerance in America
117 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Draper:

The Southern Regional Council is tremendously interested in arranging for exhibit of "Contributions of the Negro to American Life." It is possible for us to arrange to have this material exhibited in at least forty-three cities in the Southeast. We should like to do it in connection with our program of education in race relations, and at the same time to familiarize the people with the types of things that can be done to promote human understandings.

Will you advise me as to the possibilities of securing this exhibit for use in the South, or for securing one or two copies of the duplicate which you are having made.

I may not have the correct information on the character and conditions of this exhibit. Nevertheless, I do wish that you would advise me specifically as to what I may do to arrange for its showing in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

COUNCIL AGAINST INTOLERANCE IN AMERICA

17 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. Telephone: VAnderbilt 6-5584

Co-Chairmen:
Henry A. Atkinson
Arthur Capper
Bishop Francis J. Haas

Treasurer:
Henry Smith Leiper

Council:
Herbert Agar
Mary McLeod Bethune
Katherine D. Blake
John S. Burke
Carrie Chapman Catt
Evans Clark
Rudolph I. Coffee
Bishop Ralph S. Cushman
Josephus Daniels
Hubert T. Delany
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Thomas E. Dewey
Michael Francis Doyle
Charles A. Edison
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Carter Glass
Israel Goldstein
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Reinhold Niebuhr
Bishop G. Ashton Oldham
Culbert L. Olson
Charles Poletti
James P. Pope
A. Philip Randolph
Monsignor John A. Ryan
Leverett Saltonstall
Maurice S. Sheehy
Alfred E. Smith
Ralph W. Sockman
Robert E. Speer
J. David Stern
J. W. Studebaker
Herbert Bayard Swope
Louis J. Taber
E. Guy Talbott
Dorothy Thompson
Rexford Guy Tugwell
Robert F. Wagner
Robert J. Watt
Grover Whalen
Walter White
Ray Lyman Wilbur
Michael Williams
Stephen S. Wise
Mary E. Woolley

Educational Director:
Annette Smith Lawrence

Public Relations Advisor:
John Becker

Research Director:
James Waterman Wise

September 26, 1944

Mr. Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Reid:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 20th and needless to say, I am very pleased and excited that your organization can arrange to have our exhibit, THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE, shown in forty-three cities in the Southeast. Under separate cover, I am sending you a set of photographs of the exhibit so that you may exactly evaluate its content. You realize, however, that the exhibit itself is larger in size (each placard is 20" x 30").

We are now in the process of having fifty duplicates of the exhibit made up. Heretofore, we have been circulating ten copies of the exhibit but we find that these were not enough to meet all our requests. Our fifty new exhibits will be available for sale. As this organization is a non-profit educational group, we will sell them at cost which is approximately $26.00 a set - certainly not more than $30.00. Frankly, we expect these exhibits to be in great demand - so, I suggest if you are interested in buying a number of them that you let me know as soon as possible. They are also available for loan. In the past, we have had no specific charge for loaning these exhibits but have asked organizations to pay what they can. All money received goes toward the maintenance of exhibits.

Enclosed you will find a brochure which describes the exhibit. We are in the process now of making up a new brochure which gives some specific information as to where our original ten exhibits went and what the response to them was. I will send one of these new brochures to you as soon as they are ready.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to write me.

Very sincerely yours,
Mary Draper
Mary Draper
Assistant Public Relations Advisor

MD/h
Enclosure

October 3, 1944

Miss Mary Draper
Assistant Public Relations Advisor
Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Draper:

Your letter of September 26th did not include a copy of the brochure, which described the exhibit, The Negro in American Life.

We are very much interested in doing an effective job with an exhibit in the South, and we await anxiously the photographs, which you are sending.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

October 24, 1944

Miss Mary Draper
Assistant Public Relations Advisor
Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Draper:

In behalf of the Southern Regional Council I wish to order one set of photographic exhibit entitled, "The Negro in American Life." Please arrange to have this exhibit shipped to the Council at its new address, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Wesley Memorial Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

There is a very important conference being held in Atlanta on November 1 and 2. If it is possible to receive this exhibit by that time, we shall be able to do a very effective job of distribution in the Southern States where so little of this sort of thing has been shown. Can this be done?

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

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Arthur Capper
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Treasurer:
Henry Smith Leiper

Secretary:
Evelyn Linwood

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Walter White
Ray Lyman Wilbur
Michael Williams
Stephen S. Wise
Mary E. Woolley

Educational Director:
Annette Smith Lawrence
Picture Service Director:
Alexander Alland
Director:
James Waterman Wise

January 15, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Because of the active interest of your organization in promoting and safeguarding the essence of the American ideal of a democratic way of life, we invite your cooperation. We want you to help us select those individuals who, during 1946, have done the most for the advancement of the democratic ideal and the promotion of racial and religious tolerance and equality.

The Council Against Intolerance in America first established the Thomas Jefferson Prize for the Advancement of Democracy in 1943; the award that year being made to the late Senator Norris of Nebraska. In that year our country was engaged in armed struggle against a ruthless enemy without our gates. This year, the first full year of peace, we feel that it is especially timely to call attention to those individuals who have kept alight that Torch which Thomas Jefferson handed on to us, one hundred and twenty years ago.

In re-instituting this award, the Council recognizes that many individuals, in many different fields, have rendered outstanding service in this cause. It has been decided, therefore, to award not one, but five Thomas Jefferson Prizes; one each, in the following categories: Public Service, Education, Science, Literature-Journalism, and The Arts.

These prizes will be presented at a Jefferson Day ceremony to be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. While the Council itself has selected nominees in each category for this honor, we feel that the traditional democratic process is the only logical means by which to determine the winners of this year's Thomas Jefferson Prizes. Ballots are therefore being sent to a carefully-selected list of organizations which, like your own, are in the forefront of the struggle to preserve, maintain, and promote the democratic ideal.

On the enclosed ballot, we have named several outstanding individuals in each category, but space is provided for writing the names of other nominees. We urge you to avail yourself of the opportunity to choose the five individuals who, in your estimation, have done the most during the year 1946 to advance the democratic ideal and to combat intolerance, whether these be ones we have named or not. We urge you, too, to note that in order to allow time for tabulating results, these ballots must be returned to us not later than January 25, 1947.

Returned by GBJ. 1/16/47

Thank you for your cooperation in a common cause!

Cordially yours,

Henry A. Atkinson

Henry A. Atkinson

HAA:rc

COUNCIL AGAINST INTOLERANCE IN AMERICA

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Mary E. Woolley

Educational Director:
Annette Smith Lawrence

Picture Service Director:
Alexander Alland

Director:
James Waterman Wise

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

September 1947

Dear Friend:

Alarming reports from all sections of the country tell of recent outbreaks of racial and religious prejudice. Intolerant groups and individuals have repeatedly violated the basic American tradition of freedom and equality for all. Bigotry has openly assailed the homes, the schools and the welfare of our nation.

To avert this menace in time is the task of the Council Against Intolerance. By awakening the American people through the press, the radio, the churches and public institutions, we are engaged in exposing and preventing these traitorous attacks on our democratic way of life.

Above all, through education we can and must safeguard our children against the ravages of race and religious hatred. The Council has undertaken to distribute, without charge, to schools and teachers throughout the country thousands of maps, manuals, films and recordings which have proved themselves effective antidotes against the poison of bigotry.

To continue and intensify this nationwide program, our Council calls on you to purchase and use the enclosed Seals of Tolerance. If you have aided our Seal Campaign in the past, we hope that you will increase your support at this critical time. If these are your first Council seals, we earnestly urge you to send a dollar or as much more as possible today.

As one who upholds the American ideal of Abraham Lincoln -- "WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE" -- I look forward to receiving your generous contribution.

Cordially yours,

Henry A. Atkinson

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEDUCTIBLE FROM INCOME TAX

September [illegible], 1947

Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

I enclose one ($1.00) dollar a payment of your Lincoln stamps, which were addressed to Miss Emily Clay at this address.

Per your information Miss Clay has removed to this address:

1837 Sylvan Drive North
Clearwater, Florida

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

COUNCIL AGAINST INTOLERANCE IN AMERICA

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Mary E. Woolley

Educational Director:
Annette Smith Lawrence

Public Relations Advisor:
John Becker

Director:
James Waterman Wise

October 2, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

"The Springfield Plan" is a method practised in public schools of one of the nation's communities to promote good will toward all Americans regardless of their national, racial or religious backgrounds. That there are many other such projects taking place throughout the country is an encouraging factor but they too need to be recorded to make them available for the study and inspiration of other communities.

Mr. James Waterman Wise and I, will in a few days, commence gathering material for a new book on human relationships to be published shortly. The book, tentatively called, "It Works", will consist of a bird's-eye view of what numerous local groups are doing in the field of bettering human relationships toward the realization that: Democracy is People - Living Together as Equals.

We will undertake an extensive trip, covering every region of the country as well as recording varied types of activities. We will show in documentary pictures and text such projects as:- the exchange of hospitality between the children of Quincy, Mass. and Harlem, N. Y.; an unequivocal defense by Superintendent of Schools in Gary, Ind. of the right of Negro children to attend the schools together with others; practising democracy in the South's Black Mountain College; defense of civic rights of Mexican-Americans; etc, etc.

You undoubtedly know and are interested in some of the worthwhile work done along similar lines in your community. You even might have hoped, for some time, that such work would find a place in a volume that would portray the meaning of the real America.

If you will describe to us briefly the projects you deem appropriate for such consideration giving names of the people whom we may contact, we will be most thankful to you.

Hoping for your kind cooperation and in anticipation of your early reply, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Alexander Allard

October 25, 1947

Mr. A. Alland
Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Alland:

Thank you for your letter of October 2 addressed to Guy Johnson. Guy has gone back to Chapel Hill, and I have taken over his desk.

I enclose a recent issue of our little magazine New South. It may not be very exciting, but I think you will find it quite helpful if someone would seek further into the use of Negro police in some of these cities. This was a step which people said ten years ago would not work, but it does work. Finding out why and how it works would be of interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure 1

GSM:ee

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Educational Director:
Annette Smith Lawrence
Picture Service Director:
Alexander Alland
Director:
James Waterman Wise

February 9, 1948.

Mrs. M. E. Tillie
1013 Highland View, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tillie:

Mr. James Waterman Wise and I, expect to be in Atlanta about the end of February. Our visit will be in connection with the project outlined in the enclosed circular letter.

We hope you will find it convenient to see us when we are in your city. In the meantime, if you could let us know of what, in your opinion, should be recorded as examples of outstanding work done in the South toward better human relationship, it will be greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Alexander Alland

Council Against Intolerance in America

February 17, 1948

Mr. Alexander Alland
Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Alland:

Your letter of February 9 has remained unanswered because of my absence from the city.

We are glad that you and Mr. James Waterman will be in Atlanta about the end of February, as it happens we are having a workshop on civil rights for Southwide leaders, at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, 731 Peachtree Street, on February 27, beginning at 10 o'clock, with an evening session at Sisters Chapel, Spelman College. We will be very happy to have you two with us that day, and we trust that you can arrange your schedule accordingly.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:s

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY

ROOM 404, 215 WEST SEVENTH STREET • LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA • TRINITY 6271

July 27, 1944

DR. E. C. FARNHAM
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GABRIEL NAVARRO
Vice Chairman

OSCAR PATTIZ
Vice Chairman

REV. CLAYTON RUSSEL
Vice Chairman

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FRANK PELLETTE
I. H. PRINZMETAL
AARON RICHE

BULLETIN

MEETING OF DELEGATES.... BILTMORE HOTEL, JULY 26, The meeting of delegates was very well attended, and achieved outstanding results. Nearly 200 delegates filled the conference room to hear the outline of future plans presented by Dr. Farnham, and to indicate their eagerness to help carry out these plans. A report of the meeting follows:

Dr. Farnham opened the meeting by announcing the incorporation of the Council. The Executive Secretary, Mr. Wile, read the proposed By-Laws. Several additions to these By-laws were suggested and after discussion, it was moved, seconded and carried that they be referred back to committee for the incorporation of these changes, and resubmitted at the next meeting of delegates for final approval.

Dr. Farnham then addressed the delegates on the main subject of the meeting, and proposed that the Council divide itself into five working Sections on post-war economic security for minorities, press relations, cultural projects, educational patterns, and finance and membership.

THE FULL TEXT OF DR. FARNHAM'S ADDRESS IS APPENDED TO THIS REPORT.

The floor was then opened to discussion. Mr. Philip M. Connelly spoke on the extreme importance of the Section on post-war, and urged that a major part of the Council's efforts be channelled in this direction.

Several delegates spoke on the need for educating the public on the significance of political measures, and urged that the Section on education make researches of this nature, not from the point of view of partisan politics, but rather strictly non-partisan appraisals of the effect on civic unity.

Also further discussion on how best to carry out the plans outlined by Dr. Farnham, it was moved, seconded and carried that the five Sections be constituted, and that their first duty would be to bring in a report on their functions, and the best means of carrying them out. Fifty delegates indicated their desire to work actively on one or another Section, as follows: 18 Post-war, 5 Press, 12 Cultural, 11 Educationa, 4 Finance and Membership.

BE SURE TO TELL THE OFFICE WHICH SECTION YOU WILL WORK IN.

HOLLENBECK YOUTH COUNCIL MEETING.. On Thursday, August 10, at 8 p.m., at the Soto-Michigan Center, 1000 teen-aged youths of Mexican, Negro and Jewish extraction will hold a get-together. We are bringing them Rex Ingram, Anthony Quinn and Jack Guilford, to sit with the boys in a round table discussion on the advantages of civic unity. There will also be exhibition boxing, and jitterbugging in the approved styles of each of the 3 groups represented. Admission is free and you are invited to attend.

COMIC STRIP..... Unlimited copies of the excellent comic strip, "THEY GOT THE BLAME" are available for the asking, at the office of the Council. These strips should be given the widest possible distribution.

ADDRESS BY DR. FARNHAM..... The Council for Civic Unity was born in the period of fear, uncertainty and hysteria which gripped the community as the aftermath of the wave of riots that swept the country. It was formed to bring together organizations and leaders from all sections of the community, so that they might solve their problems together, and so achieve the greatest degree of unity behind the war effort. The Council made significant strides in this direction, and performed many public services which it might not be amiss to review.

You all remember the mass meeting held at the Philharmonic on April 24th, at which 2500 people were addressed by Mayor Bowron, Orson Welles, Edward G. Robinson and Jennifer Jones, and were entertained by some of the best of Hollywood's talent. At that meeting our message was passed on to many people who had not been conscious of the problems before, and who have since become most friendly toward the aims and aspirations of the Council.

Previously we had held a meeting on the Los Angeles Railway problem, and were the first to focus the attention of the community on a situation which is now to have a public hearing before the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In addition, we presented 16 radio programs over KFWB, distributed a total of over 17,000 pieces of literature, including bulletins, pamphlets such as "The Races of Mankind", and other pertinent material. Several of our affiliated organizations availed themselves of our speakers' bureau,and ordered literature from us for distribution to their own memberships.

The Council is in communication with over 100 similar Councils in other cities, and exchanges mailing with them to keep in touch with progress being made in all parts of the country. It also keeps in close touch with the Mayor's Committee on Home Front Unity, and the County Committee on Inter-racial Progress, so that the activities of these three committees can be coordinated.

Yes, progress has been made, and a fair degree of inter-community cooperation has been achieved behind the war effort.

Today, however, we must in all honesty report that these promising results are being threatened, and unless we can give them vigorous and organized support we stand in danger of losing our foothold on the ground we have so far gained.

Our main achievement to date has been that of uniting the community behind the war, by convincing the people that such unity was absolutely necessary to winning the war. Without this unity we could not make use of man-power, and without full use of man-power we could never have hoped to achieve the production levels which are now beating the Axis powers to their knees. While there was prejudice against Negro workers, or Mexican workers, or Jewish workers, we were unable to throw our full weight behind the war effort, and for this reason disunity had to give way to unity.

But now that basis for unity is shifting. The end of the war is in sight, and many people think that the end of unity is therefore also in sight. They do not yet see that unity will be just as necessary to win the peace as it now is to win the war.

They do not understand that full production is both necessary and possible during the post-war era. Now Negroes and Whites work together side by side because they feel secure in the belief that all hands are needed to do the job. But when they start thinking of the post-war era, and the possible slacking off of production, then the man next to them becomes a competitor instead of a team-mate, and tensions mount on all sides.

The White worker fears that the Negro by his side may force him out of his job, because possibly the Negro has more seniority. The Negro, on the other hand, worries that he will be let out in spite of his seniority, because of the old pre-war prejudice against his race. And so tensions are fed by personal insecurity, and friction finds fertile ground in which to plant its seed.

And yet all this is the product of false and insufficient reasoning. Because during the post-war period, unless there are jobs for all, there will be job security for none. If there is anything less than full employment, then we will be face to face with another depression, and the wholesale unemployment which cuts across all racial barriers and creates misery for all.

Therefore, the problem of full post-war employment is the common problem of all groups, just as winning the war is the problem of all groups... and the same unity we now have must be continued, maintained and strengthened. This should not be hard to understand, and yet there are very few who today see the logic here expressed.

One of the main roles of the Council for Civic Unity, during the coming period therefore, will be to educate the public in this direction. All groups must be encouraged to plan for the post-war era with these things in mind. Management, Labor, Church and State must be brought together to talk things over and avert the crisis. There must be forums, there must be a clearing house of information, there must be pamphlets, meetings, radio programs, and above all there must be serious thinking on the part of all sections of the community. Production must be maintained..... Unity must be maintained.

In order to carry through this plan of bringing to the attention of the community the problems of the post-war, we believe it would be well to form a Section, whose purpose it would be to make this phase of the Council's activity their special field. They would arrange forums with representatives of business, labor and others, they would assemble literature on the subject, and they would stimulate discussion and activity along this line in whatever manner seemed best to them. Those of you who feel that you would like to help on this Section, are asked to so indicate. In addition, the Board will bring to this Section the best group of experts it can assemble, who are willing to give their time and talents to the project.

And in the interest of maintaining unity, the Council must continue to be on the alert for indications which, if allowed to go unheeded, might aggravate tensions into tempests. One such indication was to be found in last Sunday's edition of the Los Angeles Times, in which there appeared an article which in effect tended to condemn an entire racial group, without naming either specific crimes or criminals, and without giving specific authority for its allegations. This sort of irresponsible journalism must be brought to the attention of the Editors, in order to discourage its repetition in the future. The Council wrote to The Times stating its position in a frank and forthright manner, and urged them to give serious thought to the consequences of allowing such articles to appear. The Mayor's Committee and the

County Committee also made their representations, and many leading citizens were encouraged to write to The Times and give their views. All affiliated organizations of the Council are urged to take similar thoughtful action, either by sending letters or by calling on The Times.

In line with following up this type of vigilance in the future, we plan to form another Section, whose duty it will be to scan the daily press for articles either contributing toward or working against civic unity, and to suggest to the Council proper means of getting more of the good and less of the bad type of reporting. By taking prompt and constructive action, both in praise and in blame, and by making the press aware of the desires of their readers, we should through this Section be able to perform a valuable public service.

A third activity of the Council will be in the field of culture. We all know that a knowledge of the culture and people of minority groups goes far in helping to break down old prejudices against them. Our first effort in this direction will be a series of evenings now being prepared by us, in collaboration with the People's Educational Center. We call these the "Know Your Neighbor" evenings. There will be one on Negro culture, one on Mexican, one on Middle-European and one on native American culture. Each evening will feature a movie, a playlet, songs, dances and other cultural activities of the particular groups. It is our plan to bring these evenings directly to the communities, and already we have bookings in San Pedro and Wilmington. We want further bookings in such communities as for example Boyle Heights, Belvedere Gardens, Hollywood, and Central Avenue.

In addition to this project, we could very well institute and carry out other cultural efforts, such as art exhibits and so forth. We wish to form a Section on cultural affairs of this nature tonight, and again I ask you to indicate your desire to help.

The fourth Section we would like to see activized would concern itself with the problems of education. As we envision it, this section would investigate and suggest to the school system ways of improving the curriculum with regard to intercultural education. In addition, it would do valuable research on legislation in the Nation, the State and the City, and educate the public on the significance to the future of minority groups of such legislation. It could compile a library of pamphlets, and another library of films, which deal with the subject of minorities, and which deserve a wider distribution. It could provide material for speakers, and the speakers themselves.

And finally, but by no means less important, is an activity to which we have in the past paid too little attention. This activity concerns itself with the financing of the activities of the Council, and at the same time attracting to it new members. We urgently need a committee who will make this their special problem, and by seeing to it that there are funds in the treasury, free the office and the working sections from the worries of operating without adequare funds at their disposal. Those of you who have the time and energy to devote to this task will be doing us a real service by volunteering for the finance and membership Section.

As soon as it is practical, we intend to convene each of the Sections herein outlined for their first meetings, at which time we will ask them to prepare a report on what each believes its functions to be, and how it intends to carry out this function. These reports will be submitted to the next meeting of delegates. I urge each of you who has the time, to join one of these sections, and to work earnestly in it. You may signify your preference here tonight, or get in touch with the office at a later date. You will then be informed of the time and place of the first meetings.

Dear Friend:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of SLEEPY LAGOON MYSTERY by Guy Endore, with the compliments of COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY

215 W. 7th St. - Rm. 404
Los Angeles 14, Calif.

We hope that you, in turn, will help us tell the story of the case by ordering copies for your friends.

SLEEPY LAGOON DEFENSE COMMITTEE
129 West Second Street, Room 302
Los Angeles 12, California

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY
Room 329, 215 W. 7th Street, Los Angeles 14, California--Telephone Tr. 6271

UNI-FACTS

No. 2 January 31, 1945

ANNUAL MEETING

A brilliant panel of speakers gave more than two hundred and fifty members and delegates of the Council for Civic Unity, an overall view of the causes of racial and religious tensions in Southern California, and recommended specific remedial programs. The assemblage unanimously passed four resolutions crystallizing these proposals, and requested that copies of these resolutions be made available for individual and organizational adoption.

One of the memorable moments of the evening was provided by the highly stylized play "Poll Tax", written by Edward Eliscu and Ben Bengal, and directed by Herman Rotsten. Angela Clarke, Dave Hoffman, Steve Brodie, John Kellogg, Ray Teal, and John Thye dramatized the need to defeat the anti-democratic poll-tax, and the type of bigoted "Senator Blowhard" elected by "2% of the potential voting power".

A stenographic report of the proceedings will be distributed to all members. Copies of the adopted resolutions, together with suggestions on the most potent use, are enclosed.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Here is your opportunity. The voice of the 160 organizations and the 1000 members in the Council is a mighty one. Send these resolutions, which represent the policy of the Council, and of its members, to the proper officials, and watch democracy grow!

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

Support for Assembly Bill No. 3 creating a Permanent California Fair Employment Practices Commission is growing hourly as Americans realize that discrimination in employment against any racial or religious group makes other groups more vulnerable to similar attacks. Assembly Bill No. 3, introduced by Messrs. Hawkins, Carey, Rosenthal and Mrs. Niehouse, provides for the following guarantees of fair employment:

1. Employment without discrimination is termed a constitutional, civil right.
2. Enforcement would be placed in the hands of a five-man Fair Employment Practices Commission - a full-time, salaried body - to pass upon complaints of discrimination in employment "because of race, creed, color or national origin".
3. It would be unlawful to discriminate in hiring, discharge, wage rates or working conditions, or for a union to "exclude or expel or to discriminate in any way."
4. It would be unlawful for an employer or employment agency "to use any application form or to make any inquiries which express any limitation or discrimination".
5. Upon any complaint, the FEPC would be empowered to hold a hearing, issue orders to cease and desist, force reinstatement, award back pay, and seek enforcement in the courts. This procedure would be similar to that used by the National Labor Relations Board.
6. Violation would constitute a misdemeanor, punishable by maximum penalties of six months in jail or a fine of $500, or both.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Send the attached resolution on employment to the key person indicated on the attached sheet. Victory depends on your efforts - act today.

FOLK FESTIVAL

Latin America danced and sang on the stage of the Hollywood High School on Sunday afternoon, January 28th, before a large and demonstrative audience. Mexican migratory workers sang plaintive folk songs and strummed guitars. The Pan-American Dance Group, directed by Letitia Inness, coquetted, and dramatized Mexican customs. Nilo Hernandez, famous pianist and composer of "Green Eyes", played a "Habanera" and his own compositions. The Mexican American Club of Rose-Hill, a wholesome, handsome group of youngsters, showed talent and originality in their chorus numbers.

The audience gained a new insight into and liking for the Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles, and experienced a new type of sincerity in entertainment.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

The Musicians' Congress plans a series of festivals, one during each succeeding month. Call their office at He. 2353 for exact information on time and place. Their offerings are rare and exquisite opportunities for relaxation and enjoyment.

THE HOUSING STORY

Attorney-General Robert W. Kenny, Supervisor John Anson Ford, Dr. Marie Hughes, Loren Miller, and many other notables, will participate in an all day conference on Housing and Racial Prejudice scheduled for February 24th from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. in the First Congregational Church, 535 South Hoover. Prominent among sponsoring organizations are the National Lawyers Guild, the Council for Civic Unity, The Inter-Racial Council of the Church Federation of Los Angeles, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

HOUSING

Reginald Johnson, famous architect, and Charles Senn of the Los Angeles City Health Department, are two of the many notables who will lead the class in Housing and Urban Redevelopment starting on February 23rd in the Peoples' Educational Center, 524 South Spring Street.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Do you want to know the facts about housing, how to use Court procedure to protect your home, how to secure laws for decent living conditions? Put the date on your calendar and we will send you full information within the next few days.

YOU ARE INVITED...

An invitation to share in the work of the Council for Civic Unity is being extended to members and their friends, in a letter from members of the Board of Directors. Setting forth the vital work to be done in this community, the letter points out that, without financial backing, many very important and necessary activities cannot be undertaken. A pledge card and business reply envelope are enclosed for the convenience of the donor.

WE ALL KNOW THE JOB MUST BE DONE. LET'S DO IT! NOW!

Saturday Afternoons-1:15 to 1:30 over KNX- "Destination Tomorrow" program devoted to California's post-war minority problems. AUSPICES-HAYNES FOUNDATION.

NEW OFFICERS

An enthusiastic new Board of Directors unanimously elected Dr. E. C. Farnham, as President of the Council for Civic Unity for 1945. Complete cooperation with Dr. Farnham's leadership was voted by the Board and by the new officers of the Council, who are:

Dr. E. C. Farnham----------President
James Wallace----------Vice President
Professor Walter Muelder---------Vice President
Rev. Clayton Russell----------Vice President
Dr. Camillo Servin----------Vice President
Mrs. Albert Quon----------Secretary
Aaron Riche----------Treasurer

Committee Chairmen are:

Dr. Marie Hughes, Chairman-------Education Committee
Elizabeth Sands, Co-Chairman
Dr. Ernest Caldecott, Chairman---Legislation Committee
Thomas L. Griffith, Co-Chairman
Frank Wilkinson, Chairman--------Housing Committee
Mrs. Joseph Kaplan, Co-Chairman
John Anson Ford, Chairman--------Employment Committee
Ignacio Lopez, Co-Chairman
Dore Schary, Chairman----------Motion Pictures, Radio,
David Coleman, Co-Chairman and Press Committee

GROUP ENGINEERING COMMITTEE

The work of the Council will now be carried forward through five committees which will meet monthly with organizational delegates and Council members, to work on those community problems which are disruptive of civic unity. The first meeting will take place on March 21, at 7:30 PM in the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th Street.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Elect five delegates from your organization, one to serve on each of the five committees on education, housing, legislation, employment, motion pictures, press and radio. These delegates will bring your wishes and needs before the representatives of 160 civic groups, and carry the work of the committees back to you. All members of the Council are invited to participate in these vigorous programs.

PAYING THE DUES

Because of the greatly expanded program of the Council with the consequent need for more funds, the Board of Directors of the Council voted to raise minimum membership dues from one dollar to three dollars per year and minimum organization dues from five dollars to ten dollars per year, effective march 1, 1945.

NEGRO WORKERS MAKE GOOD

One third of the 1,500,000 negros now employed throughout the nation in war production plants are skilled and semi-skilled workers. More remarkable still, the 250 plants surveyed by the Urban League did not employ a single Negro before the war.

MORE ABOUT THE NESEI

Housing for Japanese-Americans and a pamphlet of facts about these citizens are two activites in which the Council for Civic Unity is cooperating with the Relocation Committee. Offers of housing for the Japanese are routed to the War Relocation Authority, 1031 S. Broadway, by Melissa Blake, Council Volunteer. Mr. Alvin Wilder, Council Board member is writing the brochure for the Relocation Committee.

THE CROWELL-COLLIER PUBLISHING COMPANY . 250 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK

WOMAN'S HOME Companion

EDITORIAL ROOMS

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY
215 W. 7th St.
Los Angeles 14, Calif.

What You Can Do To Promote Racial and Religious Understanding

By Professor Clyde R. Miller
Columbia University, New York City

First of all, you must realize that racial and religious hatreds are just another of the mental and emotional diseases which today are sweeping the world as plagues and pestilences once swept the world before science and education controlled them.

This pestilence can be controlled, too. The story of how the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, is trying to control it was told in the Woman's Home Companion for June, 1944. That article pointed out how that community is trying to immunize its children against racial and religious antagonisms by means of an education which reaches them at all times, in every grade in school, and which pervades home life and community life.

What can you do to get this approach underway in your community? Obviously, both problems and practical possibilities differ widely in various communities. But there is scarcely one in which some improvement is not only desirable but possible. Here are some suggestions for action. Talk these over with your friends and other ideas will suggest themselves.

<u>If you are a parent</u> invite four or five other parents to your home for an evening of discussion. You may want to have before you a copy of the Woman's Home Companion article on the Springfield Plan, Your Town Could Do It Too. After your discussion, appoint one of yourselves to see the principal of your neighborhood school to find out

just what the school is doing to develop strong democratic attitudes. You may discover your local schools better than you think. You are almost certain to discover principals and teachers eager to make education democratic.

Ask your principal to show you exactly what the school is doing to develop stronger democratic attitudes. Ask him how he would like to still further strengthen this program. Arrange with the head of your local Parent Teachers Association for a meeting to have this topic discussed by a competent speaker.

If parents in other school neighborhoods do this, speedy progress will be assured throughout America.

If you are a teacher check what you are teaching. Ask yourself whether pupils, after they leave your class, will be more friendly toward children of other races and religions. Ask yourself if you are developing in them attitudes of fair play, respect for all religions, consideration for all minority groups. Investigate courses of study, textbooks, and bulletins to find what is now being taught in the public schools about tolerance, contributions of different racial groups to American life, propaganda techniques, fascist groups, immigration, etc.

If you are a teacher you can work with other teachers and the school principal to coordinate the teaching of democracy with all school activities. Suggest to your principal that he call a meeting to discuss the building of more friendly democratic attitudes among all groups. At such a discussion meeting a committee can be appointed to work out details of such an educational program for the school. Thus, the school principal will have a carefully thought out program to bring before the superintendent of schools who can bring it before the Board of Education.

As a teacher you can also influence other teachers in your schools to ask the local and state teachers' associations of which you are members to promote this type of education for more friendly attitudes among vari-

ous races and groups. You can tell them that the National Education Association is going to make this a chief objective of its work next year.

If you are a school superintendent you can call a meeting of your principals and supervisors and ask them to formulate, with the help of their teachers, a program for you to place before your Board of Education. You can determine where there are sore spots and can help your staff set up curative treatment.

You can discuss the matter with civic leaders in service clubs, churches, women's clubs, labor unions and other groups. You will find many of these groups eager to give strong backing to a school system attempting to make your community free from racial, religious and other hatreds. Ask your principals and teachers to arrange for meetings with the Parent Teachers Association in the various schools to discuss such an educational program to give those associations the information which will win their backing and support.

If you are a minister you can work consciously to develop among your church members the religious attitude which sees all men as brothers and which practices brotherhood. You can search your own conscience. If, for example, you are a Christian minister, ask yourself how Jesus would act in facing the problem of race and intolerance.

Whether you are Catholic, Protestant or Jewish you will try to teach your church members to practice the principle of brotherhood as a matter of habit. That will mean their breaking with old habits which perpetuate prejudice and intolerance.

If you are a representative of labor you can show your fellow union members how union policies based on discrimination and prejudice threaten the future and security of all labor. You can point to the example of Hitler's Germany where racial and religious hatred preceded the destruction of the labor unions. You and your fellows can insist

that the state and national offices of all unions consistently follow a practice of no discrimination. You can insist that such a practice be written into all contracts with employers. You should also participate in general community activities -- community chest, social agencies, etc. -- and support non-partisan educational efforts.

If you are a business man you can discuss with your associates in your own business and with fellow members of the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary and other service clubs the importance to business of having a community shot through with friendship rather than with group antagonisms. You should take a positive interest in the welfare of your employees. Make sure that you are playing fair in your employment policy and not discriminating against any race or religion.

If you are an ordinary citizen, an employee, a housewife, you are still a member of various groups. You have children in school, you belong to a church, a lodge, a club. You can talk over with other members what those groups should be doing to build a community on the American principle of friendship and freedom of opportunity.

You can provide appropriate ceremonies for the public induction of aliens into American citizenship and at this ceremony stress the responsibilities and privileges of American citizenship, at the same time indicating the great contributions that foreign-born citizens have made to American life.

You can provide appropriate ceremonies for young citizens voting for the first time, and at this ceremony stress the importance of the franchise and the fulfillment of civic responsibilities.

You can provide opportunities for minority groups to participate in the community life. You can be careful, in the home, to discourage prejudices among the children and encourage children to select their friends on the basis of character rather than race or creed.

You can be good neighbors right in your home community.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY

ROOM 329, 215 WEST SEVENTH STREET · LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA · TRINITY 6271

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Further names to be added

ACTION MEETING ON CIVIC UNITY

EXOTIC DANCERS! COMMUNITY ACTION PLANNERS!
RACE RELATIONS LEADERS! MOTION PICTURE STARS!

All these will bring their talents to the growing problems of race relations in Los Angeles, at the annual meeting of members and delegates from the one-hundred fifty organizations which created the Council for Civic Unity.

Everyone is welcome at our important affair, which will take place on Monday, January 29, at 8:00 P.M. in the Art Salon of the Friday Morning Club at 940 South Figueroa Street.

Never has planning and action on the complex problems of inter-race relationships been more urgent. Consider these forces! The loyal Japanese-Americans are returning! The fight for a permanent F.E.P.C. is on! Reconversion lay-offs may hit the Negro and Mexican workers. The local housing shortage is getting worse! What can we do about it?

As your agent, the Council has contacted leaders in the fields of employment, education, the arts, and legislation, to meet with you, to disclose the means for avoiding the catastrophies of race disunity and for education of the Man in the Street. These suggestions will serve as a starting point, but it will be up to you, as a delegate from your organization, or as an individual member, to develop the program.

To make the meeting most fruitful for your organization and your council, come prepared for the following actions:

1. Make specific proposals for action on local situations which are increasing racial tensions.
2. Decide on the role which you and your organizations wish to play in the program.
3. As the Council cannot carry out this work without your financial assistance, mail a minimum affiliation fee of $5.00 or an individual membership fee of $1.00 to cover the year 1945.

In our next Bulletin, we will give you the names of the famous artists and leaders, and the exact program in which they will participate. Watch for newspaper publicity! Plan now to attend this stimulating event, by filling out the attached form and returning it at your earliest convenience, so that we can make the necessary seating arrangements.

UNI-FACTS

With this issue we make our bow to our friends and co-workers, "UNIFACTS", will come to you twice monthly carrying notes on local and national developments affecting unity in race relations, and suggesting action where action is needed.

You can use this Bulletin to great advantage by putting us on your mailing list, and by notifying us of your activities so that we can publicize them among our 800 subscribers.

We will also carry comments on available speakers and entertainers, obtaining them for your organization affairs on request.

This bulletin can be a means to make your organization grow - to vitalize it with a stimulating program. Use it!

Your affiliation fee will pay for your 1945 subscription, so get it in immediately - before our big meeting on the 29th of January.

ACTION
MEETING..... The dramatic meeting on Monday, January 29, in the Friday Morning Club, is a must for all delegates and friends of the Council for Civic Unity. See our enclosed publicity.

INTER-RACE YOUTH CENTERS are successfully operating in the City of Compton, and four "teen" age youths, one a Mexican and one a Negro, described "Our Center" in glowing terms. They told of the need for recreation facilities which substitute wholesome activities for street delinquencies; of the growth of self-discipline, of the integration of Mexican and Negro groups into social affairs The Compton Center now boasts facilities for dancing, football, bowling, indoor games, reading, and "snacks". With the growth of the center, local juvenile delinquency has shown a decided drop.

ACTION
OPPORTUNITY.....Here is a vital contribution to civic unity, and youth citizenship. Mr. Neil Jacobson, the enthusiastic director of the Compton Teen-Age Center is available to speak before your meetings. Contact the Council for Civic Unity, for further information.

GROUP DYNAMICS, "An individual will subordinate his prejudices and intolerances to stay within his social group", Dr. A. J. Morrow of the Commission on Inter-Community Relations, told a group of Community leaders at a meeting in the Downtown Y. M. C. A. on December 15, 1944. This technique of gro up pressure is being used in cities and towns where racial or religion prejudice has reached a potentially explosive point. Groups are pre-tested to determine their

attitudes, then they are subjected to the complex experiment in group interaction, and tested again to determine whether their prejudices have been lessened or eliminated. The American-Jewish Congress which is sponsoring the research, states that the results of this new technique in Group Dynamics will shortly be released to all interested in race relations.

THE MAN FROM MARS. Orson Welles is planning a series of motion picture shorts on the contributions of the Negro to American Music and Letters. These will be made in his Hollywood Mercury Theatre and will be shown in public schools all over the country. Doubtless, they will reflect the Welles' flair for originality and drama, as well as his penchant for historical accuracy.

ACTION
OPPORTUNITY..... Watch for the announcement that these shorts are available, then request school principals and Boards of Education to make use of this graphic form of education on our Negro population.

JAPANESE..... The War Relocation Authority believes that the return of the Japanese-Americans to Los Ageles County will be gradual, and that only a small proportion of the 36,900 persons who left Los Angeles County will return. Your Council is watching developments closely, and meeting with Mr. Cooke of the Mayor's Committee to determine whether there is a concrete plan for the housing and the employment of the loyal Japanese who have passed the test of two years of Army scrutiny.

F.E.P.C..... The Fair Employment Practices Committee reports it is handling an ever-increasing load of cases involving employment discrimination, but that more of these are being satisfactorily adjusted. As of October 1, the Committee had 2,176 pending cases, an increase of 41 over the total for September. Evidently the need for a permanent F.E.P.C. and for education in equal employment opportunities is increasing.

ACTION
OPPORTUNITY.....Support the bills for a permanent state and federal F.E.P.C. by writing to your newly elected Congressman, your senator and your assemblyman.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5 • EXbrook 2-3877

To secure essential American rights and opportunities denied because of race, religion, or ancestry

William M. Roth, President; Brooke Clyde, Reynold H. Colvin, Dr. Kazue Togasaki, Vice-Presidents;
Mrs. John O. Gantner, Jr., Secretary; Richard T. Parks, Treasurer; Edward Howden, Executive Director

26 October 1954

RECEIVED
10/28/54
Southern Regional Council

AIR MAIL

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have been meaning to write for a long time to request that you place us on your mailing list for all reports and releases. Not only do I want to keep in touch generally with your work, but I am interested in reporting on your work and on Southern problems as you see them on my weekly broadcasts here. I shall enclose a script or two from recent programs. We are now in our third year of continuous broadcasts. As you will appreciate, our news sources are often quite inadequate, particularly as related to distant events. If on rare occasions you have a release applying to an immediate or imminent situation, we would deeply appreciate receiving it air mail. Charge us what you have to, keeping in mind that we are typically impecunious.

Secondly, may we have your advice on a very difficult internal problem? It is whether to exert any form of review over applicants for membership -- e.g., whether to retain the right to reject a member applicant who is in an acknowledged position of leadership in an organization which, in the judgment of the Board, pursues a program inconsistent with our own. Presumably among such organizations would be the Civil Rights Congress, Communist Party, Christian Nationalist Party, etc.

Assuming yours is a membership organization: Does each member have a vote and power to nominate Board members and officers? What are your by-law provisions and/or procedures with respect to admission and termination of membership? Is "membership" essentially

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a contributor status? Do you have organization members, and if so, do the same procedures apply? If a member applicant makes any sort of affirmation of agreement with the organization's purpose and program, may we have a copy of the application form?

Any other comment would, of course, be most welcome.

Could we hear from you this week?

Cordially,

Ed Howden

Edward Howden
Executive Director

EH:ea

Enclosures

Mailed out since 10/29/54

Incoming ltr + enclosed material to Hat attached

October 29, 1954

Dictated October 28

Mr. Edward Howden
Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Howden:

I send you this year's issues of New South for a free giftie. We really haven't got a free mailing list, and you ought to send in a $1.50 subscription to New South so that you will get it henceforth. Better act quickly because January 1st she goes up to $2.00.

I think the October issue, out in a few days, will have some spot news for you as it recounts a field trip this Summer to the Appalachian mountain area by an able fellow from Berea, who was exploring whether, in those thinly Negro populated counties, desegregation could be accomplished easily.

The Council has, from its formal organization in 1944 until these past transitional months, been a South-wide membership organization. By formal action this Spring it became a single Board of Directors, and our members in Southern states are being distributed in those organizations which are reorganizing themselves and are taking advantage of the Council's offer to assist them with money in the employment of clerical and professional staff. So, except for people outside the South, we don't have individual members any more, but we continue to do about individual membership what we always have -- print above the signature spot on the application blank for membership the phrase, "Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I want to be enrolled as." So far as I know, in the last ten years only about two people have joined the Council as to whose integrity in signing that statement there was any grounds for question. And both of them pretty soon quit paying dues!

We do not have any affiliated organizations, except state organizations which we construct ourselves, so we have no problem there.

I do not know the situation on the West Coast, but my whole feeling would be in favor of refusing membership from organizations or individuals which, or who, were not quite clearly loyal to the American form of government.

In the course of ten years, there have been one or two members of our Board as to whom there was criticism, and we still get ridden by the bad eggs around and about that these guys do pull all the wires and set all the policy. One or two out of more than one hundred past and present Board members seem to me pretty small pickings for the bad eggs.

I don't know your exact structure, but I think that the main thing to do is to be sure that the main governing body of your organization is made up of people beyond criticism. I will try to remember your need for spot news and help you if there is opportunity.

Meanwhile, I hope we will be together at Boston at the NAIRO meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl -- Printed By-Laws of SRC

cc: HCF, along with incoming ltr
and material.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET · SAN FRANCISCO 5 · EXbrook 2-3877

To secure essential rights and opportunities restricted because of race, religion, or ancestry

William M. Roth, President · Rev Hamilton T. Boswell, Mrs Paine Knickerbocker, William J. Losh, Vice-Presidents
Mrs Myer Kahn, Secretary · Thomas P. White, Treasurer · Edward Howden, Executive Director

AIRMAIL

November 15, 1955

NOV 17 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We would like to know what is happening on any and all fronts with regard to last week's Hearst newspaper attack on the Southern Regional Council. Enclosed is the story as it appeared here in the San Francisco Examiner. May we have copies of any letters, memos or other releases which you issue in response and of any relevant background information?

My own interest is threefold: first, my concern for any such unwarranted and malicious effort to undercut a decent liberal organization; secondly, our interest as a companion organization in race relations; and thirdly, the fact that we too are recipients of a grant (not yet publicized) from the Fund for the Republic, one which will support for at least six months a weekly half hour TV program on both civil liberties and minority group problems. At some point, and I hope very soon, I want at least to talk with people on the Hearst papers here, to tell them of the deep respect in which I have always held you and the Council, and the fact that this view is shared, I am sure, by virtually everyone in our field. I of course have no hesitancy in making these representations immediately; but in these days of argumentum ad hominem I suppose it is desirable to have at hand concrete information relating to some of your more prominent board members and to the broad outlines of the history of the Council and the distinctions between it and other Southern bodies such as the Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

Of course anything I would do here should be strictly in conformity with your strategy thinking on this problem, so let me know if you would prefer no action from this end or if there are considerations of timing which should be observed.

I hope to hear from you very soon--and to see you at the NAIRO conference. You will note in my latest newsletter, enclosed, that we liked your comment in New South on the Emmett Till case.

Cordially,

Ed Howden

Edward Howden

EH/ar - Encl.

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Among these rights... NEWSLETTER

To secure essential American rights and opportunities denied because of race, religion, or ancestry

of the COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
437 MARKET ST. SAN FRANCISCO

October-November 1955

The CANDIDATES and CIVIL RIGHTS

TEN SAN FRANCISCO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS concerned with problems of racial and religious minority groups have quizzed candidates for the offices of Mayor and Board of Supervisors as to their stands on certain local issues. Here are the results.

Jointly submitting the following questionnaire were these San Francisco organizations: Council for Civic Unity, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chinese American War Veterans Ass'n, Friends' Committee on Legislation, Japanese American Citizens League, Jewish Community Relations Council, Jewish Labor Committee, Nat'l Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People, United Latin Americans, and Urban League.

Note: Nothing in this report is to be construed as implying support of or opposition to any candidate. The questionnaire returns are made available solely for the information of members and friends of the above organizations.

THE QUESTIONS ASKED

1. Do you favor retention of the present policy of the City and County of San Francisco (adopted by the Board of Supervisors in May, 1949) that all redevelopment project contracts shall contain firm covenants guaranteeing against racial or religious discrimination in the sale or rental of housing built on the redeveloped land?
2. Would you favor inclusion of similar anti-discrimination covenants (as in "1" above) in deeds covering publicly owned real property when sold to private parties?
3. Would you support studies by the city government of community problems related to discriminatory restrictions of equal opportunity for minority group persons to secure homes, employment, insurance, health care, or other services or facilities essential to decent living?
4. Do you believe that all city and county jobs must be open to qualified persons solely on the basis of individual merit, without regard to or segregation because of race, creed, or national origin?
5. Do you favor early enactment in San Francisco of a fair employment practices ordinance based upon tested statutes and ordinances which have been in force in recent years in states such as New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Washington, and Oregon, and cities such as Minneapolis, Philadelphia, and Cleveland; such ordinance to include reasonable enforcement powers and adequate budget for essential administrative and educational activities?

RESPONSE TO THE FIRST FOUR

All candidates responding answered "YES" to each of the first four questions. They are: (For Mayor:) CHRISTOPHER, REILLY. (For Supervisor:) AUGUSTUS, BOXER,

BRINTON, CASEY, DOBBS, ERTOLA, FERDON, HALL, HALLEY, JAMES, KLUNIS, McMAHON, L. P. O'BRIEN.

Some respondents added comment, as follows:

CHRISTOPHER: (Q.1) "I was the author of the above legislation." (Q.2) "I would favor any legislation assuring equal rights for all minorities." (Q.3) "Believe such a study is essential and would support it." (Q.4) "Yes, such a policy would put mere words into action." McMAHON: (Q.3) "Provided funds are available." L. P. O'BRIEN: (Q.2) "If this is deemed necessary, would definitely be in favor." (Q.4) "The merit system should prevail regardless."

QUESTION FIVE (FEPC)

Answering "YES" without comment: REILLY, BOXER, CASEY, ERTOLA, FERDON, JAMES, KLUNIS, McMAHON.

Answering "YES" plus comment:

CHRISTOPHER: "I have heretofore voted aye on this measure, but it was defeated."

AUGUSTUS: "And if elected will introduce such at first meeting of the new board."

BRINTON: "I have read the ordinance introduced in 1951, and except for the criminal enforcement powers and with several changes in draftsmanship I would support the same ordinance again."

HALL: "I will favor such an ordinance if it is first submitted to the City Attorney or Attorney General for an opinion and, if in his opinion, it passes the test of constitutionality."

L. P. O'BRIEN: "As this has been 'pigeonholed' by the State, cannot be acted upon at present by Supervisors."

Other answers (did not answer "YES" or "NO"):

DOBBS: "If sufficient evidence were adduced before the legislative body to indicate that an FEP ordinance is required in San Francisco, I would be willing to seriously consider the adoption of a 'tested' form of ordinance such as that used in other jurisdictions."

HALLEY: "My personal support of a state Fair Employment Practice statute and strict enforcement is unqualified. If state legislation is unavailable, my hope would lie in the creation of an inter-county FEP commission for the Bay Area. It is my frank, though reluctant opinion, that the industrial and labor complexion of the Bay Area would make spot (San Francisco) enforcement a deterrent, rather than a help, to all segments of the community, particularly labor. Perhaps the most important, however unfair, result would be an increase in the exodus of industry from San Francisco, with labor following into areas not covered by FEP. If such a municipal ordinance is introduced in San Francisco, I would certainly not actively oppose its enactment. Yet I could only support a local FEP if labor, management and the city are not subject to inequities."

GENERAL COMMENT (not related to any specific question)

ERTOLA: "Throughout my life I have constantly adhered to the philosophy of equality, regardless of race, religion, national origin, or creed."

HALL: "I have made no specific comment on each question because I would answer them all the same way, namely, that discrimination in any form is repugnant to me. As I understand the law, restrictive covenants deprive one of due process and equal pro-

tection, and are unconstitutional. Therefore, any discriminatory covenants are now unconstitutional."

KLUNIS: "With my parentage being from minority groups I believe there's no doubt in your mind that I believe in equal opportunity on a merit basis for all individuals."

L. P. O'BRIEN: "Feel most of the questions above are covered fully by the Constitution of the United States. We Irish Catholics have been and still are under attack from devious sources and well realize and are in sympathy with the causes basic in your battle for minority groups."

EMMETT LOUIS TILL

"THE MISSISSIPPI KIDNAP SLAYING of Emmett Louis Till, 14-year-old Negro youth, is one of those shocking crimes that looses a flood of pent-up public feeling...

"Six years ago, NEW SOUTH commented: 'It should be remembered that a lynching is only an extreme example of a general lack of regard for the individual. The climate which produces lynchings is one of daily insult, intimidation, and the lesser forms of violence, directed against a whole segment of the population.'

"That is the climate that prevails today in Mississippi and much of the rest of the deep South. Governors, legislators, and lesser officials fill the air with hatred and contempt for law. A few intemperate newspapers trade in inflammatory headlines and editorials. Private associations like the White Citizens Councils preach defiance of the courts and economic death for dissenters. These public officials and their private counterparts preen themselves on their 'respectability.' They even boast that their form of rabble-rousing and intimidation is necessary to avert a revival of the Ku Klux Klan!

"All this amounts to nothing more than a claim that 'respectable' demagogues can speak the language of violence without resorting to the physical violence which is its logical consequence. But all people are not equally 'respectable.' Some respond to the spirit rather than the letter of their leaders' words. When those in positions of authority hold cheap the dignity and rights of Negroes, what could be more natural than the assumption that Negroes' lives are equally cheap? The simple-minded, the confused, the emotionally disturbed people in our society take their cues from above. It is not enough for leadership to be 'respectable;' it must also be responsible.

"The Till case is a symbol. Defensive Southerners will try to blot out the truth with recriminations. Thoughtful Southerners will try to remedy the public climate which breeds such atrocities before we have more of them."

-- NEW SOUTH, September/55, published by Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia; George S. Mitchell, Director

NORTHERN CALIFORNIANS will have the opportunity to hear Mrs Mamie Bradley, mother of Emmett Till, at a meeting sponsored by the NAACP at San Francisco's Cow Palace Sunday, November 13, at 3:00 PM. Also reporting on today's Deep South will be Ruby Hurley, Southeast regional secretary of the NAACP. Capacity attendance of 16,000 is expected in this massive protest against Mississippi racism.

REMINDER -- SECOND MEETING IN THE CCU FALL FORUM SERIES

"YOUR CHILD AND RACE"

W E D N E S D A Y N O V E M B E R 9 E I G H T O ' C L O C K

STUDIO "A" STATION KCBS (Elevator at rear of Sheraton-Palace Hotel)

F i l m	"THE HIGH WALL" -- beginning at 8:00 sharp	
S p e a k e r s	MARGARET HEATON	SF teacher, author
	DAVID FREEMAN	Ass't Professor of Psychology San Francisco State College
C h a i r m a n	MRS KENNETH MacDONALD	

Attention: Program Chairmen!

"THE SAMMY LEE INCIDENT" -- one of the finest short films we've ever seen on a race-angled problem -- is available to organizations in the Bay Area through the SF Council for Civic Unity, 437 Market St, phone EXbrook 2-3877. We can furnish projector and operator in San Francisco. Originating in Los Angeles on Paul Coates' "Confidential File" TV program, the film deals with Major Lee's recent encounter with housing discrimination, plus other common restrictive practices.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR Thursday evening, December 1 -- third in the CCU FALL FORUM SERIES -- topic: "PREJUDICE: A MODERN DIAGNOSIS."

OUR DEEPEST SYMPATHY is extended to the families of Dr Bertram Low-Beer, Dr Monroe Deutsch, and Judge Robert McWilliams. Both Mrs Low-Beer and Mrs McWilliams served many years on the CCU Board with the warm backing of their husbands. Dr Deutsch and Judge McWilliams each contributed magnificently to the continuing struggle for equal rights and opportunities for all people.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
437 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 5, CALIF.

SAN FRANCISCO CALIF.

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Form 3547 Requested

November 17, '55

Dear Ed,

Nearly three years ago a squabbly Methodist minister from a small North Georgia town, nomine Blake Craft, who prints a monthly sheet, began in his sheet (called One Methodist Voice) to say that SRC was honeycombed with red-pronters. He was picking at his Bishop, and we happen to have office space in a mainly Methodist building which also houses the Bishop. Sectarian publication, not savoury, and we went smoothly on. In due time the Methodists deprived the man for a year, and in a Church court convicted him of slandering his brethren. This latter charge because he had an unhappy habit of waiting until someone he didn't like had been moved to a new Church, and then devoting a full issue to scandalous abuse of the not-liked, and flooding the new membership with the sheet! So on the surface we heard no more from the reverend gentleman.

About a year ago a Georgia politician, nomine Roy Harris, of Augusta, began using a sheet of his (Georgia pullulates with these local political weekly papers) nomine the Augusta Courier, to say likewise that we were full of guys with bad records. He was untruthful to a ludicrous extent, and he has a reputation over the state for being thus untruthful, and the paper was small and ill-regarded, so we let that ride.

About three weeks ago the Attorney-General of Georgia, nomine Eugene Cook, took up much the same line, but in a slightly more circumspect way than the hon. Mr. Harris. Cook was really fussing at the NAACP, but he sideswiped us and our affiliate the Georgia Interracial Commission, and you will see. This one probably portends an effort to get the January session of the Georgia legislature to ban us, as being bad eggs.

Not long after that one the INS queried us for a list of our Board members. We think that's public property, and so knowingly stuck out heads into the Hearst lion's mouth (rather a whiffy mouth). Consequence, the story of Nov. 7, and another one, which I haven'T handy (the one with pictures).

This attack seems to us probably libellous, and we are exploring action on that order.

They will similarly jump all the causes aided by our friends the Fund for the Republic, of course.

Fred Routh is going to NAIRO, and I'll stay home. Sorry to miss you and all the other good guys.

All these birds that jump on us are lying their heads off, and I guess know it. It's part of a build-up of a Nazi-like mythology; the Supreme Court are Communists, the sociologists who advised them are Communists, all who advocate compliance with the decision are somekind of reds; ergo - it behooves every good man and true to fight the Supreme Court and the law of the land. Trouble is it makes easy converts. I believe that the truth outs, and that this kind of monkey-business will finally putxxxxxxx its advocates in the wrong. Meanwhile I don't know much to do except to say, through the courts if possible, that they lie, and wait until the public finds out it is being subjected to the action of a smoke-machine.

Best,

George S. Mitchell

Secretaryless for today, and personally hand typed, and looks it.

* DAY LETTER

COLLECT COLLECT April 17, 1956

Mr. Ed. Howden
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Fred Routh will come and could be West Coast, wherever, May 20, 21, 22, etc.

Set him up S.F. and L.A. as you choose. Television no objection. Will cost

you his expenses and you should find us $50.00 honorarium.

George S. Mitchell

GSM/eab
cc: FBR phone morning

April 30, 1956

Mr. Edward Howden, Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

The trip to the West Coast is beginning to shape up nicely and I look forward to my trip out there. I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have just written Eason Monroe, for your information. I will send you a mat and some biographical material and some further information on the Southern Regional Council the latter part of this week, too.

What do you want me to do about transportation out there? I have an air credit card and can get the ticket here and you could reimburse us, if that is more convenient. I would also like you to arrange for my transportation up and down the West Coast, if that is possible. I will probably stay with my cousin in San Francisco but would need hotel reservations down in the southern part of California. I have asked Mr. Monroe to arrange this for me. Please write and tell me further details about the proposed trip which I may need to adequately plan for effective use of my time.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

May 1, 1956

Miss Louise Blackham
Civic Unity Committee
Arcade Building
Seattle, Washington

Dear Louise:

I am coming out to the West Coast to speak to Ed Howden's Civic Unity Council in San Francisco and the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California. My way out to the West Coast is being paid by them. This raises an interesting question. I would be glad to fly up to Seattle to speak to any group you might have there. The cost involved to you would be my round-trip transportation from San Francisco to Seattle and back. The dates available would be May 26 and 27.

I am speaking to the other groups on the topic "Changing Patterns in the South," or "Desegregation Comes to Dixie." This will be a first-hand report on what is happening across the depth and breadth of the South as it meets the challenge of the Supreme Court decision.

I hope that the information I sent you back in February for the talk before the students at the Lincoln Day program was helpful.

Please let me hear from you on this matter as quickly as possible.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

May 10, 1956

Mr. Edward Howden, Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

As things now stand, I will arrive in San Francisco on May 19, fairly late in the evening. My cousin will be meeting me at the airport and I will be staying with them. Their names are:

Frances and Arman Tatarian
143 Morning Sun Avenue
Mill Valley DUnlap 8-2275

I look forward to being on your television program and the scheduled evening meeting on Monday. I would be pleased to speak to other groups in Oakland and Berkeley, as you suggest. Please send me immediately your home telephone number so I may contact you Saturday evening.

I will pay for my own transportation out and back and you can reimburse SRC.

We have no movie shots on what is happening in the South but if you can find some out there from the Fund for the Republic, which you mentioned, it might be helpful.

I am looking forward very much to this opportunity to help bring a factual picture from the South to a very important area of the nation.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

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To secure essential rights and opportunities restricted because of race, religion, or ancestry

HCF

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MRS GEORGE HELLYER, Secretary • DR WILFRED HIURA, Treasurer • EDWARD HOWDEN, Executive Director

22May 56

RECEIVED MAY 24 1956

Dear GSM,HCF, et al:

Things are going well here in the Golden Gate City; thus far there have been three radio shows, one TV show, and a major address. All of these seemed well received. We also got good coverage in the press, including the local Hurst paper, the Examiner. I am enclosing some clips so you may see how we were represented.

Note of interest: The editor at the Hurst paper told Ed Howden that the question of SRC had been "cleared up", hence their participation in the press conference. I note that I am misspelling Hearst, but trust ya' all will understand. I dislike typing enough not to want to re-type this.

Tomorrow I am off to the South of California to speak for the ACLU. I will send you any clippings I pick up down thata way. Ed and I stopped off at the regional office of the NAACP and they were well pleased with what I had said about them.

Following So.Cal I am off to Seattle to see my Aunt and Uncle whom I have not seen for 10 years. I will be back in the office as scheduled on Monday June 4th...will actually return to Tara on Saturday June 2 so I wont be delayed getting back.

My cousins out here have been doing a royal entertainment job and I have been dashing about with the international set from the Far East. Much to tell you all about this; what is happening in the South is of great importance in the Far East.

Best regards to you all. as ever, Ted

P.S. Good that Ruth is well again. F.

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June 1, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 4 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Dr. George Mitchell
Frederick B. Routh

Dear George:

This fellow Routh is even better than we had expected. From our point of view, and that of the Southern California people I am sure, the tour was a great success. I believe you have seen the San Francisco clippings resulting from the press conference. Again our deep appreciation.

Dear Fred:

Sorry to have missed you last Sunday evening as you came through town. We do hope the rest of your trip involved somewhat less work.

Enclosed is our check for what we calculate as half of the expense, excepting the Los Angeles hotel bill, which I assume Eason Monroe will cover, plus $37.50 as half of a $75.00 honorarium. I trust that that latter figure is satisfactory. If not, please let us know.

CR
$192.20
Rha

I shall forward a copy of your voucher to Eason Monroe the first of next week and then his check will follow.

Again our warm thanks and best wishes from your many new friends in the Bay Area.

Ed Howden

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June 20, 1956

Mr. Edward Howden, Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for the check covering my expenses and your share of the honorarium. I am sorry I am late in sending this note of thanks, but I have been out of the office ever since my return from the West Coast.

I think the entire West Coast trip was most worthwhile from our point of view, for it helped interpret events in the South as they are happening and not as the "dramatic episode conscious" newspapers would have people believe.

Paul Obluda sent me a letter from some gal who saw "Barrier" and I will answer her later as soon as I return from the UAW-CIO conference in Detroit. Please give my warm regards to Paul.

I have just returned from a Southwide conference on human relations at the University of Oklahoma, jointly sponsored by that institution and the Anti Defamation League. We had representatives from all the Southern States. It was a most worthwhile session.

On the way back from the Oklahoma conference, I stopped at the 30th Annual Conference of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers in Shreveport, Louisiana, and spoke to them. They were having a down-to-earth workshop-type session which was very much worthwhile.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

ef

July 2, 1956

Mr. Edward Howden, Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for forwarding the letters from the people out on the West Coast. I have sent them both a copy of New South and our list of publications. I have had one or two letters from the Los Angeles area too, so it looks like we have stirred up some interest out there.

Thanks for the opportunity you provided for us to do so. Thanks again for all the nice things you did.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Dictated by Mr. Routh. Signed by his secretary in his absence.

copy - HCF

July 2, 1956

Mrs. Doris S. Glenn
3047 Butte Street
Santa Clara, California

Dear Mrs. Glenn:

Mr. Howden of the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco has forwarded to me a copy of a letter he wrote you about the Southern Regional Council. I am enclosing two recent issues of our magazine, New South. Subscription price is two dollars per year. I am also enclosing a copy of our publication list.

We are momentarily out of "A Brief History of the Southern Regional Council," but will send you one when it comes back from the printer.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Dictated by Mr. Routh. Signed by his secretary in his absence.

Copy - HCF

July 2, 1956

Mr. Milford Lloyd Morgan
14005 Quito Road,
Campbell, California

Dear Mr. Morgan:

Thank you for your interest in our program and organization. I am sending you with this letter two recent issues of our monthly magazine, New South, and our list of publications. Subscription to New South is two dollars a year. At the moment, we are out of "A Brief History of the Southern Regional Council," but expect to have it in a week or so, and I will send you one at that time.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Dictated by Mr. Routh. Signed by his secretary in his absence.

RECEIVED AUG 7 1956

FROM: Sidney Lawrence, Chairman, Dept. of Local Private Agencies

It has been brought to my attention that the following positions are open:

1. The Kansas City Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews is looking for a director. This position will entail responsibility for organizational administration and work with volunteers in various capacities including planning and management of an annual fund drive, membership promotion, programming, etc. Experience in community organization, church work, educational work, general executive background.
   Salary $6,000. Application should be sent to Howard Sachs, Spencer-Fane-Britt & Browne, Power and Light Bldg., Kansas City 5, Missouri

2. The Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco is looking for an Assistant Director. This position will entail responsibility for organizational administration, planning and management of an annual fund drive, membership promotion, some editing and writing, work with volunteers in various capacities, including program committees, and sharing of assorted duties with the Executive Director. Possibly half of the Assistant Director's time, overall, will be devoted to administration, fund-raising management (not personal solicitation), and membership promotion.

   Highly desirable: several years' organizational experience. Proposed starting salary: $6,600.

   Applications should be airmailed promptly to
   Edward Howden
   Council for Civic Unity
   437 Market Street
   San Francisco 5,
   California

7/31/56

October 31, 1956

Miss Helen E. Amerman
c/o Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Helen:

I am not going to come to the November 29th NAIRO meeting. Fred Routh is.

I have turned over to him the letter inviting a Mitchell, a Routh, or whoever (I presume), to the breakfast business, and Fred will write you direct.

Congratulations on working with Ed Howden! One of the best of eggs!

I consider you a remarkably good egg yourself!

You know the truth about me is that I am going to quit my job January 15th, and sail to Scotland for good and all, unless somebody invites me back for a year or so of teaching. Come to Scotland for a visit. Remotest highlands among the Crofts. Transportation over the moors seventeen miles through the soppy heather to the nearest pub. And for Helen and her beau I would drive the car clean around to t'other pub and pick you both up and bring you home to a warm peat fire.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 19, 1956

Miss Helen E. Amerman
c/o Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Helen:

I am sure enough going to sail March 8th. Next thing is for you to come over yonder.

Affectionately,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM;fc

RECEIVED NOV 13 1956

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

GENERAL OFFICES: 1106 WATER BOARD BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

REPLY TO: c/o Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco, California

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Atlanta, Ga.

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County Committee on Human Relations
Los Angeles, California
North
ELEANOR T. DUNGAN
Commission on Human Relations
Chicago, Illinois
South
FREDERICK B. ROUTH
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

November 8, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of October 31. I'm very disappointed that you're not coming to the Conference.

Your leaving the field signifies a well-deserved rest for you but a real blow to race relations. You're one soldier I hope won't "fade away" for a long time!

You make Scotland sound inviting (are you serious?) but please go via San Francisco so we can have a good visit first. After all my crying into your beer I'd like to have you see how happy I am now -- and it promises not to require any more job-hunting for a long, long time.

Best wishes, and do keep us posted on your whereabouts.

Sincerely,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman
Chairman, Department of
Research Services

HEA:bjh
cc: Bragdon
Marks
Feild

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5 • EXbrook 2-3877

To secure essential rights and opportunities restricted because of race, religion, or ancestry

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EDGAR D. OSGOOD, Treasurer • EDWARD HOWDEN, Executive Director • DR HELEN E. AMERMAN, Assistant Director

For further information call
Helen Amerman, Ass't. Director,
Council for Civic Unity of SF,
EX 2-3877 or TH 8-3792

FOR RELEASE NOT EARLIER THAN TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 18

Three persons will be chosen this summer by three community agencies headquartered in San Francisco for a year's unique on-the-job training designed to help qualify them for a career in the field of racial and cultural relations. Receipt of foundation grants totaling $15,000 for this purpose was announced jointly today by the executives of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, San Francisco-Oakland Urban League, and the Northern California Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee.

The funds were provided, on a matching basis, by the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco and the Fund for the Republic.

The three "internships in intergroup relations" are part of a national program for meeting the growing demand among both official and voluntary agencies for professionally qualified staff to carry on their programs of education and action for the remedy of problems of discrimination, prejudice, and tension affecting minority groups, and, indirectly, the entire community.

The Fund for the Republic has allotted $100,000 for a nation-wide, two-year project, contingent upon matching grants by other foundations. It is contemplated that up to 24 one-year internships will be granted over the next two years. The program will be administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, which has issued the following statement:

"Public and private intergroup relations agencies are playing a leading part in America's historic national effort to reduce and finally eliminate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. The agencies need additional trained professional personnel at the national, state and

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local levels, to expand their effectiveness in this effort. Interns under this new program will secure on-the-job experience in a variety of intergroup situations, including employment, housing, educational, police and interfaith cooperation."

Candidates for the internships are expected to have completed at least some graduate work or the equivalent in relevant experience. Salaries will start at the junior professional level in each agency. A successful internship should lead to permanent professional status and employment in the intergroup relations field.

Applicants for 1957-58 should apply directly to one or more of the three agencies not later than July 1, 1957. Letters of application should include a concise statement of the nature and extent of the candidate's interest in intergroup relations, and a biographical resume including educational and employment experience, public activities and publications.

The interns selected will start work about September 1, 1957. At the close of the training period each intern and a senior staff member of his agency will attend a two-week seminar conducted by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

The American Friends Service Committee will offer a varied experience in three areas: the Indian program, securing equal employment and housing opportunities for minorities, and work with migratory farm workers. The Indian program includes the hospitality center for relocated Indians in Oakland and service with the Indian field worker in Northern California. The employment and housing opportunities program is centered in Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties. The third activity is conducted by the agricultural labor secretary in the San Joaquin Valley who helps migrants to learn cooperative techniques so as to solve some of their basic economic and social problems.

The Council for Civic Unity intern will gain experience in such activities as investigation of complaints of discrimination, consultation and conciliation directed at the elimination of discriminatory practices, action at the neighborhood level to prevent or minimize intergroup tensions, conference planning, public relations, and other day-to-day activities of a voluntary civil rights agency.

The San Francisco-Oakland Urban League will provide its intern with experience in the areas of employment and housing, with such related activities as vocational counseling and guidance, developing the employment atmosphere so as to include the Negro worker as a normal procedure, scholarship planning, and health and welfare services.

In addition to the grants for internships, the Fund for the Republic has provided the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials with funds for central administration of the program, recruiting, and expenses of the seminars at the close of each training year.

Other organizations participating in the nation-wide internship program include the American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; National Conference of Christians and Jews; the Urban Leagues of Atlanta (Georgia), Chicago, and Greater New York; the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago; Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri; Cincinnati Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee; Philadelphia Fellowship Commission; and the Southern Regional Council. Additional agencies may participate by September, 1957.

June 17, 1957

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET · SAN FRANCISCO 5 · EXbrook 2-3877

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EDGAR D. OSGOOD, Treasurer • EDWARD HOWDEN, Executive Director • DR HELEN E. AMERMAN, Assistant Director

Via Air Mail June 28, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Routh~~ Fred:

Mr. James T. McCain, Associate Director of The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has applied for an internship in intergroup relations with us for 1957-58.

In the light of the enclosed description of the program, will you please give us your opinion of Mr. McCain's qualifications for the position? Would you please be sure to call our attention to both his strengths and his weaknesses? Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Our committee will be evaluating candidates early in July, so we would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman
Assistant Director

HEA:jh
Enclosure

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VIA AIR MAIL

July 3, 1957

Miss Helen E. Amerman
Assistant Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Miss Amerman:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 28th to Mr. Fred Routh relative to Mr. James T. McCain.

I should like to advise you that Mr. Routh is presently out of the office on vacation and will not return until Monday, July 8th. I shall at that time call your letter to his attention and I'm sure you will be hearing from him immediately upon his return.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

MF/mf

October 9, 1957

Mr. Edward Howden
Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is some material on the Judge from Mississippi, Thomas Brady. I hope this will answer your needs.

I am also enclosing our survey on the pro-segregation groups in the South. You will find the Federation for Constitutional Government included in the survey. There has been an increasing incidence of violence in Alabama and South Carolina and some indication of its growth in Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. This violence is caused by either the Klan itself or klan-like groups. We hope to prepare a special report later on about the increased violence and intimidation.

I hope it is possible for you to get a person who will adequately answer the scurrilous charges of Brady. The Citizens Council movement is anxious to brainwash the rest of the nation with their propaganda and filth and Brady's speech in San Francisco is just one example of this effort.

Warm regards to Helen and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures

FBR:fcl

Council for Civic Unity

October 25, 1957

Mr. Edward Howden
Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your recent letter and the good news that Roy Wilkins will speak before the Commonwealth Club. I believe you are wise in urging that one of the three SRC men also speaks because it is always impressive to Yankees and Westerners when a Southern white speaks for freedom.

I hope it will be possible for you to come to the NAIRO meeting in Kansas City. These meetings are never the same when you don't come to them. The trip would be worth your while just to hear HST.

Best regards to Helen and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

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October 11, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks again for the advice and the excellent file on the citizens' councils and related groups.

As for the Commonwealth Club, I learn now that Roy Wilkins is definitely to speak here November 1. Meanwhile, I've written to the Club, and spoken with a key member, urging that one of the three SRC men whose names you gave me be invited in any event to speak from a third perspective.

Do keep us on your list for future reports. Let us know if there are costs to be met.

Cordially,

Edward Howden
Executive Director

EH:ae

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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AA40

1958 MAR 26 PM 1 43

A LLS233 (O MSA035) PD AR=MS SANFRANCISCO CALIF 26 1014AMP=

=HAROLD FLEMING OR FRED ROUTH, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

CAN YOU AIR MAIL PHOTOGRAPHS ONE EACH PREFERABLY EIGHT BY TEN OF ROUTH AND MARION WRIGHT FOR USE ON MY TELEVISION PROGRAM=

EDWARD HOWDEN COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY 437 MARKET ST

SAN FRANCISCO=

HCF – No picture of MAW – I called him – he will comply – sending his directly to Ed. I sent one of my 3x5 to Ed ——— what do you do on a subway?

FBR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

March 26, 1958

Mr. Edward Howden
Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Ed:

Received your wire and hasten to reply. We have no picture of Marion Wright available. However, I called him and he is sending you air mail a glossy 8 x 10.

We have no 8 x 10 of me available, but I am sending you a shot we have been using for publicity purposes -- remarkable what a touch-up artist can do; everything but give you hair!

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.
FBR:fcl

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5 • EXbrook 2-3877

For equality of right and opportunity without regard to race, religion, or ancestry

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LEON MARKEL, Treasurer • MRS. WASHINGTON E. GARNER, Secretary • FRANK A. QUINN, Executive Director

July 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

John May, executive director of the San Francisco Foundation, has informed me that you will be in San Francisco from October 4 to 11. I hope that we will have an opportunity to meet for I have long admired the work of the Southern Regional Conference and am interested in comparing notes on intergroup developments in the South and this region.

You may know that the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco has operated for fifteen years in the field of intergroup relations. As one aspect of our program, we offer speaking platforms to "visiting firemen".

I am writing in hopes that you will have an evening free during your visit and that you will consent to speak to a Council audience. I know that interest would be high among CCU members and others connected with intergroup agencies throughout the Bay Area. Yours would be the only presentation, beginning at 8:00 p.m. and allowing time for a question period. The subject would be your own choice, although I would like to point out that there has been great interest here in the significance of the sit-in movement and the "new Negro self-image". I regret that we cannot offer you a fee. We would make a nominal admission charge to cover promotional and hall expenses. I would also like to arrange a small dinner prior to the meeting with members of our Board of Directors and others involved in intergroup work.

We will be happy to make available to you the facilities of our office during your stay. Should you desire a press conference to explain the functions of the Southern Regional Council to the Bay Area, we could arrange this for you as we have done quite successfully for others in past months.

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Will you designate an evening, preferably during the week, which would be convenient for you if you are willing and able to speak? And, would you send us biographical information as well as data regarding the Southern Regional Council?

I look forward to meeting you. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director

FAQ/gy

cc: Mr. John R. May

P.S. I am sending to you under separate cover our pamphlet entitled "San Francisco's Housing Market -- Open or Closed?", which was made from a study supported by a grant from the Columbia Foundation of which Mr. May is also executive director.

Via Air Mail

August 12, 1960

Mr. Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of
San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Quinn:

This is to thank you for your kind letter and to apologize for my delay in replying. The summer always seems to be our busiest and most traveled season.

I have heard of the work of CCU for years (including some first-hand praise from Fred Routh), and I should be very pleased to meet with your board members and friends. A larger evening meeting would be fine, too, although at this point I can only be sure of one free evening -- Monday, October 3. I well realize that this isn't the best time of the week to assemble an audience. But if you should decide to try it on that date, I will gladly be available.

I am grateful for your other generous offers of help while I am in San Francisco. It seems unlikely that I will need to trouble you for office space, but I should welcome a chance to talk with the press.

Perhaps we can work that out when I see you.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. John R. May

P. S. -- John May was also thoughtful enough to send me a copy of "San Francisco's Housing Market -- Open or Closed?" This is a fine piece of work.

HCF

Among these rights . . . NEWSLETTER

9/21/60

To secure essential American rights and opportunities denied because of race, religion or ancestry

of the COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
437 MARKET ST. SAN FRANCISCO

100

See Page 3.

PIKE TALK POSTPONED TO SEPTEMBER 29

A call to an important Paris conference has forced the Very Reverend James A. Pike to move his talk for CCU from September 15 to the 29th.

The Bishop's address, "The Theology of Civil Rights," will be the fifth of the Council's Civil Rights' Luncheons presented this year. "I will attempt an examination of the basis for our Bill of Rights in the context of present-day problems," Bishop Pike explained. "This is a process which each generation must accomplish for itself."

Prior to his appointment as Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California, Rev. Pike was an outstanding leader for civil rights' legislation in New York. He taught law at George Washington University, is a member of the California Bar, and was recently appointed housing chairman of the California Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights' Commission.

CCU members, and their guests, are invited to hear "The Theology of Civil Rights" on Thursday, September 29, at the Marines' Memorial, Sutter and Mason Streets. Luncheon, beginning at 12:15 p.m. in the 11th floor ballroom, will cost $2.50.

- -

Council for Civic Unity - 437 Market St., San Francisco 5 - EX. 2-3877

Enclosed is $_____ for ____ reservations for the September 29 Civil Rights' luncheon at the Marines' Memorial. Returned receipt will be my ticket of admission.

Name _____ Guests _____

Address _____ _____

Persons not wanting lunch may attend to hear Bishop Pike, without reservation, at $1.00 admission at 12:45.

THE LULL THAT DIDN'T

Traditionally, so the myth goes, summer months in San Francisco bring a deep and restful lull in intergroup problems as school-free youngsters drag loving parents to shore, mountain, lake, desert or Disneyland. But summer brings the height of activity in the housing market, and CCU has been beseiged with calls for advice and help as nonwhite families look for homes outside of the "Fillmore" and "Chinatown" districts. Here are just a few cases:

A Negro realtor asked us to find a real estate broker in El Cerrito who would help her find two homes for white clients. She had been turned away by another because he was afraid that dealing with a nonwhite realtor would hurt his business even though the buyers were Caucasians. We located a realtor, at the same time advising our caller that she undoubtedly had a case under the Unruh Civil Rights Act of 1959, which forbids racial discrimination "in all business establishments of every kind whatsoever."

A leading San Francisco realtor told a Negro family that he could not sell to them because the owner objected. A check of the records disclosed him to be the owner. The family is filing suit.

Encampment for Citizenship students checked six downtown apartment buildings selected at random from newspaper ads. At all six, Negro couples were turned away by one subterfuge or another, while white couples were accepted. This duplicated results of a survey last December in the Pacific Heights, Marina and Sunset districts.

A young Caucasian professional received an eviction notice immediately after two Negro friends visited his apartment. The reason given: "Too many friends visit you." No amount of talking by the tenant or CCU could dissuade the landlord.

Two newly arrived social workers, one Caucasian, the other a Negro, found that apartments available to the first were closed to the second. CCU dug up several open to both.

A couple with a 6-months old child spent a week hitting back at one evasion after another from a landlord who finally insisted his building would remain "all white." CCU gave the Lord's Day of a Sunday afternoon to discussing democratic rights with the landlord, to no avail. A lawyer, CCU Board member, is handling a suit against him, while HOP is tracking down an apartment for the family. Six landladies answered our "Wanted for Rent" ad. Five of these responsive property owners belong to a minority group -- more interesting documentation to the strictures of segregation.

OUTSTANDING SOUTHERNER TO ADDRESS CCU

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, will speak to a CCU audience on "Crisis and Hope in the South," Monday, October 3, at 8:00 P.M. in the Parish Hall of the First Unitarian Church, Franklin and Geary Streets.

Founded in 1944 and headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, the Southern Regional Council is, "An organization of Negro and white Southerners formed to achieve equal opportunity," explained Mr. Fleming. "It is definitely 'pro-integrationist', a term which is often slurred in these parts. We have been working recently for positive solutions to issues raised by the 'sit-ins' and school desegregation. We are probably best known in the West for our interpretative reporting of the significance of social change in the South as it affects the whole nation, which is what I wish to speak about to your audience."

SRC is the parent body for several State and local human relations councils and has an extensive educational, research, and action program.

Thirty-eight years old, Mr. Fleming is a native of Atlanta and attended public schools there until he entered Harvard University where he received a B.A. degree. He has been with SRC for 13 years, the last three as Executive Director, and is married with two children. He is co-author, with David Loth, of a book, Integration - North and South, has written articles on race relations for the New York Times, Reporter, Progressive, Nation, and other periodicals.

Donation for this meeting will be 75¢.

HELP!

Listings of apartments and houses, in neighborhoods where non-white minorities do not now have equal opportunity, are always welcome. Encourage your friends and neighbors to work with us as well as their regular real estate broker. We will be happy to send our brochure describing the free Housing Opportunities Program.

CCU's Speaker's Bureau seeks work -- can you get us a spot on one of your club, church, or organization programs? A variety of subjects are suggested by the Bureau in its flyer.

TO THE 200 CCU MEMBERS WHO HAVE NOT RENEWED FOR 1960 -- PLEASE DO, WE NEED YOU!

"LET'S NOT TRY TO BE OSTRICHES"

Hailed by national authorities as "the best of its kind" and "a thoughtful work which I wish we had here," San Francisco's Housing Market - Open or Closed? was published by CCU in June.

The 48 page pamphlet is a popularized report of a study made of practices by brokers, lenders, builders, and landlords in selling and renting to nonwhites. It is the second section of the Civil Rights Inventory of San Francisco conducted by the Council under a grant from the Columbia Foundation and is based upon interviews with leaders in the housing industry.

"Let's not try to be ostriches," said a KPIX-TV editorial on the report, "We can't put our heads in the sand to avoid seeing and hearing about subjects that may be embarrassing...or disturbing.... We urge everyone to get a copy of the report and study it...as the first step toward gaining an understanding of the problems on both sides of this controversy."

Order your copy now -- encourage your club or church study group to read it -- send copies to friends, neighbors, or business associates.

- -

Council for Civic Unity - 437 Market Street - San Francisco 5

Enclosed is $_____for____copies of the booklet, San Francisco's Housing Market - Open or Closed? at 35¢ each (orders of 10 or more are 30¢ each).

Name_____

Address_____

OUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
37 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 5, CALIF.

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October 21, 1960

Miss Jeannette Harris
Program Assistant
Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Miss Harris:

Mr. Fleming is away from the office for several days and, in the interest of time, has asked that I handle your inquiry of the 18th.

I called Miss Lillian Smith at her home in Clayton and discussed the matter with her. As a general rule, she no longer accepts time-consuming speaking engagements. But, quite frankly, the lure of San Francisco is a mighty one and she was pleased that you had thought of her. She has a January deadline on a book, but would be able to come out during February. In addtion to expenses, I think she would appreciate a modest honorarium to cover the ever-present "hidden" expenses.

Miss Smith's address is Old Screamer Mountain, Clayton, Georgia.

Your choice of Miss Smith is an excellent one. She is a good speaker, a charming person, and a

remarkably courageous woman. I feel certain that she would make a very substantial contribution to your annual meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5 • EXbrook 2-3877

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October 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The name of Lillian Smith came up in talking about who might be an attractive speaker for our annual meeting, sometime between the second half of January and the first half of February. Wondering how to get in touch with her reminded us of you.

Would you mind finding out for us if she'd be available for this type of exercise, if she'd like to visit San Francisco (possibly risking the rainy season) and what conditions, if any, she'd stipulate? Any insights you can give us on these questions would be a big help. The sooner we know, the quicker we'll be able to consider specifics, such as set date and other details.

If Miss Smith shows any predisposition to accepting our invitation, would you send us her address so that we may communicate directly. Many thanks for your trouble.

Thought you might like to have the enclosed clippings on your visit here. You did cut them out of the dailies, didn't you?

Sincerely,

Jeannette Harris

Jeannette Harris
Program Assistant

CCU regards to you and your wife.

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White Southerner Advises . . .

'CLEAN OWN HOME' NON-SOUTH

A native white Southerner declared here this week that San Francisco and other non-Southern communities need to "clean their own house" if they want to help race relations in the South.

Harold C. Fleming, a native of Atlanta, told the BAY AREA INDEPENDENT that San Francisco must not give the Southern segregationists a reason to point their finger and try to justify their standpoint on segregation.

Crisis and Hope

Fleming, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, gave a talk here Monday night on "Crisis and Hope in the South" under the auspices of the city's Council for Civic Unity.

The SRC is an organization of white and Negro Southerners who have been working for improved race relations since 1919. Fleming joined the staff in 1947.

Fleming said that San Franciscans and other non-Southerners can also help the South's civil rights movement in three other ways.

You Can Help

"You can help us," he said, "by joining and working with groups like your Council for Civic Unity, by learning the truth of what is going on in the South and by lending moral support (to sit-ins, etc) through sympathy movements.

"San Franciscans further need to show their support of civil rights on the national level," he charged. "This they can do through their legislators and contacts with national businesses."

Fleming said that accurate information can be obtained on what is going on in the South from his organization (it is free for the asking), from Southern School News (a monthly periodical published in Nashville) and other such sources.

In his talk at the First Unitarian Church here, Fleming said that it is necessary to recognize three phases of the Southern race relations picture — the Negro in the South, national pressures and the reaction of white Southerners.

The Southern Negro

"The Negro in the South is the indispensable factor in this equation," he said. "Without the Negro's determination to live and work in the South there would be no problem.

"Further the young Negroes are demonstrating that they don't want to live by the old rules. The sit-ins, for example, are a message that is plain to all."

The South is changing under national pressures, Fleming said.

"The first civil rights legislation was passed by Congress recently. This is a heartening fact and I forsee more legislation in these areas. Both presidential candidates made it plain they will do something about civil rights."

"Self Interest" Hope

Fleming sees hope in the reaction of white Southerners because of self-interest.

"The migration of industry to the South has

(Continued on Page 2.)

10c Bay Area Independent

VOL. 9.—NO. 52 1555 TURK ST. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. WEst 1-4188 118 Thursday, October 6, 1960

Hits American Prejudice Southern Integrationist

By TOM FLEMING

"Southerners do not look at segregation as a problem confined to the South," said Harold C. Fleming of Atlanta, director of Southern Regional Council." They see it as a national problem.

Fleming, who was the offices of the Council for Civic Unity, was the center of a press interview.

The pro-intergrationist southern intergroup leader was in the city to deliver a public address Monday night at the 1st Unitarian Church. He said he was in the West to observe how race relations operated in this section of the U. S.

Fleming told his listeners the non-violent sit-in movement will increase this autumn on a much larger scale as the colleges open.

He deplored violence that occurred in Jacksonville, Fla., but does not think there will be any large scale violence throughout the South because of the possible resistance.

The Atlantan said violence, or lack of violence, depended to a large extent on attitudes of local police in the various communities.

THE SOUTHERN leader said the sit-ins had brought positive gains in the Negro employment. Many large department and variety stores have changed their employment policies, he said, and Negroes have been hired in other capacities than just menial tasks which had been their lot.

One large drugstore chain in Atlanta had Negroes doing everything in the store which white personnel did, although there was still a pay differential, he declared. Now, he added, 45 cities in the South now have integrated eating facilities.

Fleming said some strong segregationist leaders now privately admit that segregation cannot last, they are only fighting a delaying action.

He thinks Sen. Kennedy will carry the South despite the religious issue that has been raised there. He told his listeners, surprisingly enough, the majority of the literature attacking Kennedy that is flooding the mails of the nation is printed in California.

THERE ARE A million and a quarter registered Negro voters in the South, he said, and this figure has increased because of activities of Rev. Martin Luther King and his group.

Rural Negroes, because of poverty and lack of education, do not vote, although they are more numerous than city dwellers.

Both candidates, he feels, are strongly committed to civil rights and he said they will take more vigorous action in this field.

(Continued from Page 1.)

placed many non-Southerners in executive positions in the South with the resulting liberalized outlook on race relations.

"Resistance to desegregation means closing schools and with the South trying to build and expand its industry, it cannot accept this loss."

Another area of self-interest Fleming mentioned was sports. He pointed out that Southern schools are finding it unsound to continue with segregated teams playing before unsegregated audiences.

"The Almighty Dollar"

Fleming also noted that monetary considerations (the Almighty Dollar) helped to speed desegregation of lunch counters which was accomplished in 45 Southern cities in eight weeks.

"The South will solve its problems," Fleming hopefully declared, "because it is necessary."

Fleming, an Army veteran of World War II, is a Harvard graduate (1944) and a Phi Beta Kappa. He has been a director of SRC for three years. He is co-author, with David Loth, of a book, "Integration, North and South."

Southern Leader Discusses Sit-in Demonstrations Today

Recent developments on sit-in demonstrations in the South will be discussed at noon today in 11 Wheeler Hall by Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners working for improved race relations.

Fleming was born in Atlanta and educated in Atlanta schools. While he was serving in the Army during World War II, he was a company commander of Negro troops on Okinawa.

He joined the staff of the Southern Regional Council in 1947 and also served on the central staff of the research project on bi-racial education in the United States sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The results of this project were reported in "The Negro and the Schools" by Harry S. Ashmore.

A magna cum laude graduate of Harvard, in English and social sciences, Fleming has contributed articles on Southern affairs to such publications as "The Reporter," "New Republic," "Survey," and "The Annals." With David Loth, Fleming wrote "Integration North and South."

Fleming's campus appearance is sponsored by Stiles Hall (University YMCA), the Department of Sociology and the Student Executive Council for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

DAILY CALIFORNIAN
10/3/60

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

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October 31, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your kind note and may I return it with our deep appreciation for the excellent job, which you did for us on the evening of October 3. I regret that the newspaper coverage was not better--but I think that the competition on that particular day was a little rough--Nikita and his boys are hard to bump.

MG and I enjoyed our get together with you and your wife and hope that we may be able to repeat sometime--not too far away.

Sincerely.

Frank

Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director

FAQ/gy

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Berkeley 4, California

A NON-PROFIT LISTENER-SUBSCRIPTION RADIO STATION

November 18, 1960

Harold C. Fleming
Exec. Director of the
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming:

KPFA (FM) will play the tape of your talk before the Council for Civic Unity in San Francisco, "Hope and Crisis in the South," on Thursday December 8 at 9:00 p.m.

We have notified Frank Quinn of the Council for Civic Unity, and asked him to forward this letter to you.

If there are other special organizations or groups who you feel would be interested in hearing this program, we will be happy to notify them if you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Elsa Knight Thompson

Elsa Knight Thompson
Director of Public Affairs

EKT:H

November 30, 1960

Miss Elsa Knight Thompson
Director of Public Affairs
KPFA(FM)
2207 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Miss Thompson:

I am pleased to learn that KPFA (FM) is planning to use the tape of my talk before the Council for Civic Unity.

Frank Quinn would know far better than I what groups in the area might be interested in the broadcast, so I must rely on him to make such suggestions.

Incidentally, I heard many fine things about your station during my brief visit to the Bay Area.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

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January 7, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It was good of you to answer us so promptly on Lillian Smith's availability to speak at our annual dinner.

What delayed our following through were involved deliberations over the past few months on whether or not to hold the dinner this year. The final decision not to precludes the need for a speaker.

Should Miss Smith be visiting in this area anytime in the future, we'd be delighted, with some advance notice, to arrange for her to address a community gathering. There's much we have to learn from her experience and deep understanding.

Again, many thanks for your trouble and warm wishes for a good year.

Sincerely,

Jeannette Harris

Jeannette Harris
Program Assistant

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January 9, 1961

Mr. Frank A. Quinn
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Frank:

We are pleased that you have found our reprint of the Fowler Commission report worthy of treatment on your weekly radio program. I am sending you separately one half dozen copies.

If further copies of this or any of our other publications are of use, let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

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January 5, 1961

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, GA.

Dear Harold:

I hope that the holidays were good ones for you and your wife and family, and wish you a happy new year.

On my regular weekly radio program the other day, I read excerpts from your report of the Fowler Commission on Race Relations of Florida. I got two requests for copies of that report and I would appreciate it if you would send us about half a dozen of your December 9 memoes.

Thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director

FAQ/f

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11 WEST 42nd STREET · WIsconsin 7-1616 · NEW YORK

April 3, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

A few weeks ago Dr. Howard W. Odum advised us of your appointment as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and suggested that we write you for a copy of the charter. If it is available, we would very much appreciate receiving a copy.

If there is any way in which the Council for Democracy can be of assistance to you, I hope you will not hesitate to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Warren Brown

Warren Brown

wb/er

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11 West 42nd Street, New York

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*Members of Executive Committee

April 19, 1944

Mr. Warren Brown
Council for Democracy
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

I am sorry for an unavoidable delay in this reply to your letter of April 3.

We are sending you herewith a copy of the charter of the Southern Regional Council and a copy of the March issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. We can also let you have a copy of our by-laws if you would like to have it. By-laws are always rather dry reading, but at least ours show that our Council has a thoroughly democratic structure.

We are still a young organization, having been actually in operation as an organized body only since our charter meeting on February 16-17. We have been literally swamped with details of organization and with the job of trying to stimulate and re-orient various state and local groups which are interested in coordinating their work with ours. I hope that this Council and yours can be of mutual assistance, and I shall be keeping in touch with you from time to time.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

March 22, 1945

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It grieved me greatly to have to miss the last meeting of the Board of Trustees, but matters here were of such a nature that I just could not tear away. I am waiting impatiently for Minutes of your meeting.

The National Urban League is sending out a little pamphlet, "The Negro in America," by the Council for Democracy. In this pamphlet, on page 6, they are making a very clever reference to our organization. I hope you will read it. Do tell me at your first convenience just how things are turning out.

Get this. Is it same as Public Affairs Pamphlet 95?

Dr. Reid was here last week. Unfortunately, I was tied up and did not see nor did I hear him, but the reactions have been definitely favorable to his address.

Yours very kindly,

Gordon B. Hancock

Gordon B. Hancock.

GBH/s

June 5, 1945

Council for Democracy
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us five copies of your pamphlet, "The Negro in America," and bill us if there is any charge.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJim

Council for
UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS
Leadership, Inc.

10 EAST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
MUrray Hill 2-0283

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MEMORANDUM

MAY 7 1964

6 May, 1964

To: Members of CUCRL

Fr: Wiley A. Branton

Re: NEXT MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

This confirms the next Council meeting as follows:

11:00 AM, Friday, May 15th

Conference Room

Southern Regional Council offices

Five Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta, Georgia

Following the meeting, representatives of the COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES will be present for a buffet luncheon at 12:30 after which the discussion concerning the Mississippi Summer Project will be held.

Please phone all agenda items for this meeting to Jay Bass in New York or to me at my Atlanta office (404-525-0595) prior to noon on Thursday, May 14th.

For the convenience of those requiring transportation, an air-lines schedule is appended.

February 1965

MEMBERSHIP

in

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Organizations	Representatives
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American Association of Orthodontists 7477 Delmar Boulevard St. Louis, Missouri 63130	Dr. J. A. Salzmann Chairman, AAO 654 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10021
American Association of School Administrators - NEA 1201 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036	Dr. Forrest E. Conner, Executive Secretary Alternate: Dr. William J. Ellena Associate Secretary
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American College of Osteopathic Surgeons c/o J. Richard Costin, D.O. 111 West Third Avenue Columbus, Ohio 43201	Charles L. Ballinger, D.O. Executive Secretary, ACOS P. O. Box 40 Coral Gables, Florida 33134
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American Hospital Association 840 North Lake Shore Drive Chicago 11, Illinois	Mr. Robert S. Marshall One Farragut Square South Washington, D. C. 20006
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American Humanist Association Humanist House Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387	Dr. Rudolf Dreikurs Board Member, AHA 6 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60602
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The American Legion National Education and Scholarship Committee P. O. Box 1055 Indianapolis, Indiana 46206	Mr. Ed Wieland, Assistant Director Education and Scholarship Program Alternate: Dr. D. W. Tieszen Vice Chairman, Program Dean of Instruction Central Missouri State College Warrensburg, Missouri
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American Library Association American Association of State Libraries 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor A. Ferguson Executive Secretary
American Library Association Association of Hospital and Institution Libraries 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor Phinney Executive Secretary

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American Library Association Public Library Association 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor A. Ferguson Executive Secretary
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American Lutheran Church Youth Department 422 South Fifth Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415	The Reverend John Muller Regional Director, American Lutheran Church 2633 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20009
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Washington, D. C. 20016

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Director, Education Division

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Evangelical United Brethren Church General Board of Christian Education 601 West Riverview Avenue Dayton, Ohio 45406	Rev. William H. Garrett Director of Youth Work
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Institute of Life Insurance 277 Park Avenue New York, New York 10017	Miss Helen M. Thal Assistant Director Educational Division
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International Christian Youth Exchange 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	The Rev. Franklin B. Gillespie Associate Director
International Circulation Managers Association 513 Wilson Building Dallas 1, Texas	Mr. Virgil Fassin, Chairman Youth Affairs Commission ICMA c/o News - Journal Papers Wilmington, Delaware
International City Managers' Association 1313 East 60th Street Chicago, Illinois 60637	Mr. Orin F. Nolting Executive Director
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International Society of Christian Endeavor 1221 East Broad Street Columbus, Ohio 43216	Mr. Harold E. Westerhoff General Secretary
Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies Room 5212 Department of Labor Building Washington, D. C.	Mr. G. A. Foster Executive Secretary
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Jewish War Veterans National Ladies' Ausiliary 1712 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20009	Mrs. Jessie C. Gneshin Executive Director
Junior Achievement, Inc. 51 West 51st Street New York, New York 10019	Mr. Hugh B. Sweeny, Jr. Program Director

Kiwanis International
101 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority, Inc.
Miss Catherine Cowell, National President
561 West 147th Street, Apartment 56
New York, New York 10031

Mrs. Enid C. Baird
21 St. James Place
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Loyal Order of Moose
Supreme Lodge of the World
Mooseheart, Illinois

Mr. John C. Meikle
Supreme Councilman, Loyal Order of Moose
3245 Nebraska Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

The Lutheran Church
Missouri Synod
Board of Parish Education
210 North Broadway
St. Louis, Missouri 63102

Dr. Arthur L. Miller
Executive Secretary

Lutheran Church in America
The Board of Parish Education
2900 Queen Lane
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19129

The Rev. Edward W. Uthe

Maternity Center Association
48 East 92nd Street
New York, New York 10028

Mr. Horace H. Hughes
Director of Public Information

Mental Health Materials Center
104 East 25th Street
New York, New York 10010

Mr. Alex Sareyan
Executive Director

Board of Hospitals and Homes of the
Methodist Church
1200 Davis Street
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Miss Lena J. Martin
Director of Child Welfare

Methodist Church
General Board of Christian Social
Concerns
100 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

The Reverend Robert Regan, Jr.
Director of Education and Organizational
Activities

Methodist Church
General Board of Education
1001 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

The Reverend Thomas J. Van Loon
Executive Secretary
P. O. Box 871
Nashville, Tennessee 37202

The Methodist Church The General Board of Evangelism 1908 Grand Avenue Nashville, Tennessee 37205	The Reverend Gordon Pratt Baker Editor, Tidings Department
Methodist Church General Committee on Family Life Box 871 Nashville, Tennessee 37202	Mr. Edward D. Staples Secretary
Methodist Church The Upper Room 1908 Grand Avenue Nashville, Tennessee 37205	Mrs. Milton Randolph Director, Family Worship Department
Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. 522 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10036	Mrs. Margaret G. Twyman, Director Community Relations Department
National Achievement Clubs, Inc. and Camp Achievement 2839½ Wylie Avenue Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania	Mrs. Ernestine Parks Board Member, NAC 4349 Andover Terrace Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania
National Association and Council of Business Schools 1518 K Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005	Dr. S. M. Vinocour Executive Director
National Association for Better Radio and Television 373 North Western Avenue Los Angeles, California 90004	Mr. Frank Orme Executive Vice President
National Association for Gifted Children 8080 Spring Valley Drive Cincinnati, Ohio 45236	Miss Ann F. Isaacs Executive Director Alternate: Dr. Arthur Hughson, President
National Association for Mental Health 10 Columbus Circle New York, New York 10019	Mr. Edward Linzer Director, Educational Services
National Association for the Education of Young Children 104 E. 25th Street, Room 600 New York, New York 10010	Miss Cornelia Goldsmith Executive Secretary
National Association for Retarded Children 386 Park Avenue, South New York, New York 10016	Mr. Samuel Kaminsky Associate Executive Director

National Association of Citizens' Crime Commission	Mr. L. Clark Schilder Secretary, NACCC 1409 North Emerson Arlington, Virginia
National Association of College Women	Mrs. Willie L. Churchill Second Vice President, NACW 231 West 149th Street New York, New York 10039
National Association of County Officials 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006	Mr. C. D. Ward General Counsel
National Association of Jeanes Supervisors	Dr. Kara Vaughn Jackson Executive Secretary, NAJS P. O. Box 24 Grambling, Louisiana
National Association of Jewish Center Workers 145 East 32nd Street New York, New York 10016	Mr. Robert Weiner Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington 1529 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006
National Association of Public Schools Adult Educators National Education Association 1201 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036	
National Association of Social Workers Inc. 2 Park Avenue New York, New York 10016	Miss Barbara M. Moore Associate Director Department of Practice
National Association of Student Councils 1201 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036	Mr. Gerald M. Van Pool
National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies Windell W. Fewell, Sec. - Treas. The Glen Mills Schools Glen Mills, Pennsylvania	Mr. Blaine M. Madison Commission of Correction 111-119 Mansion Park Building Raleigh, North Carolina
National Association of Women Lawyers	Mrs. Beatrice S. Burstein, Chairman Committee on Juvenile Law and Procedure 62 Causeway Lawrence, Nassau, New York

National Association on Service to Unmarried Parents
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10011

Miss Ruth Chaskel
Director

National Catholic Bandmasters' Association
3178 South 42nd Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53215

Mr. E. T. Kanaskie
Council of National Organizations
Representative

National Catholic Community Service
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Mr. Thomas D. Hinton
Executive Director

National Catholic Educational Association
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Sister Mary Richardine, BVM
Brady Hall
8th & Varnum Streets, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20017

National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Gallagher
Special Representative of the
General Secretary

National Catholic Welfare Conference
Youth Department
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

The Reverend Edward O'Rourke, OSFS
Director of Services
Youth Department

National Center of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine
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Washington, D. C. 20005

Miss Suzanne Lamoureux
Secretary of the
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National Chiropratic Association, Inc.
5737 - 13th Street, N. W.
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Dr. Emmett J. Murphy
Director, Industrial Relations

National Commission on Safety Education
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street, N. W.
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Dr. Norman Key
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National Committee for the Day Care of Children, Inc.
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New York, New York 10010

Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer
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National Committee for Support of the
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1424 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Suite 103
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Mrs. Iris Garfield
Director

National Committee on Employment of Youth
of the National Child Labor Committee
145 East 32nd Street, Twelfth Floor
New York, New York 10016

Dr. Genevieve Hunter Loughran
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National Conference of Catholic Charities 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036	The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Gallagher Secretary
The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc. 203 North Wabash Avenue Chicago, Illinois	Mr. James M. Eagan Vice President
National Conference of Jewish Communal Service c/o Jewish Child Care Council 31 Union Square, West New York, New York 10003	Mr. Preston David Executive Secretary
National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship P. O. Box 871 Nashville, Tennessee 37202	Dr. Joseph W. Bell, Director Council on Youth Work Methodist Board of Education
National Conference of Superintendents of Correctional Institutions for Women and Girls	Mrs. Alyce McPherson Superintendent Florida School for Girls P. O. Box 1359 Ocala, Florida
National Conference of Superintendents Training Schools and Reformatories c/o State Agricultural and Industrial School Industry, New York	Mr. Carl A. Oliver Maple Glen School Children's Center at Laurel Laurel, Maryland
National Conference of Synagogue Youth 84 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10011	Rabbi Pinchas Stolper National Director
National Conference on Citizenship Box 172 Rockville, Maryland	Mrs. Alice Scott Hyatt Administrative Assistant, NCC 12 Maryland Avenue Rockville, Maryland
National Conference on Social Welfare 345 East 46th Street, Room 1012 New York, New York 10017	Miss Ruth Williams Assistant Executive Secretary
National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers 1015 Hutchinson Montgomery, Alabama	Mrs. Thelma S. Morris President

National Congress of Parents and Teachers 700 North Rush Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Mrs. Jennelle Moorhead President
National Consumers League 1029 Vermont Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005	Mrs. Sarah H. Newman General Secretary
National Council for Homemaker Services, Inc. 1790 Broadway New York, New York 10019	Mrs. Betty H. Andersen Executive Director
National Council for Youth, Inc. 201 Endicott Building St. Paul, Minnesota 55101	Mr. Kenneth Hunt Bayliss President
National Council of Administrative Women in Education National Education Association 1201 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036	
National Council on the Arts in Education c/o Professor E. C. Cole Drama, Yale University New Haven, Connecticut	Mr. William Cleveland The George School George School, Pennsylvania
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National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Division of Christian Education 475 Riverside Drive, Room 704 New York, New York 10027	Miss Mary E. Venable Executive Director Department of Children's Work Room 724
National Council of Churches United Church Women 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	Miss Eleanor French, Director Christian Social Relations

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One West 47th Street
New York, New York 10026

Mrs. William Cooper
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National Council of Juvenile Court Judges
American Bar Center
1155 East 60th Street
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Hon. Florence M. Kelley
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135 East 22nd Street
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National Council of State Consultants in Elementary Education
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Washington, D. C. 20006

National Council of Teachers of English
508 South Sixth Street
Champaign, Illinois 61822

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Chief, Elementary Schools Organization Section
U. S. Office of Education
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National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
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National Council of Women of the United States
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Mrs. W. Trude Lash
112 East 19th Street
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44 East 23rd Street
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Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

National Dairy Council
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Miss Alice M. Cooley
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National Farmers Union 1575 Sherman Street Denver, Colorado	Dr. John M. Eklund Assistant to President, NFU 708 Bond Building 1404 New York Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005
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National Federation of Catholic College Students 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005	Miss Glorianne Scorsone Executive Secretary
National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Center, Inc. 232 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10016	Miss Fern M. Colborn, Secretary Housing and Urban Renewal
National Federation of Temple Youth 838 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10021	Mr. Charles Tobias 16248 Sherfield Southfield, Michigan
The National Foundation 800 Second Avenue New York, New York 10017	Mrs. Rollin Brown, Director Public Education and School Relations
National Grange 1616 H Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006	Mr. Wib Justi Director of Youth Activities
National Health Council 1790 Broadway New York, New York 10019	Miss Eleanor E. McGuire, Coordinator Health Careers Program

National Jewish Welfare Board 145 East 32nd Street New York, New York 10016	Mr. Manuel G. Batshaw Director, National Services
National Kindergarten Association 8 West 40th Street New York, New York 10008	Mr. John H. Niemeyer 100 Bank Street New York, New York
National League for Nursing 10 Columbus Circle New York, New York 10019	Miss Imogene D. Cahill Consultant in Education for Maternal and Child Nursing
National Legal Aid and Defender Association c/o American Bar Center 1155 East 60th Street Chicago, Illinois 60637	Mr. Mayo H. Stiegler, Director Membership Services
The National Links, Inc. c/o Mrs. Pauline Weeden, President 1316 Buchanan Street Lynchburg, Virginia	Mrs. Bernice J. Munce National Program/Project Chairman The National Links, Inc. 826 Edgewood Avenue Trenton 8, New Jersey
National Lutheran Council Division of Welfare 50 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10010	Mr. Albert J. Olsen Consultant
National Medical Association c/o Mr. Samuel C. Smith Administrative Secretary Howard University College of Medicine 520 W Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20001	
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National Multiple Sclerosis Society 257 Park Avenue, South New York, New York 10010	Mr. Jack Brauntch Patient Service Director
National Newman Club Federation 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005	Miss Judie M. Pfeifer Executive Secretary

National Police Conference on PAL and Youth Activities 14 Oakwood Place Elizabeth, New Jersey	Mr. Ed Gray Chairman
National Presbyterian Health and Welfare Association 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	Mr. Robert Barrie
National Recreation Association 8 West Eighth Street New York, New York 10011	Miss Virginia Musselman Director, Program Services
National Safety Council 425 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60611	Mr. Harold E. Heldreth, Manager Youth Activities Department
National School Boards Association 1940 Sheridan Road Evanston, Illinois	Mr. Harold V. Webb Executive Director
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc. 345 East 46th Street New York, New York 10017	Mr. Robert E. Bondy Director
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National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Inc. 16 East 40th Street New York, New York 10016	Miss Helen Gibbons Consultant in Education
National Travelers Aid Association 44 East 23rd Street New York, New York 10010	Miss Ethel W. Jacobs Director, Program Services
National Tuberculosis Association 1790 Broadway New York, New York 10019	Mrs. Thelma S. Morris Program Consultant Health Education
National Union of Christian Schools 865 - 28th Street, S. E. Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508	Mr. John A. Vander Ark Director
National Urban League, Inc. 14 East 48th Street New York, New York 10017	Mr. Nelson C. Jackson Associate Executive Director

National Women's Conference of the American Ethical Union 2 West 64th Street New York, New York 10023	Mrs. Camille Berger 446 Oak Avenue River Edge, New Jersey
National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America 3080 Broadway New York, New York 10027	Mrs. Lionel Conisa National Youth Activities Chairman NWLUSA 801 Raymere Avenue Wanamassa, New Jersey
Natural Science for Youth Foundation 114 East 30th Street New York, New York 10016	
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New Homemakers of America Office of Education Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Washington, D. C. 20202	Miss Mildred Reel National Adviser
Optimist International 4494 Lindell Boulevard St. Louis, Missouri 63108	Mr. Louis C. Jurinich Boys' Work Director
Pentecostal Holiness Church Sunday School Department P. O. Box 8 Franklin Springs, Georgia 30639	Mr. Karl W. Bunkley General Sunday School President
Phi Delta Kappa International Eighth and Union Streets Bloomington, Indiana	Mr. Maynard Bemis Executive Secretary
Pi Lambda Theta Suite 404 815 Seventeenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006	Miss Jane M. Hill Executive Director
Play Schools Association, Inc. 120 West 57th Street New York, New York 10019	Mrs. Rowena M. Shoemaker Executive Director
Rabbinical Council of America 84 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10011	Rabbi Leonard Gewirtz Chairman, Social Actions Commission Washington Boulevard and Torah Drive Wilmington, Delaware

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Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints The Auditorium Independence, Missouri 64051	Mr. Richard B. Lancaster, Director Department of Religious Education
The Salvation Army, National Headquarters 120 - 130 West 14th Street New York, New York 10011	Colonel Jane E. Wrieden National Consultant Women's and Children's Services
The Salvation Army Western Territorial Headquarters 101 Valencia Street P. O. Box 3846 San Francisco, California	Brigadier David Moulton Territorial Youth Secretary
The Salvation Army Central Territorial Headquarters 860 North Dearborn Street Chicago, Illinois	Brigadier Edward Deratany
The Salvation Army Eastern Territorial Headquarters 120 West 14th Street New York, New York 10011	Major George Nelting
The Salvation Army Southern Territorial Headquarters 675 Seminole Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	Brigadier C. William Jaynes
Save the Children Federation Boston Post Road Norwalk, Connecticut 06852	Mr. Glen Leet Executive Director
Science Clubs of America, Science Service, Inc. 1719 N Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036	Mrs. Dorothy Shriver Assistant Director
Serbian Eastern Orthodox Diocese for the United States and Canada St. Sava Monastery Libertyville, Illinois	The Rev. Fr. Velimer P. Kovacevich Youth Adviser Diocesan Board of Education 2107 Sidney Street Pittsburgh 3, Pennsylvania

Society for Adolescent Psychiatry 62 Waller Avenue White Plains, New York 10605	William A. Schonfeld, M.D. Past President
Society for Pediatric Research c/o William B. Weil, Jr., M.D. Secretary-Treasurer Department of Pediatrics University of Florida Medical Center Gainesville, Florida	Dr. Felix P. Heald 2125 - 13th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20009
Society for Public Health Educators 81 Hillside Road Rye, New York	Mrs. Winona Banister Executive Director
Society of St. Vincent De Paul Superior Council of the U. S. Railway Exchange Building 611 Olive Street St. Louis 1, Missouri	Mr. Dudley L. Baker Executive Secretary
Southern Association on Children Under Six c/o Mr. Malcolm Host Executive Director Day Care Association P. O. Box 88024 Houston 4, Texas	Miss Jean Morgan, Chairman Followup Committee on WHC 4302 Dale Avenue Nashville, Tennessee
Southern Baptist Convention Home Mission Board 161 Spring Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia	Mr. L. William Crews Juvenile Rehabilitation Director
Southern Baptist Convention Sunday School Board 127 Ninth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee 37203	The Reverend Ellis M. Bush Coordinator of Family Life Education
Students for a Democratic Society Student Department League for Industrial Democracy 112 East 19th Street New York, New York	Mr. Charles Van Tassel Past President and National Secretary
Supreme Council, 33° Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonary, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A. 1733 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20009	Dr. Willard E. Givens Director of Education

Synagogue Council of America 235 Fifth Avenue New York, New York	Dr. Bernard Lander
Teen-age Assembly Against Juvenile Crime	Mr. Charles M. Campbell, Adviser Teen-age Assembly of America 1511 Nuuanu Avenue #738 Honolulu, Hawaii 96817
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America - Joint Youth Commission 84 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10011	Mr. Harold H. Boxer, Chairman Joint Youth Commission
Unitarian Universalist Association Department of Education 25 Beacon Street Boston, Massachusetts 02108	The Reverend Edna P. Bruner Education Consultant and Field Worker
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Inc. 78 Beacon Street Boston, Massachusetts 02108	Mr. Willard Johnson Executive Director
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United Church of Christ Youth Ministry 1505 Race Street, Room 801 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102	Rev. Scott S. Libbey Secretary, Youth Ministry
United Church of Christ Board for Homeland Ministries Division of Christian Education 1505 Race Street, Room 806 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102	Miss Elizabeth L. Helz Secretary, Children's Ministry

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United States National Student Association 3457 Chestnut Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104	Mr. Phil Sherburne National Affairs Vice President
United States Youth Council 236 East 46th Street New York, New York 10017	Mr. Joseph A. Fallon President
The United Steelworkers of America 1500 Commonwealth Building Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania	Mr. Emery F. Bacon Director

United Synagogue of America 3080 Broadway New York, New York 10027	Mr. Morris Laub, Director Joint Commission on Social Action
United Synagogue of America Department of Youth Activities 218 E.70th Street, N. W. New York, New York 10021	Mr. Joseph I. Cohen Associate Director
United Synagogue of America - ATID 1123 Broadway New York, New York 10010	Mr. Paul Freedman Assistant Director
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States VFW Building 34th Street at Broadway Kansas City, Missouri 64111	Mr. John Mathieson Director of Youth Activities
Ladies' Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars 406 West 34th Street Kansas City, Missouri 64111	Mrs. Eileen Wirt Director, News Bureau Editor, National Bulletin
The Volunteers of America National Headquarters 340 West 85th Street New York, New York 10024	General John F. McMahon Commander in Chief Alternate: Lt. Colonel Emily R. Coleman
Volunteers of America National Religious Activities Division 319 St. Philip Street Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Lt. Major J. C. Cheveallier National Secretary of Religious Affairs
Wesleyan Methodist Church of America Youth Department Box 2000 Marion, Indiana 46955	Mr. Robert W. McIntyre Executive Secretary
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom - U. S. Section 2006 Walnut Avenue Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103	Mrs. Bess Lane, Chairman Committee on Childhood Education for Peace and Freedom 325 Dartmouth Avenue Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
World Tapes for Education P. O. Box 15703 Dallas, Texas 75215	Dr. Walter W. Williamson Towson State College Baltimore, Maryland 21204

Young Christian Workers 1655 West Jackson Boulevard Chicago, Illinois 60612	Mr. Richard Delaney President
National Council of Young Men's Christian Association 291 Broadway New York, New York 10007	Mr. John R. Fisher Youth Program Secretary
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association 600 Lexington Avenue New York, New York 10022	Miss Edith Lerrigo General Secretary
Lifeline Division of Youth for Christ International, Inc. North Main Street Wheaton, Illinois	Mr. Bruce Love Vice President
Youth Institute 28 Van Cortlandt Avenue Ossining, New York	Mr. Richard P. Cook Psychiatric Social Worker
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.	Dr. Deborah P. Wolfe, Education Chief Committee of Education and Labor House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

2/7/65 EM

NCCY
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Follow up Reporter

1145 19th St. Washington, D.C. 20036 Vol. 5 No. 2 April-May 1965

NCCY LAUDS COOPERATION OF ARMY RECRUITING SERVICE

U.S. Army Photograph

The National Committee for Children and Youth recently presented certificates of appreciation to 27 U.S. Army recruiters who have been cooperating in the Youth Services Project which the Committee is conducting in Baltimore, Maryland and Washington, D.C. The program has the support of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor.

This NCCY project is geared to aid youths who volunteer for military service but who cannot make the grade on the Enlistment Screening Test for lack of previous educational opportunity. The program is designed to provide the rejected volunteers with special accelerated educational training to either qualify them for military service or, through Manpower Development Training, to equip themselves for civilian occupations.

The Army Recruiting Service has cooperated with the projects in both cities by making referrals from 22 recruiting stations in the Baltimore-Washington area and by facilitating field trips to Army installations and giving military career council to the youth in training.

Dr. Donald Harting, Director of the Institute for Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health and Chairman of the NCCY Subcommittee, presented the awards to Col. Thomas MacConnell III, Recruiting District Commander, Fort Meade, Maryland; Major Marvin R. Hicks, Recruiting Detachment Commander, Fort Holabird, Maryland. Dr. Harting also tendered awards to the following enlisted recruiters: Sergeant Major Alfred Harris; Master Sergeants Charles E. Jensen, Jr., John J. Dibattista, James H. Davis, James W. Jackson, Edward T. Brown, Joseph A. Gigliotte, Jack C. Buckley, John Topfer, Robert A. Stowell, Vernon D. Friend, Donald L. Tilson, Armenag Palian; Sergeants First Class C. Fred Willits, Harry L. Gromley, Robert F. Burton, Robert G. Gelnaw, Marvin A. Moscowitz, Ralph E. Council, Richard E. Gera, Frank A. Grega, Roy M. Hobbs; Staff Sergeants Regis E. Ketterer, Marshall E. Ledford; and Sergeant First Class Arthur B. Davis.

Staff from the National Committee for Children and Youth participating in the ceremonies and reception at

(continued on page 3)

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH
c/o National Committee for Children and Youth
1145 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W. / WASHINGTON 6, D. C. / FE 8-3057

July 16, 1965

PW
PA - please reply
MJ - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have read and have been interested in your various publications since early in 1960. I am particularly impressed with your recent publication "Encounter with the Future." In reviewing your material, I am impressed by the fact that the Council has not only provided leadership but it has also exercised restraint. This combination is very difficult to attain, and indicates the high quality of dedication among the leaders in your own organization.

In reviewing the listing of 375 organizations who have programs related to children and youth, which makes up the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, affiliated with the National Committee for Children and Youth, I am concerned that we have a relatively small number which have a major interest in human rights. Those which are now among our membership which have held leadership roles in the CNO are the American Jewish Committee, National Urban League, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. A number of other organizations such as the National Council for Jewish Women, Encampment for Citzenship, Hadassah, and others, have an interest but not a primary objective for human rights. I feel that it would be a great addition to the Council of National Organizations if the Southern Regional Council would join in the Council.

The Council was created prior to the 1950 White House Conference on Children and Youth to give a means for communication among the national organizations in preparing for the 1950 Conference. It has continued in a relatively informal relationship since that time. During the planning for the 1960 White House Conference, the Council was very active and had representation on both President's National Committee, and the White House Conference deliberations. The Council also has five representatives on the National Committee governing board.

I have sent you under separate cover information regarding the Council of National Organizations and the National Committee for Children and Youth. After consideration you find you wish to join the Council, I assure you the Southern Regional Council would be most welcome and would give us an opportunity to keep in closer communication.

Sincerely yours,

Isabella J. Jones

(Mrs.) Isabella J. Jones
Director, NCCY

Material follows
under separate cover

Make folder - "Councils ~~of Orgs.~~ of Nat'l. Orgs for Children + Youth" file in "Co" Section

August 5, 1965

Mrs. Isabella J. Jones
Director
National Committee for Children and Youth
1145 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to respond to your letter of July 16 since I will shortly become the Director of SRC.

We are very interested in your invitation and want to respond favorably, subject to approval by our executive committee. However, could you give us some more specific guidance on the financial responsibility involved. Before making a definite commitment, we would want to be certain that the financial obligations are within the means of our present budget.

Thank you for thinking of SRC. We look forward to a close association with the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH
c/o National Committee for Children and Youth
1145 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W. / WASHINGTON 6, D. C. / FE 8•3057

December 21, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 2 advising us of your executive committee's approval of membership in the Council of National Organizations. We are happy to have the Council join us in our mutual efforts on behalf of a better life for all children and youth.

We recently received two booklets from your organization which I would like to request additional copies of. They are: Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation; and The Migrant Farmer, A Psychiatric Study. I would be most appreciative if we might receive one additional copy of each so that we might share them with the National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information. NCCY is under contract with the Clearinghouse to provide information from our constituent groups relating to the broad area of mental health.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Isabella J. Jones

(Mrs.) Isabella J. Jones
Director

December 28, 1965

Mrs. Isabella J. Jones, Director
Council of National Organizations
for Children and Youth
c/o National Committee for Children
and Youth
1145 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Under separate cover we are sending the materials you requested. Additional copies are available if you have need of them.

All of us here send our best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

NCCY

NATIONAL
COMMITTEE
FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Established to Follow Up the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth

What It Is

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION created to stimulate implementation of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, the NCCY carries out the third important phase of the Conference—followup. The Conference involved millions of Americans in the preparatory stage. The Conference participants developed 670 Forum recommendations. Implementation of these recommendations will be the task of all those concerned with children and youth in the decade ahead.

As early as October 1959, the President's National Committee of the 1960 Conference recommended formation of such a continuing body to provide overall followup. The President's National Committee joined with the three sponsoring groups which had been part of the 1960 Conference to form the NCCY. These groups are: the National Council of State Committees (representing Governor-appointed committees in all the States); the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth (representing over 500 voluntary groups); and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth (representing 34 Federal agencies).

The NCCY consists of 21 persons who serve without compensation for three-year terms on a rotating basis. Six are members-at-large, including one youth. The other 15 members are drawn from the three sponsoring groups.

An executive director and staff conduct the work of the NCCY under the direction of an Executive Committee and standing committees. The NCCY is an incorporated, non-profit educational organization operated with private funds. Contributions to it are tax-deductible under Section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code.

What It Will Do

The NCCY has adopted this statement of purpose:

1. Stimulate effective implementation of recommendations and utilization of materials of the 1960 White House Conference.

2. Stimulate further research and more effective utilization of research findings on behalf of children and youth.

3. Encourage cooperation and joint activities among the sponsoring groups.

4. In cooperation with the National Council of State Committees for Children and Youth encourage the continuation and/or development of State Committees for Children and Youth, and in cooperation with the Council of National Organizations encourage continued activity of National Organizations on behalf of children and youth.

5. In cooperation with sponsoring groups promote and assist State, regional and national conferences on the problems of children and youth.

6. Promote the exchange of information on the concerns affecting children and youth.

How It Will Be Done

IN CARRYING OUT its program, the NCCY proposes to use the assistance of all possible existing channels, public and private, and especially those of its three sponsoring agencies. [The NCCY will not directly support or approve specific legislation or officially endorse programs of other organizations.] The scope of its activities will be limited only by the funds available to it to support the various aspects of the program outlined here:

1. FORUM RECOMMENDATIONS

• Determine what agencies are working on the recommendations and what their activities are. • Disseminate this information to the constituent groups and agencies

The working together of independent units so as to produce a result greater than could have been produced b

involved in the 1960 Conference to facilitate cooperation and avoid overlapping efforts. • Promote interaction among constituent groups and agencies on followup of the recommendations.

2. POINTS OF FOCUS

• Determine the feasibility of selecting problem areas as they may evolve as points of focus for special efforts by the NCCY.

3. RESEARCH

• Encourage sponsoring groups, their constituencies and others concerned with children and youth to *identify* problems needing research. • Stimulate organizations doing research *to make findings available* to persons and groups to which they would be useful. • Assist interested persons *to obtain* research findings by identifying sources of such research. • Stimulate research projects on children and youth.

4. PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING

• Maintain broad public awareness and understanding of the needs of children and youth and promote constructive support of programs to meet these needs by a public information program utilizing all media.
• Prepare and publish information related to Conference followup or encourage others to do so.

5. EVALUATION

• Make a continuing evaluation of the impact of the 1960 Conference and the followup activities resulting from it.
• Make a report to the Nation in 1965 based on this review.

6. RELATED SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES

• Maintain a clearinghouse of information through a house organ, guides, and an information exchange service. • Promote and assist in planning and conducting conferences and joint meetings on regional, national or other levels. • Assist in integrating existing services on followup activities. • Maintain and make available for sale to the public, publications and recordings prepared for the 1960 Conference. • Make the photo exhibit, "These Are Our Children," available for public showing.

by the units working separately.

What You Can Do

- Offer your services to your State Committee for Children and Youth. Work to strengthen your State committee as an effective citizen-action program.
- Support local, State and National Organizations which are working to implement the recommendations of the Conference Forums.
- Know the resources for children and youth in your community, State and Nation, and help to make these more effective.

The NCCY, as a coordinating body, can best serve its purpose by remaining well informed about activities in the field of children and youth, and by disseminating the knowledge it has, and continues to collect, to those in need of such information. Therefore you can take part in the overall effort of promoting the welfare of the Nation's children by:

Telling us of any activity you are conducting or participating in to implement or follow up the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Asking us for information and/or help in a project you are undertaking relating to followup of the White House Conference.

NCCY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

1145 19th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.
Telephone: FEderal 8-3057

National Committee for Children and Youth

Officers

Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Jr. ..... Chairman
Dr. Luther H. Foster ..... Vice Chairman
Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger ..... Vice Chairman
Mrs. Sylvia Carothers ..... Secretary
Dr. Lyle W. Ashby ..... Treasurer

Chairmen of Standing Committees

Dr. Donald Brieland ..... Budget and Finance
Miss Beatrice McConnell ..... Nominations
Mr. Philip Ryan ..... Program
Dr. Lyle W. Ashby ..... Projects and Research
Mrs. Rollin Brown ..... Publications and Public Information
Mr. John Tannehill ..... Youth Advisory

Mr. Edward W. Aiton
Mr. Robert E. Bondy
Mr. A. Whittier Day
Dr. Edward D. Greenwood
Dr. Donald Harting
Mrs. J. A. Hill
Dr. Donald S. Howard
Mr. Nelson Jackson
Dr. Helen K. Mackintosh
Mrs. Douglas MacNeil
Mr. Roy Sorenson

The Executive Committee comprises the Officers and Chairmen of Standing Committees.

Executive Director: Mrs. Isabella J. Jones

Aids to Followup

The publications and LP records which were prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, are available from the National Committee for Children and Youth. Ask for a price list and descriptive flyer.

Record Album Album of 12 major speeches recorded during the Conference.

Publications • THE NATION'S CHILDREN (3 vols.) • CHILDREN IN A CHANGING WORLD • THE STATES REPORT ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH • FOCUS ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH • REFERENCE PAPERS ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH • CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE 1960s • CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN IMMEDIATELY

Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth
Associations Building, Room 411
1145 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION BLANK

Please read the Information Memorandum before completing this blank.
Please answer all questions.

1. _____
(Name of organization)

Address of Organization _____

_____
(City and State)

/____/ Does not wish to continue as a member of the Council of National Organizations. Please take us off the mailing list.

/____/ Wishes to be a member of the Council of National Organizations.

2. Our Representative will be _____
(Name)

Address _____

Position in Organization _____

3. Our Chief Executive is _____
(Name) (Title)

4. Our organization does ____ does not ____ have regional and/or state offices; a list giving area covered, mailing address, name of person to whom to write is attached ____.

5. Our organization works in the areas of the Conference Forum recommendations which are underlined below. (See Conference Proceedings, pages 400-404.)

A. Physical Environment
   1. Urban, Suburban, and Rural planning
   2. Housing
   3. Health

B. Social Environment
   1. Citizenship
   2. The Family
   3. Education
   4. Employment
   5. Military Service
   6. Leisure
   7. Mass Media
   8. Welfare Services
   9. Physical Health and Medical Services
   10. Mental Health
   11. Law and Law Enforcement

C. Religion

D. Human Rights

E. Special Categories of Children and Youth
   1. The Gifted
   2. The Slow Learner
   3. The School Dropout
   4. The Delinquent
   5. The Handicapped in General
   6. The Emotionally Handicapped
   7. The Mentally Handicapped
   8. The Physically Handicapped
   9. The Multiple Handicapped
   10. The Dependent and Neglected
   11. Adolescent Unmarried Parents and Illegitimate Children
   12. The Adopted
   13. The Migrant
   14. The Minority

Other (Specify)

6. Our organization has selected the following Conference Forum Recommendations for particular attention. List by numbers as given in the Composite Forum Recommendations in Conference Proceedings, pages 315-399.

7. Our organization plans the following activities which we believe to be in support of the Conference followup effort:

8. Our organization could make good use of _____ copies of each issue of the NCCY Newsletter if available. In turn, our organization will add the NCCY to our mailing list to receive the following publications:

9. Our organization wishes to make a voluntary contribution of $_____ to Council expenses. Check attached ____ (payable to National Committee for Children and Youth, CNO). Will send $_____ on _____.

10. Our organization makes the following recommendations for the program of the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth and of the NCCY:

Signed _____

7/16/62

Dated _____

RULES AND PROCEDURES
FOR THE
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

I. PURPOSES

The purposes of the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth are to:

- o stimulate cooperation and participation of national voluntary organizations in implementing Forum recommendations of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth;
- o review and evaluate activities of the member organizations related to followup of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth and report these activities by means of
  (1) facilities made available through the National Committee for Children and Youth and
  (2) a report to the 1965 Joint Conference; and
- o hold itself in readiness for the effective participation of national organizations in planning and implementing policies and program of the 1970 White House Conference on Children and Youth by making available the knowledge, experience and resources of the national voluntary organizations to the persons designated to plan the 1970 Conference.

II. MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Council is open to national voluntary organizations having a major interest, emphasis, or concern for children and youth, the determination to be made by the organization, and subject to the approval of the executive committee of CNOCY. Because structure and geographic patterns vary so widely, a working definition of a national organization for purposes of Council membership is an organization that is available to the entire country and that has autonomy; an autonomous organization serving one region of several states where no national organization exists or is appropriate; or, national boards or commissions within larger organizations that have control of their own programs and budgets.

Each organization shall complete the membership form submitted by the CNOCY office and shall designate an individual to be its representative on the Council. All matters involving the Council, or the organization's relationship to the Council are channeled through the designated representative. It shall be the responsibility of the member organization to inform the Council office of any change in representation on the Council.

III. OFFICERS

The officers of the Council consist of the chairman, four vice-chairmen and secretary. The officers and the immediate past chairman are included among the 41 members of the executive committee. Officers shall be elected for a term of two years and shall not serve more than one term in the same office.

A. Chairman - The chairman shall preside at meetings of the Council and the executive committee; appoint committees, as authorized by the executive committee; prepare the agenda for meetings of the Council and the executive committee; serve as ex officio member of all committees, except the nominating committee; serve as one of the Council's representatives on the National Committee for Children and Youth and report on behalf of the Council; and give direction to the staff of NCCY in relation to CNOCY activities.

He shall designate three persons from the elected officers to serve with the past chairman and himself on NCCY. (See Section VIII - RELATIONSHIPS)

B. Vice-Chairmen - There shall be four vice-chairmen, one of whom shall be designated by the executive committee of the Council as first vice-chairman.

In the absence or inability to serve of the chairman, the first vice-chairman shall preside at meetings of the Council or the executive committee and carry out the other duties of the chairman. Similarly, in the absence or inability to serve of the first vice-chairman, the remaining vice-chairmen shall serve as determined among them. The vice-chairmen shall carry out such assignments as given them by the chairman or the executive committee.

C. Secretary - The secretary shall take the minutes of the meetings of the Council and the executive committee; see that they are transcribed, reproduced and distributed to the appropriate persons; and, when called upon, read the roll of representatives to the Council or membership of the executive committee.

IV. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The council shall elect an executive committee of 41 members, including the officers and the immediate past chairman, and must include representation from health, education, social welfare, recreation and leisure time, religion, organized labor, arts and culture, human rights, service clubs, youth, and citizen groups.

Members of the executive committee, except the officers, shall serve for a term of ~~three~~ 2 years, and will be eligible for re-election at the end of a ~~three~~ 2-year period for one additional term. No organization shall be represented on the executive committee for more than two consecutive terms. In the event of personnel changes in the representation of an organization represented on the executive committee, the organization may name a substitute representative to the committee to complete the unexpired term.

The immediate past chairman of the Council shall serve on the executive committee during the term immediately following his chairmanship, until succeeded by a retiring chairman.

The executive committee shall carry out policies and programs as directed by the Council; act for the Council between meetings of the Council, and subject to the Council's ratification of its actions; make recommendations to the Council for action; and authorize creation and appointment of standing or special committees as needed to further the business of the Council.

The executive committee shall elect the nominating committee and designate its chairman.

V. HEADQUARTERS, STAFF AND FINANCING

Headquarters for the Council and staff services are provided through the National Committee for Children and Youth.

There are no dues for membership in the Council. Voluntary contributions by the member organizations are requested as needed to cover necessary out-of-pocket expenses for operation of the Council, as are approved from time to time by the officers.

Details concerning the financial arrangements between NCCY and the Council are worked out between the officers of the Council and the officers of NCCY.

The voluntary contributions for out-of-pocket expenses are paid to NCCY. An accounting is maintained of all funds received from national organizations for this purpose and of charges against the fund and a report is made by the Director of NCCY at each meeting of the Council or of the executive committee.

VI. NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

A. A nominating committee of five persons shall be elected by the executive committee at least six months prior to the biennial meeting of the Council. The executive committee shall designate one of the five persons elected to serve as chairman.

B. The nominating committee shall meet at least four months before the biennial meeting and select a list of nominees for officers and to fill vacancies on the executive committee.

The committee shall present a slate of nominees for officers and a list of nominees for the executive committee.

C. In selecting nominees the following guidelines should be considered:

1. the nominee for chairman of the Council of National Organizations should be selected from the officers of the previous year;

2. the nominees for officers should be selected from the executive committee of the previous year;

3. members of the executive committee shall reflect a balance of representation of the primary areas of services for children and youth, namely, education, health, welfare, youth-serving, religion, human relations, recreation, and general service organizations.

D. The nominating committee shall send out a form requesting permission to submit the names of the nominees. Any replies not received by the deadline required by the nominating committee will be presumed to be in the affirmative.

E. The nominating committee shall prepare a ballot which must be mailed not less than sixty (60) days before the biennial meeting to the representatives on the Council of all member organizations.

F. Ballots shall be returned, in the envelope provided for that purpose, to the Council office not less than thirty (30) days before the biennial meeting and shall be opened and counted in such a manner as directed by the nominating committee.

G. Results of the election shall be announced at the biennial meeting.

H. Ballots shall be destroyed upon order by a vote of the biennial meeting.

VII. MEETINGS

A. Meetings of the Council shall be held biennially in conjunction with the Joint Conference on Children and Youth.

B. The executive committee shall meet not less than once a year, or on the call of the chairman.

C. Each member organization shall have one vote at business sessions of the Council, exercised by the designated representative or the certified substitute.

D. A member of the executive committee who is unable to attend a meeting of the committee may designate another representative

of his organization to attend as an observer and to participate in discussions, but only members of the committee may vote.

E. A quorum for holding a meeting and conducting business shall be the number present after due and adequate notice of the meeting has been given.

VIII. RELATIONSHIPS

The Council, one of the founding groups, names five members of the National Committee for Children and Youth. These representatives consist of the chairman, the immediate past chairman and three of the elected officers designated by the chairman to serve as members of NCCY. They receive their general guidance from the Council and its executive committee, but they are free to act as individual members of NCCY, in the best interest of all concerned.

Much of the Council's program is directly related to the work of the National Committee for Children and Youth. Through the channel of NCCY, the Council will cooperate with the National Council of State Committees for Children and Youth and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth in convening joint conferences, exchanging information, preparing and distributing materials, developing questionnaires, conducting surveys and in other ways furthering the purposes of the Council.

5/11/63 cjm

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Officers:

Colonel Jane E. Wrieden, Chairman
The Salvation Army
120 West Fourteenth Street
New York, New York 10011

E. H. Christopherson, M.D., Vice Chairman
American Academy of Pediatrics
1801 Hinman Avenue
Evanston, Illinois

George Corwin, Vice Chairman
National Council of YMCA's
291 Broadway
New York, New York 10007

Nelson C. Jackson, Vice Chairman
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dorothy B. Taaffe, Vice Chairman
American National Red Cross
18th and E Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mildred Batchelder, Secretary
American Library Association
50 East Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Members:

Otis L. Anderson, M.D.
American Medical Association
One Farragut Square South
Washington, D. C. 20006

Emery F. Bacon
The United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Dr. Max F. Baer
B'nai B'rith Youth Organization
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

C. Lloyd Bailey
United States Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street
New York, New York 10016

Clark W. Blackburn
Family Service Association of America
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010

Ray Butler
American Recreation Society
1404 New York Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Imogene D. Cahill
National League for Nursing
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Lois M. Clark
Department of Rural Education
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Fern M. Colborn
National Federation of Settlements
226 West 47th Street
New York, New York 10036

E. Thomas Colosimo
Arrow, Inc.
1166 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Vincent DeFrancis
Children's Division
American Humane Association
896 Pennsylvania Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80203

Mrs. Alice F. Dunham
American Association of
University Women
2401 Virginia Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Mrs. Miriam R. Ephraim
National Jewish Welfare Board
145 East 32nd Street
New York, New York 10016

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Gallagher
National Catholic Welfare Conference
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer
National Committee for the Day Care
of Children
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010

Dr. Glenn R. Hawkes
National Association for
Nursery Education
155 East Ohio Street
Chicago, Illinois

Harold E. Heldreth
National Safety Council
425 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dr. Lois Higgens
International Association of Women Police
100 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Clifford N. Jenkins
National Congress of Parents
and Teachers
700 North Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Richard C. Johnson
American Educational Theatre Assn.
302 East Hillside Avenue
Barrington, Illinois

Wib Justi
National Grange
1616 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Hon. Florence M. Kelley
National Council of Juvenile
Court Judges
135 East 22nd Street
New York, New York

Edith Lerrigo
Young Women's Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dr. Dorothy S. Lyle
American Home Economics Association
1600 20th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Mrs. Thelma S. Morris
National Congress of Colored
Parents and Teachers
1015 Hutchinson
Montgomery, Alabama

Donald E. Mumford
Kiwanis International
c/o Lexington Hotel
New York, New York

Virginia Musselman
National Recreation Association
8 West Eighth Street
New York, New York 10011

Dr. Edward G. Olsen
National Conference of Christians
and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Thomas E. O'Brien
Big Brothers of America
Suburban Station Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103

Miss Mildred Reel
Future Homemakers of America
U. S. Office of Education
Washington, D. C. 20202

Sister Mary Richardine, B.V.M.
National Catholic Educational Assn.
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mabel Ross, M.D.
American Psychiatric Association
c/o Bureau of State Services
Public Health Service
Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20202

Mary E. Venable
Division of Christian Education
National Council of Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Ed Wieland
Education and Scholarship Committee
The American Legion
P. O. Box 1055
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202

Philip E. Ryan, Immediate Past Chrm.
National Association for Mental Health
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

5/27/64
jba

N O W A V A I L A B L E

A NEW AND VALUABLE RESOURCE ON RURAL YOUTH -- Their problems, needs and aspirations. What changes have been brought about by the expanding urban sprawl and the declining rural economy?

Rural Youth in a Changing Environment: Report of the National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment, edited by Ruth Cowan Nash. Published by and available from the National Committee for Children and Youth, 1145 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036, 1965. 345 pp. $2.50 plus $.25 postage. (Discount prices are available on bulk orders.)

This report includes full texts of addresses by Winthrop Rockefeller, Dr. Paul A. Miller, Dr. Russell G. Mawby, and Brooks Hays, and summaries of other addresses by government officials and authorities in areas concerned with rural youth. An interesting feature of the report is an analysis by Dr. William Osborne of "A Study of the Problems, Attitudes and Aspirations of Rural Youth" prepared for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund by Elmo Roper and Associates. This analysis, which includes a number of tables and charts, reports on the direct survey of rural youth on their own attitudes and is unique in this area. Considerable attention is given in the report to needs of special groups, including Negro, American Indian, Spanish-American youth and children of migrant workers. The recommendations of the Conference are presented both in full and in summary. A report of followup activities, a catalogue of existing programs and projects to meet the needs of rural youth, and an interesting "Profile of the Rural Juvenile Court Judge" are included in the appendix.

ORDER BLANK

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH
1145 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Please send _____ copies of Rural Youth in A Changing Environment at $2.50 plus $.25 postage per copy. Total amount enclosed _____.

Discount on bulk orders:
10% on 10-24 copies
15% on 25-99 copies
20% on 100 or more copies

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

PUBLICATIONS AND RECORDINGS of the

National Committee for Children and Youth
1145 19th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

☐ ***THE NATION'S CHILDREN*** – three volumes containing an assessment of the social and human factors that determine the capacities of young people. The first, "The Family and Social Change," deals with populations, marital and parental roles, religion, among other topics. The second, "Development and Education," concerns genetics, behavior and personality patterns, educational objectives, use of talent, equality of opportunity, etc. The third, "Problems and Prospects," is devoted to special problem groups and the need to control change. – $6.00 the set plus 35¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***CHILDREN IN A CHANGING WORLD*** – data from many Federal sources presenting trends on developments and problems, including mobility, rise in births, personnel shortages in various fields, etc.; contains 70 charts. – $1.25 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***THE STATES REPORT ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH*** – a digest of reports submitted by the States in their preparation for the White House Conference. It represents a national inventory of the unmet needs of the country's youth. – $1.50 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***FOCUS ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH*** – a summary of reports issued by national organizations along with a resume of their activities concerning children and youth during the past ten years. – $1.50 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS*** – the entire Conference story, from President Eisenhower's Call to Action in 1958 to the final Recommendations. – $2.25 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***REFERENCE PAPERS ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH*** – a group of specialized papers by outstanding scholars and experts on a wide range of subjects including health, intergroup relations, delinquency, family life. – $1.50 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE 1960s*** – a collection of papers by well-known authorities on major concerns of the Conference. This volume is a valuable source of information on the current status of young people as well as a survey of existing programs, research, prospects and needs. – $2.00 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***GUIDELINES*** for Consideration of the Dropout and Unemployment Problems of Youth – an appraisal and recommendations prepared specifically for the Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas. – 75¢ plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY*** for the Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas. – 75¢ plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***SOCIAL DYNAMITE*** (Conference Report) - the report of the Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth including speeches, work group recommendations and catalogue of projects now underway to meet the problem. – $1.75 plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***REPORT OF FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES*** – compiled from the returns of the questionnaire sent to Conference participants after the Conference. – 75¢ plus 25¢ postage and handling.

☐ ***YOUTH'S NEED FOR CHALLENGE AND PLACE*** – Its implications for Adults and Adult Institutions by Roy Sorenson. He suggests six areas of concern for adult leaders to consider. 35¢ per copy. Quantity discounts on request.

NOTE: Postage and handling charge on additional copies or combinations of the above publications is 12% of the total cost of the publications.

LIBRARIES OFFERED AT SPECIAL PRICES

☐ Library 1 - The Nation's Children, Children in a Changing World, The States Report on Children and Youth, Focus on Children and Youth, Conference Proceedings. Total cost $11.30 including postage and handling.

☐ Library 2 - Children in a Changing World, The States Report on Children and Youth, Focus on Children and Youth, Conference Proceedings, Reference Papers on Children and Youth, Children and Youth in the 1960s. Total cost $11.30 including postage and handling.

☐ Library 3 - Guidelines for Consideration of the Dropout and Unemployment Problems of Youth, Annotated Bibliography for The Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas, Report of Followup Activities, Social Dynamite (Conference Report). Total cost $3.00 plus 50¢ postage and handling.

RECORD ALBUM

☐ USEFUL FOR FOLLOW-UP. Contains six 12-inch LP records, 33 1/3 r.p.m. Features President Eisenhower and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming, plus ten major addresses dealing with the family, education, values, delinquency, pediatrics, adolescence, mass media. Sample script for radio and/or community programming available on request. Total cost $12.75 including postage and handling.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Please Print

** Remittance must accompany all orders **

YOUTH'S NEED FOR CHALLENGE AND PLACE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY:
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULTS AND ADULT INSTITUTIONS

By Roy Sorenson

"An adolescent is a traveller who has left one place and has not reached the next," says Roy Sorenson in Youth's Need for Challenge and Place in American Society: Its Implications for Adults and Adults Institutions, a pamphlet now available from the National Committee for Children and Youth.

How can adult institutions and national organizations challenge these young people creatively and imaginatively? Mr. Sorenson suggests six areas of challenge for adult leaders to consider.

This stimulating article sets you thinking about "teen-age culture" and to wondering how much you really understand it. It warns against keeping adolescents children or trying prematurely to make them adults. Youth's Need for Challenge must be read by every parent, every professional youth worker and volunteer in these United States. Order your copy at once.

ORDER FORM

/___/ 1 to 9 copies @ 35¢ each _____

/___/ 10 to 24 copies @ 35¢ less 10% discount _____

/___/ 25 to 99 copies @ 35¢ less 15% discount _____

/___/ 100 or more copies @ 35¢ less 20% discount _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Check or Money Order made payable to the National Committee for Children and Youth must accompany your order.

7/9/62
EM

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

- Purposes
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COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

PURPOSES—

The purposes of the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth are to:

- stimulate cooperation and participation of national voluntary organizations in implementing Forum recommendations of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth;
- review and evaluate activities of the member organizations related to followup of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth and report these activities by means of (1) facilities made available through the National Committee for Children and Youth and (2) a report to the 1965 Joint Conference; and
- hold itself in readiness for the effective participation of national organizations in planning and implementing policies and program of the 1970 White House Conference on Children and Youth by making available the knowledge, experience and resources of the national voluntary organizations to the persons designated to plan the 1970 Conference.

PROGRAM—

The Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth is a medium through which national voluntary organizations pool efforts in behalf of children and youth. In carrying out program, the CNOCY utilizes four specific principles, broadly stated in view of the great diversity of purpose and structure among member organizations, to:

- assist the National Committee for Children and Youth in identifying major areas of need requiring action by national organizations as designated by the Forum recommendations of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth;
- call the attention of member organizations to these areas through the utilization of all means available, including conferences, reports and clearinghouse services in cooperation with NCCY;
- inform national organizations of the actions being taken by other national organizations in implementing the 1960 Forum recommendations and
- evaluate the participation of national organizations in the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth and prepare for their effective participation in the 1970 Conference.

AUTHORIZATION—

The President's National Committee for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, at its first meeting, recommended the creation of a Council of National Organizations for the 1960 WHCCY, "to provide for the most effective integration" of special activities, knowledge, and interest of national organizations about children and youth:

- the existing Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth was invited to form this Council;
- on February 20, 1959, at a meeting in New York City, the CNOCY voted to accept the responsibility and immediately set about reorganizing itself to most effectively "provide the integration" requested by the President's National Committee;
- membership in CNOCY for participation in the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth rose to 593 national organizations.

On October 23, 1959, the President's National Committee for the 1960 Conference approved the recommendation that the National Committee for Children and Youth should be established jointly by the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, the National Council of State Committees for Children and Youth and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth to provide followup of the 1960 White House Conference:

- the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, meeting in Washington, D. C., March 31, 1960, voted to continue participation in the ongoing activities related to the White House Conference on Children and Youth including co-sponsorship of the National Committee for Children and Youth.

STRUCTURE—

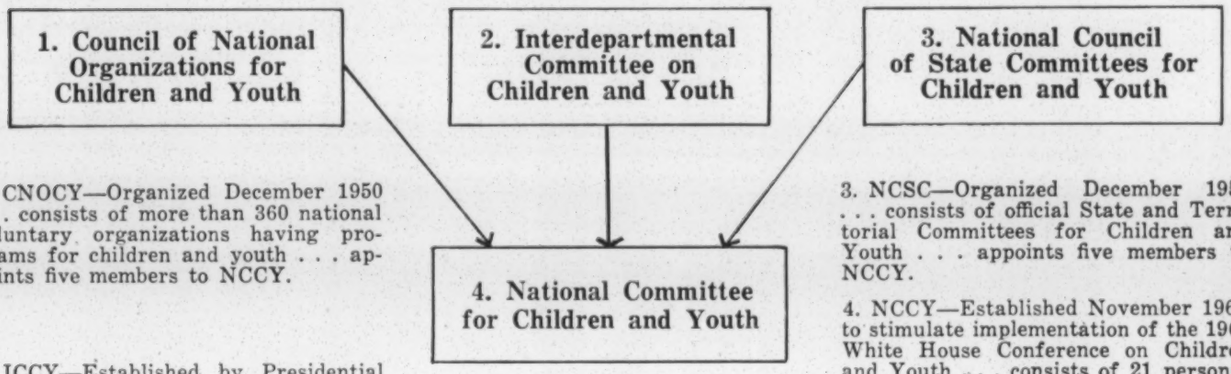
Membership in the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth is open to national voluntary organizations having major interest, emphasis, or concern for children and youth:

- determination of eligibility for membership is made by the applying organization, subject to approval of the CNOCY Executive Committee;
- for purposes of Council membership, a national organization is one that is available to the entire nation and has autonomy;
- CNOCY is governed by an Executive Committee of 41 members including the officers (chairman, four vice-chairmen, the secretary, and the immediate past-chairman) and 34 members elected from the designated representatives of the member organizations;
- the Executive Committee includes representation from the fields of health, education, social welfare, recreation and leisure time, religion, organized labor, arts and culture, human rights, service clubs, youth, and citizen organizations;
- staff services and headquarters for CNOCY are provided by the National Committee for Children and Youth.

Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth
c/o National Committee for Children and Youth
1145 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR FOLLOW UP OF THE 1960 WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH



1. CNOCY—Organized December 1950 . . . consists of more than 360 national voluntary organizations having programs for children and youth . . . appoints five members to NCCY.

2. ICCY—Established by Presidential letter April 1948 . . . consists of 34 Federal agencies with programs for children and youth . . . appoints five members to NCCY.

3. NCSC—Organized December 1950 . . . consists of official State and Territorial Committees for Children and Youth . . . appoints five members to NCCY.

4. NCCY—Established November 1960, to stimulate implementation of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth . . . consists of 21 persons: six of whom are members-at-large, including one youth. The other 15 members represent the three sponsoring groups.

RELATIONSHIPS—

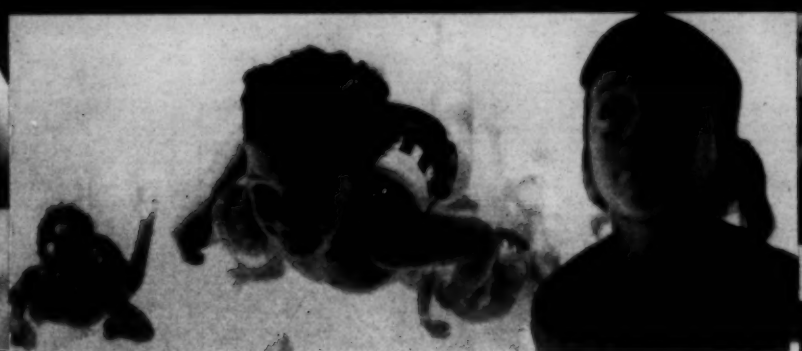
The Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, the National Council of State Committees for Children and Youth and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth are the groups sponsoring the National Committee for Children and Youth.

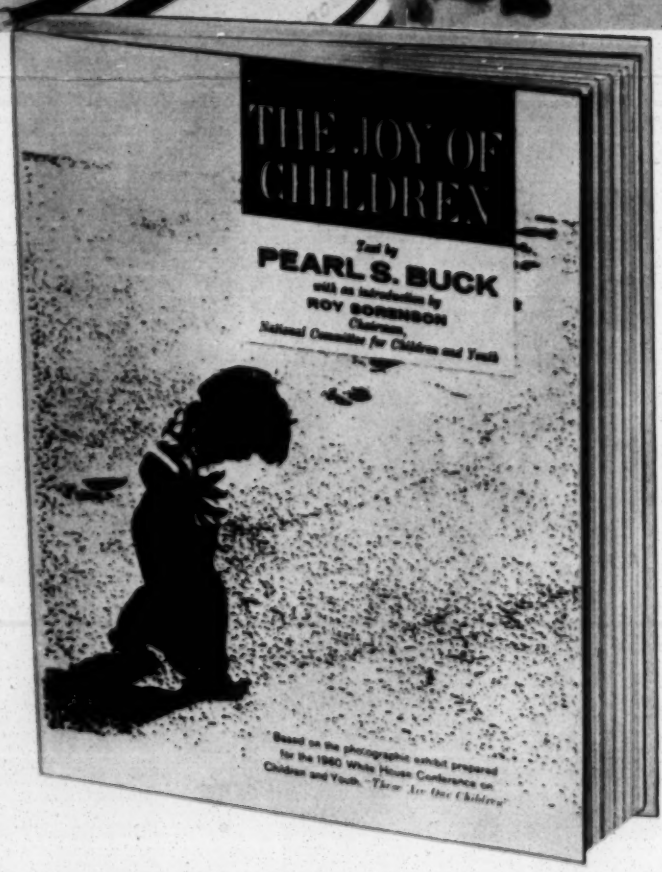
- Each sponsoring group names five representatives to the NCCY. These, together with six members-at-large, provide a vehicle for effective communication, planning, and joint action among the three sponsoring groups.

HISTORY—

- Organized in 1949 as the Advisory Council on Participation of National Organizations to provide a channel for effective participation of national voluntary organizations in the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth with a membership of 464 organizations. The Council report for the 1950 Conference is included in *Children and Youth at the Midcentury, Report on Youth, National Organizations and Federal Government.*
- The Council voted to continue as one of the units of the National Midcentury Committee for Children and Youth, charged with leadership for followup of the 1950 Conference.
- When this Committee completed its program in 1953, the CNOCY voted to continue as a unit to cooperate with other groups working on Conference followup. The CNOCY received secretarial service from the National Social Welfare Assembly. Out-of-pocket expenses were paid by the Council from a residual fund from the National Midcentury Committee, divided between the cooperating groups. The main activities of CNOCY from 1953-1959 were the Joint Conferences on Children and Youth in 1955, 1957, and 1958, which it co-sponsored with the National Council of State Committees for Children and Youth and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth.
- Robert E. Bondy, Director of the National Social Welfare Assembly, was the first chairman of the CNOCY, serving from 1949 through the 1960 WHCCY. Mr. Bondy was appointed to the Executive Committee of the President's National Committee for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, so the CNOCY would be represented at the highest policy level in Conference planning.
- Following the designation of CNOCY as the coordinating body for national organizations for the 1960 Conference, a consultant to national organizations was added to the Conference staff with an office in the National Social Welfare Assembly headquarters in New York City.
- Prior to the 1960 Conference, organizations were invited to evaluate their own programs and progress since 1950. These studies formed the basis for *Focus on Children and Youth*, the report of the national organizations to the 1960 White House Conference.
- At the Council meeting during the 1960 Conference, terms were established for officers and the Executive Committee. Lyle W. Ashby, Deputy Executive Secretary, National Education Association, was elected chairman and served until April 1962, when Philip E. Ryan, Executive Director, National Association for Mental Health, became chairman.

THE JOY OF CHILDREN





Text by PEARL S. BUCK

Large format—8½ x 11 inches—224 pages
With 247 photographs

Introduction by ROY SORENSON, *Chairman, National Committee for Children and Youth*

PEARL S. BUCK'S moving and evocative prose and the 247 expressive photographs combine to capture the beauty, excitement, and challenge of the unfolding of life from birth to young maturity. This handsomely produced volume is based on the photographic exhibit prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, *"These Are Our Children,"* the most comprehensive pictorial display ever assembled about America's young people. It is a book to be treasured forever, and a tribute to the dedicated efforts of all those who work for our children—our strength and our pride.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH
1145 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

As one who is deeply interested in the work of the National Committee for Children and Youth,

I am happy to place my order for_____copies (copy) of your book THE JOY OF CHILDREN with text by Pearl S. Buck, at $7.50 per copy.

My check (money order) for $_____, payable to National Committee for Children and Youth, is enclosed.

*Name*_____

*Street*_____

*City*_____ *State*_____ *Zip*_____

*Organization affiliation*_____

nccy
64-65

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY

OFFICE OF THE DEANS OF WOMEN

RECEIVED
FEB 1
Southern Regional Council

January 30, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I shall look forward to seeing you at the conference of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers at Gatlinburg, Tennessee on February 25-27.

You will want to get in your reservation for a room to Mr. Tom Woods, Manager of the Mountain View Hotel. You will receive a copy of the program from Mr. Ayer.

I am happy to tell you that Mr. E. B. Shultz, a long time worker with the TVA and chief of the Labor Relations Branch, will act as chairman of our interest group on Labor and Industry. The group will meet in the morning and afternoon of February 26 and probably briefly again on Saturday morning, the 27th.

With the best of good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Julia F. Allen

Julia F. Allen

JFA/arm

Do come if you possibly can.

COUNCIL OF
SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN WORKERS

Publishers of
Mountain Life & Work
MAGAZINE OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

Box 2000
College Station
Berea, Ky.

February 2, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta (3), Georgia

FEB 3 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

While you already may have received notice and urgent invitation to participate in the forty-third Annual Conference of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers, I am eager to send you this special note of invitation because Miss Julia Allen, chairman of this group in 1954, had you tabbed as one who should be of special value to the thinking of the group studying labor and industry.

We came close to the three hundred mark last year in representation from every state in theAppalachian South, and from many other states as well. The enclosed Newsletter, which you may also receive in a second class mailing, will give you some idea of the outline of this important event. We shall be delighted to have your questions in advance of this conference, but we shall be pleased to have your participation personally, or to have you send representation, or to have you bring additional people with you, whether we are able to discuss this in the meantime or not.

Sincerely

P. F. Ayer
Executive Secretary

PFA/mj
Enc.

I shall be in Atlanta Monday Feb. 21.

February 8, 1955

Dictated February 7th

Mr. P. F. Ayer
Executive Secretary
Council of Southern Mountain Workers
Box 2000
College Station
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ayer:

I wish I could get up to the Conference of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers, but I just don't think I can work it in. I have put February 18th down on my calendar as a date to try to be there, but I don't guarantee to make it.

The enclosed issue of New South has a special message for everybody at the meeting.

If you would like to get fifty or so for distribution, I think they could be sent to you if the Council of Southern Mountain Workers could scare up $5.00. Or maybe some consignment arrangement could be worked out. Really, your people ought to read this one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - October, 1954, issue of New South.
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

COUNCIL OF
SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN WORKERS

Box 2000
College Station
Berea, Ky.

Publishers of
Mountain Life & Work
MAGAZINE OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

FEB 14 1955

February 11, 1955

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta (3), Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are sorry that you cannot be at Gatlinburg. We do wish that you might be represented by some other members of your staff. I should be pleased to have you send us fifty copies of the New South, Vol. 9, No. 10. I am a longtime personal friend of Bob Menefee and have been much impressed by his report in this issue. You may bill the Council for these. I think I may endeavor to re-sell them in our sales booth. I judge that I should charge fifteen cents each for single copies, although I do not find such a price listed. If we find an intense interest in one of the work group sections we may decide to give them away.

Sincerely

P. F. Ayer
Executive Secretary

PFA/mj

February 14, 1955

Mr. P. F. Ayer
Executive Secretary
Council of Southern Mountain Workers
Box 2000
College Station
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ayer:

Many thanks for your letter of February 10th.

We are shipping you fifty copies of New South, Volume IX, #10. We sell than ordinarily at 10¢ apiece. I suggest that we bill you at $5.00 -- we to pay the postage -- and then you are in position to sell them at 10¢ flat there.

Menefee's article is mighty nice, and your added circulation of it will greatly help it to do its proper job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
50 copies of New South, Vol. IX, #10, under separate cover this date.

COUNCIL OF SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN WORKERS
COLLEGE BOX 2000 BEREA, KENTUCKY

Newsletter Number 1
1955

Sec. 34. 65e, P. L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Berea, Kentucky
Permit No. 5

The 43rd Annual Conference of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers

Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee

Theme: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY BEGINS WITH NEED

February 16	12:15	Luncheon meeting of Youth Leaders by appointment
	2:00	Registration and Informal Get-Acquainted Time — Appalachian Song Fest
	3:00	Hikes in Great Smoky National Park
	6:30	Youth Dinner — Mountain View House — Washington College Sextet
	8:00	Youth Night — Andy Huff House
February 17	7:30	Breakfast — Worship — Mountain View House
	9:00	Assembly and Singing — Andy Huff House
	9:30	Youth Workshops as posted
	12:15	Luncheon Meeting of General Conference Chairmen by Appointment
	1:30	Registration — Lobby
		At this point Youth Group becomes part of General Conference
	3:00	Opening Meeting — Keynote Address, Dr. Raymond C. Gibson, Director Educational Missions Branch, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.
	5:00	Youth Group — Special Meeting
	6:30	Dinner Meeting for entire Conference Folk Arts Panel — Music . Song . Story
	9:00	Party — Andy Huff House Movies of Great Smokies — Checkers Tournament — Lobby
February 18	7:30	Breakfast — Worship
	9:00	Interest Groups — Religion . Education . Recreation . Youth . Labor and Industry . Agriculture . Health . Private Schools . and others as posted
	12:15	Luncheon and Committees
	2:30	Interest Groups Continued
	4:00	Side Trips to Smokies and Local Craft Centers
	6:30	Dinner Meeting — Address on "Adult Education" and "The Mountain Man in Industry" Dr. George Zehmer, Mr. John Hundley
	9:00	Party — Andy Huff House Slides of the Area — Table Games — Checkers Finals — Lobby
February 19	7:30	Breakfast — Worship
	9:00	Plenary Session — Reports of Interest Groups
	10:00	Annual Business Meeting and Election
	12:15	Luncheon — General Session — Summary and Charge for the Coming Year

Conference officially closes with the luncheon meeting on Saturday. The Board with newly elected members meets in the afternoon to start work for 1955-56.

COSTS: Registration Fee — $1.00

Nursery School facilities at no extra cost

Hotel — From $6.50 (three in a room) up, per day, American Plan. Children under twelve, half price. Special Student Rates, $2.00 per night, with meals a la carte.

According to Webster, news may be (1) a report of recent events, or even (2) of old events about which you have not before heard, or—new or old—(3) merely matter of interest to the reader. Thus, in one way or another, the tidings this NEWSLETTER brings surely qualify for everybody.

It is NEWS, of the second classification but of first importance to some, that it is not required* that one belong to the Council of Southern Mountain Workers to be welcome at the 43rd Annual Conference to be held at Gatlinburg, Tennessee, on February 16 to 19, 1955, and to contribute effectively and to share satisfyingly in that event.

WHO, then, MAY ATTEND? A good question. We're glad it came up!

Answer: EVERYBODY is welcome. Those who will come and those who ought to come are:

People who have more than a passing interest in their jobs . People who wish to know about what others are doing, and how to work more effectively with them toward common goals of greater significance than the specific job of any one of us

Such as: Teachers with an inner fire
Agricultural leaders seeking new ways
Ministers who wish to discover and share the
Common Denominator of spiritual growth
Recreation leaders and students who have a humanitarian mission
Doctors, nurses, and other health workers
Librarians, extension agents, public officials
Representatives of industry
AND of labor who must succeed together
OR LOSE TOGETHER
Administrators and employees of government agencies
Which do exist for the people
Educators of every status in addition to classroom teachers—
Presidents, Deans, Department Heads, Directors,
Professors, Assistant and Associate Professors, Instructors
Custodians—And other people you will wish to meet

WHY? Another good question. We're glad it came up too!

Answer: The home and the school, the Church and the hospital, the factory and the farm, the government and its citizens, the Appalachian South and the Nation—and the World—are parts of one whole and need to be closely associated in purpose and practice for any one or all to be most effective. We, here in these 250 mountain counties of nine states, have much in common—much to do together and much to share both inside and outside our immediate region. Once a year is not too often to re-examine our goals, to adapt our procedures, and to unite in pride and hope for the future.

PEOPLE YOU WILL WANT TO HEAR

Dr. George B. Zehmer, Director of the Extension Service and Professor of Education at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia

Mr. John R. Hundley, Director of Industrial Relations and Personnel, Granite City Steel Company, Granite City, Illinois

Dr. Virgil McCain, President of Snead Junior College, Boaz, Alabama

Dr. Marion E. Mansell, D. D., Field Representative, The Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

The Reverend T. B. ("Scotty") Cowan, Pastor, Everybody's Church, Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Raymond C. Gibson, Director, Educational Missions Branch, Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Leonard W. Roberts, Head of the Department of English, Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky

* But highly desirable

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.

Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK

COLLEGE BOX 2000 **BEREA, KENTUCKY**

January 23, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JAN 24 1956

Dear George Mitchell:

I have just been talking by telephone with W. B. Jones at the University of Tennessee, a member of my conference committee for the February 8 to 11 meeting in Gatlinburg. I called him about an idea I have for the education panel which is scheduled for the forenoon of February 10. As I see this thing developing it suddenly came over me Saturday, (why I didn't think of it sooner I cannot say), that we ought to have as a participant in that program Robert G. Menefee, a native of Kentucky--eastern Kentucky mountain boy--who traveled for you and made the field report entitled "The Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South". My plan was to ask you to send him to the conference to participate on that panel, but "Dub" says that Fred Routh has already been recruited for this and that you have agreed to send him. This is fine and is exactly as I discussed it in a tentative way with the program committee weeks ago. However, I still believe that it would be well to have Menefee there as a reference person and as a consultant, particularly as he is a native of the region. We shall have copies of this field report reprint on sale and we feel that he would be an excellent person to have either on the panel or in the audience or mingling with the participants throughout the conference.

all in good nature, but still I have gone as far as I can see

The reason I am asking you to send him is because I have already exhausted all the possibilities of official Berea College sponsorship. As a matter of fact I am in considerable disfavor with both the dean and president because of the number of our staff members and students that one way or another we have persuaded the institution to send and to underwrite. Menefee can get away--I checked that. He cannot do this at his own expense. It would cost about $32.50 including his share of some travel if he could be there for the entire time. Due to his class schedule it probably would be better if he did not leave here until Thursday morning which would reduce this cost by two, three, or four dollars. If you agree with me that he is an important man to have there it would please me if you would negotiate with him directly in terms of what I have written since I have already taken the trouble to find out if he can be excused from the campus and if he would go.

Now, I understand what is wrong with taking up two important matters in one letter, but I have a second proposition to make. You are the man who made a speech to the Berea College faculty seven or eight years ago about the Appalachian South and "uniting the pie", which so impressed me and others that Dean Allen and I went to President Hutchins and negotiated your return trip to give a similar talk to the entire student body and faculty in united chapel. I have not forgotten the concept that you made plain of the community of interest and concern of the mountain counties of these nine states and this, of course, coincides exactly with my philosophy of the purpose of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.

As we complete plans for the six-thirty dinner meeting February 10 on the topic "Raising the Standards of Living in the Appalachian South", I would like to have you with us. The Council has, as you know, not a dime of assured income and I cannot offer you an honorarium or even expenses for this participation, but I am asking you to come and to take part because of the importance of this participation to the region. If you knew the limitations of space, staff, budget, and time with which we are operating you would forgive the lateness of these two inspirations. I sincerely hope that you will say "yes" to both requests.

Please extend to Fred Routh my personal cordial welcome to him as a participant also, since Bill Jones has assured me that it is all set.

The education section has been publicized under two or three titles, but the one which I like best is "Educational Progress and Continuing Problems in the Mountain Counties of these nine states, with special consideration of where we are in integration.

Sincerely

P. F. Ayer

P. F. Ayer
Executive Secretary

PFA/mj
Enc.

January 24, 1956

Mr. P.F. Ayer, Executive Secretary
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.
College Box 2000
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ayer:

Here is the wire I sent you today. Here is a blue travel blank for Menefee's expense. We are good for it up to $40.00 as said. By "you pull," I meant you to communicate with Menefee and get him to your meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Jan 25, 1956.

Dear Fred Routh,

You noted the Council of the Southern Mountains conference in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, Mountain View Inn, Feb. 8-11.

The Educationsession, entitled "Education in the Applachian South: Educational Progress and continuing Problems, will meet Feb. 10, Friday at 9:00 A.M.

Members of the panel are

Dr. James A. Colston, Pres. Knoxville College, Chairman
Fred A. Routh, Assistant Director for State Organizations, SRC
Herman Long, Director of Race Relations Institute, Fisk, Nashville
Bertis Capehart, Superintendent of Schools, Oak Ridge, Tenn.
Wilson Lindsey, Boys Guidance Counselor, Oak Ridge High School, Oak Ridge, Tenn.
Miss Poole, student, Berea College
A Negro student as yet not obtained.

I am asking Mr. Ayre, Executive secretary of the ~~conference~~ Council, to send you information re program, hotel reservations, etc.

I trust that you are coming to the meeting of proposed consultants (those I recruited several weeks ago) for the Tennessee Council. The meeting is scheduled for 10:00 A.M. Sunday, Jan 29, at the U T. School of Social work, 421 21st Avenue S., Nashville. The same place we met before. I don't believe I told Mr, Beckman to ask you to come, though I believe I did tell him that Isaw you in Atlanta and told you of the meeting.

Maybe you cannot come, if not, Fran Manis, Joe Drake and Lee Campbell will be there along with Beckman and they can induct the new consultants. I recruited four from Nashville and five from Johnson City. I did not have time to go to Chattanooga. Mrs. Valien obtained Gibson from Memphis.

I am making two studies for the state now which take just about every minute I have. I'll be in Conn., R.I., and Deleware next week and will not be able to attend the Nashville meeting. I'll call Beckman now and suggest that you be officially asked to come to the Nashville meeting. Maybe there could be some talk about program development.

Cordially,

Bill Jones

Bill Jones

303 Ayres Hall
U.T.
Knoxville
Tenn

January 27, 1956

Mr. P. F. Ayer, Executive Secretary
The Council of Southern Mountains
College Box 2000
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ayer:

As Dr. Mitchell has written you I will be coming up for your meeting to participate on a panel the morning of February the 10th. I wish it were possible for me to be with you for the entire three days but I must be in Alabama for an Annual Meeting of our state affiliate on the 11th. I look forward to participating on the panel with Dr. Colston, Dr. Herman Long, Bertis Capehart, Wilson Lindsey, and Miss Poole.

With best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

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			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

February 9, 1956

Mountainview Hotel
Gatlinburg, Tenn.

Arriving this evening for Council of The Southern Mountains Meeting. Please hold single with shower for tonight only.

Federick B. Routh
Atlanta, Ga.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF PANEL SYMPOSIUM "Equal Opportunies for Health Education in the Appalachian South."

The many problems involved in attaining equality of educational opportunity in the Appalachian South cannot be solved within the framework of segregation. We recognize the validity of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions; we recognize segregation as incompatible with Christian ethics and teachings; that it places an insurmountable economic barrier by placing the two races in competition for the educational dollar; that worse, it works a continuing hardship and harm on the minds and spirits of all children--both Negro and white.

We see the movement toward integration as aiding in the solution of several phases of educational inequality; we recognize that there must be an equalization between rural and urban schools in physical facilities, in teacher salaries, and in expenditures per pupil.

We urge that local people--of all groups--come together in equal dignity and full democracy to work toward the solution of their problems within the framework of the Supreme Court decisions; that they support the administrators who stand for law and order as embodied in our Federal Constitution; and that we--the people of the Appalachian South, so conduct ourselves that we may serve as an example to the rest of the South and as a beacon of hope to the rest of the world.

44th Annual Conference
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc
Gatlinburg, Tenn
Feb 10, 1956

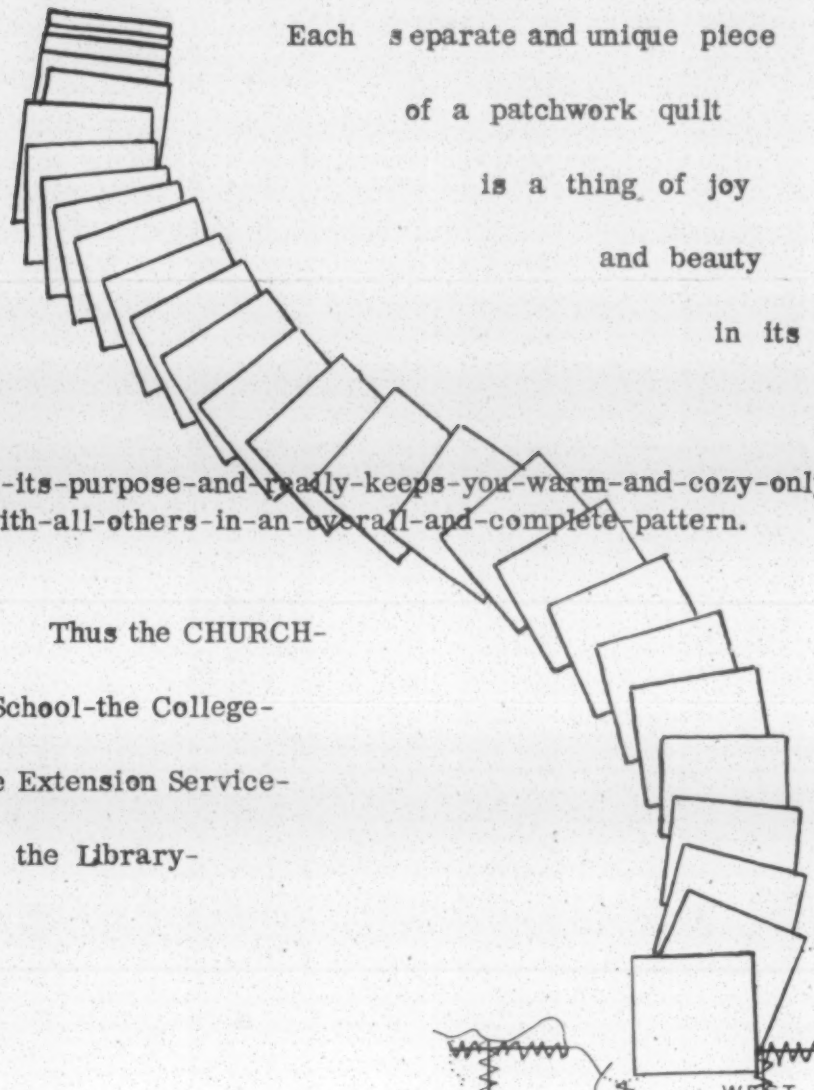
For Newsletter

NEWSLETTER No. 1, 1956

Subject

44th Annual Conference

of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.



Each separate and unique piece

of a patchwork quilt

is a thing of joy

and beauty

in its own right

BUT

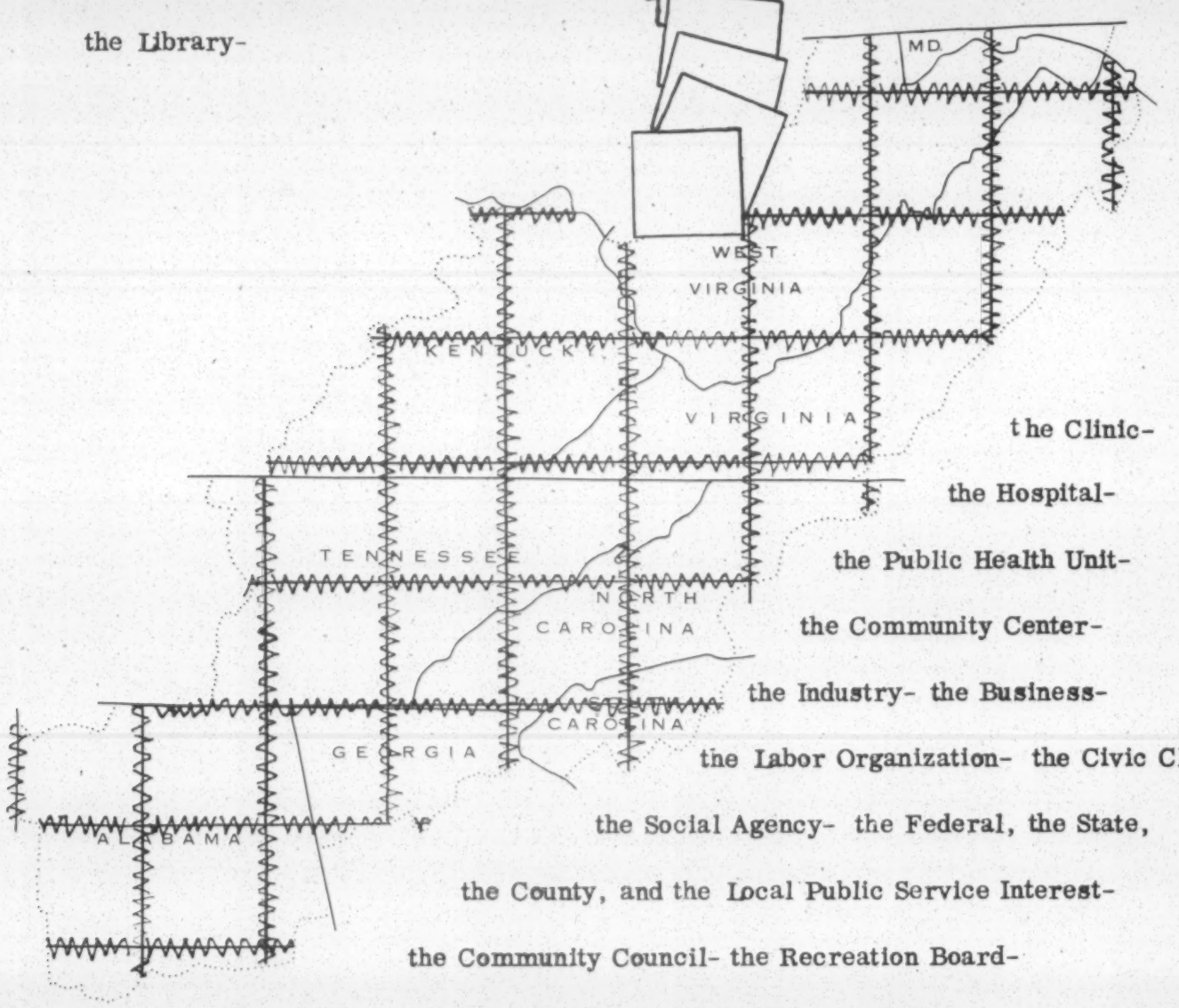
It-fulfils-its-purpose-and-really-keeps-you-warm-and-cozy-only-when-it-is united-with-all-others-in-an-overall-and-complete-pattern.

Thus the CHURCH-

the School-the College-

the Extension Service-

the Library-



the Clinic-

the Hospital-

the Public Health Unit-

the Community Center-

the Industry- the Business-

the Labor Organization- the Civic Club-

the Social Agency- the Federal, the State,

the County, and the Local Public Service Interest-

the Community Council- the Recreation Board-

Each Association of Many Different Kinds-

Performs Essential Functions:

BUT

Each-fulfils-its-individual-purpose-more-effectively-and-contributes-more-to-the-general-good-when-working-hand-in-hand-and-in-full-understanding-and-cooperation-with-all-others-in-the-same-area.

This is AN OPEN INVITATION TO ONE AND ALL to come to take part in this Annual Conference dedicated to a better life throughout the Appalachian South and therefore throughout the United States - and even to some small degree - throughout the world.

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS: United Study - Christian Motivated Study - of

Raising the Standards of Living in the Appalachian South with particular emphasis on the industrialization of the region and agricultural enterprises adapted to the low-income farm group

Health Care Services and Facilities in the Appalachian South with supporting data from the Health Report prepared by the Health Committee of the Council

Educational Progress and continuing problems in the mountain counties of these nine states with special consideration of where we are in integration

Practical Cooperation between the Church and the Extension Service at local and county levels

Christian Motivation of Undergraduates in Colleges serving the Appalachian South
Changing Functions of Private Schools, Continuing Education, Recreation

The Challenge of the New Appalachian South to Youth - Other Interests

###############

Tentative Schedule: Eastern Standard Time

Wednesday	Early P.M. Registration begins and continues throughout the Conference
February 8	2:30 Get acquainted assemblies and activities for Youth interests
	2:30 All Council Committees meet
	6:30 Dinner Meeting - Keynote Address - Clarifying Our Common Dedication
	9:00 All-conference Party - Andy Huff House - Every night
Thursday A.M.	7:30 Breakfast Worship
February 9	9:00 United Session - Health in the Appalachian South
	2:30 Interest Groups as announced
	6:30 Fellowship Dinner - Folk Music
Friday A.M.	7:30 Breakfast Worship
February 10	9:00 United Session - Education in the Appalachian South
	2:30 Interest Groups as announced continued
	6:30 Dinner Meeting - Raising the Standards of Living in the Region
Saturday A.M.	7:30 Breakfast Worship
February 11	9:00 United Session - Reports of Interest Groups, Resolutions Annual Business Meeting
	12:15 Luncheon - Closing Address - Application of Our Common Dedication to our Individual Programs
	P.M. Meeting of New Board of Directors

Costs: Registration $1.00 for all or any part of the Conference
Room and Meals: per person per day - $6.50 three to a room; $7.00 two to a room-double bed
$7.50 two to a room-twin beds; $10.00 single room

Children under twelve half price. There will be a nursery corner. There is a limited amount of space at a reduced rate for Youth participants. SEND FOR YOUR OWN RESERVATIONS AT ONCE. Write to Tom Woods, Manager, Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
COLLEGE BOX 2000 BEREA, KENTUCKY

Newsletter Number 1

1956

Sec. 34. 65e, P.L.&R.
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Box 1255 RECEIVED FEB 16 1956

BEREA COLLEGE BEREA • KENTUCKY

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

February 14, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was both a pleasure and an honor to be flying the SRC flag again. I deeply appreciate your giving me the opportunity, especially in view of the fact that you already had such excellent representation at this conference in the person of Fred Routh. It was good to see him again although, as is typical, there was too little time for visiting or conferring.

Fred has probably given you whatever you need by way of a report on the conference. This Council of the Southern Mountains is a lively group with a growing influence in the area. A few years ago they had little or no Negro participation and would have been hesitant to even mention segregation. A resolution favoring integration in 1956 was passed at the session which dealt with this topic and was later approved by the Board. While resolutions solve few problems, this was a fairly drastic step for this group. Incidentally, I think there was no doubt that Routh was the strongest man on the panel and that the SRC contributed significantly to the discussion and the action.

In the conversation between formal sessions there were chances to get in a good many licks regarding the issue in general and SRC in particular. Following up on one of these conversations, I would suggest that you send your latest list of publications to:

Rev. Rufus Morgan
Route #1
Franklin, North Carolina

Rev. Morgan is president of the Council of the Southern Mountains and indicated a desire for discussion materials for use in his own community. I did not succeed in getting him actually to request the SRC material, but I think he would be interested. He asked me for a copy of the report on my summer project and I was able to supply that.

Thank you again for letting me be a work hand of the SRC and, in fact, for making my attendance at this conference possible. I hope the job I was able to do justified your confidence.

Sincerely,

Bob Menefee

Robert G. Menefee

PLEASE POST, MAIL, OR OTHERWISE SHARE

Mr. Frank Smith
Southern Appalachian Council
63 Cullum Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JAN 21 1958

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Place stamp here

A SPECIAL INVITATION

to

THE 46TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
of
THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
at the Mountain View Hotel in Gatlinburg, Tennessee
February 12-15, 1958

THEME: *EDUCATION FOR LIVING.*

ALL who are concerned with life in the Appalachian South are cordially invited to attend and take part in all phases of this important conference.

Conference Leadership includes:

Dr. Robert Blakely, *Vice President, Fund for Adult Education*
Mr. N. A. Miller, *Consultant, Education Department, READER'S DIGEST*
Mrs. Pauline Hord, *Director, Fundamental Education Dept. WKNO*
Mr. Robert Porterfield, *Barter Theater, Abingdon*
Craftsmen, *Southern Highland Handicraft Guild*
Senator John Sherman Cooper, *Kentucky*
Dr. Frank J. Welch, *Director, TVA, Knoxville*
Dr. Howard Beers, *Sociologist, University of Kentucky*
Dr. Robert C. Anderson, *Southern Regional Education Board*
Dr. William H. Nicholls, *Economist, Vanderbilt University*
Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, *Candler School of Theology, Emory University*
and others

There will be a nursery school for children of participants, an extensive exhibit of crafts, a sales center of books and materials, and opportunity for fellowship and recreation. This is a meeting of leaders and laymen of the entire Appalachian South.

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
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Place
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MOUNTAIN VIEW HOTEL
Tom Woods, Manager
Gatlinburg, Tennessee

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS

Wednesday - February 12 - YOUTH EMPHASES

11:00 A.M. Registration begins and continues through Saturday
12:15 P.M. Youth Luncheon - *ALL youth of the region*
2:30 Youth Conference
Adult Workshop on Youth
Meetings of Standing Committees
6:30 Dinner Meeting - Opening General Session
Dr. Robert Blakely, Speaker

Thursday - February 13 - EDUCATION EMPHASES

9:00 - 11:30 Workshop on Adult Reading Materials for Adults with Limited Reading Skills
Workshop on Craft Design
Interest Group on Gerontology in the Mountains
Meeting of State Folklore Societies
2:00 - 4:30 Continuation of Workshops and Interest Groups
Opportunity for sub-sections
6:30 Dinner Meeting - Mr. Robert Porterfield, Speaker

Friday - February 14 - CHURCH EMPHASES

9:00 - 11:30 Workshops on Influence of Present Forms of Religion on Daily Life; Influence of Present Ministry on Youth in the Mountains; Preparation of Vital Mountain Ministry; the Church's Role in Race Relations in the Mountains
1:30 - 5:00 MASS MEETING STUDY of the Appalachian South, chaired by Dr. Frank J. Welch, to develop a composite picture of life in the region today through answers supplied by experts on *people, education, health and welfare, economic conditions, physical resources, politics, and religion.* Followed by open discussion aimed at follow-up state-group meetings.
6:30 Dinner Meeting - Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, Speaker

Saturday - February 15 - ACTION EMPHASES

9:00 - 10:30 Follow-up meetings by state groupings
Plans for regional meetings by states
10:30 Annual Business Meeting of the Council
Reports, election, amendments
12:15 Closing Luncheon Meeting

Daily: Morning Worship at 8:00 led by the Rev. T. B. "Scotty" Cowan, Conference Chaplain, and youth members. Recreation at 9:00 P.M. at the Andy Huff House in charge of the Recreation Committee. Conference Singing under the leadership of the Rev. J. T. Jones. Special music by the Washington College Academy Octet.

DETACH AND MAIL NOW !

Date _____

Please make reservations as indicated:
(Prices include total cost of room with bath and meals-
Children under 12, half rate)

No.
____ at $6.50 *(Three share one room)*
____ at $7.00 *(Two per room, double bed)*
____ at $7.50 *(Two per room, twin beds)*
____ at $10.00 *(Private room)*
____ other arrangements requested _____
_____

Approximate time of arrival _____ Departure _____

Signed _____ Address _____

Dr. Robert Menefee,
Box 1255,
Berea College,
Berea,
KENTUCKY.

16th February, 1956.

Dear Bob,

It was a real pleasure to be with you at Gatlinburg. I feel that you contributed greatly to the meeting and brought honour not only to yourself but to SRC since you represented us there. I have turned your expense account over to Mrs. Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, for processing. It will probably be sent out from this office on Monday.

I too felt that it was significant that the Council of Southern Mountains added their weight on the side of right in resolving that the Appalachian South should desegregate in the Fall of 1956.

Please keep in touch with us and let us know how things go.

Best personal regards,

(Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.)

FBR:rl.

20 Feb 1956

Rev. Rufus Morgan
Route # 1
Franklin, N.C.

Dear Mr. Morgan,

What a very real pleasure it was to be with the Council of Southern Mountains in Gatlinburg, Tenn. ! You lead a spirited group of dedicated people who have the interest of all the mountain people on their conscience; who act without paternalism in accordance with this interest. I was deeply moved by the resolution they passed urging Appalachian communities to desegregate this Fall.

I have entered your name for a gift subscription to our publication NEW SOUTH for we feel here that key community and regional people, such as you, are vitally interested in what is happening in the South.

Anything we may do to help the Council of Southern Mountains we are willing to try. Would you please put us on your mailing list for the Newsletter

Best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

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SERVING THE APPALACHIAN SOUTH SINCE 1913
Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
COLLEGE BOX 2307 PHONE 986-3109 **BEREA, KENTUCKY**

December 21, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I recently received a copy of your "A Hundred Years Later" through the reader's service in Current Magazine. I have read this little book with great interest and with great respect for the contributors. Allow me to congratulate you on publishing this book.

I wonder if we may have three more copies of the book. Please bill us if there is a charge. I notice that this is No. 2 in a series called, "Toward Regional Realism". I would be interested, also, in a copy of No. 1 and would be interested in knowing about other publications of the Southern Regional Council.

I enclose information about the Council of the Southern Mountains which you may not have seen. I invite you and others from the Southern Regional Council to attend our Fifty-First Annual Conference which will be held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee , February 19-22, 1963.

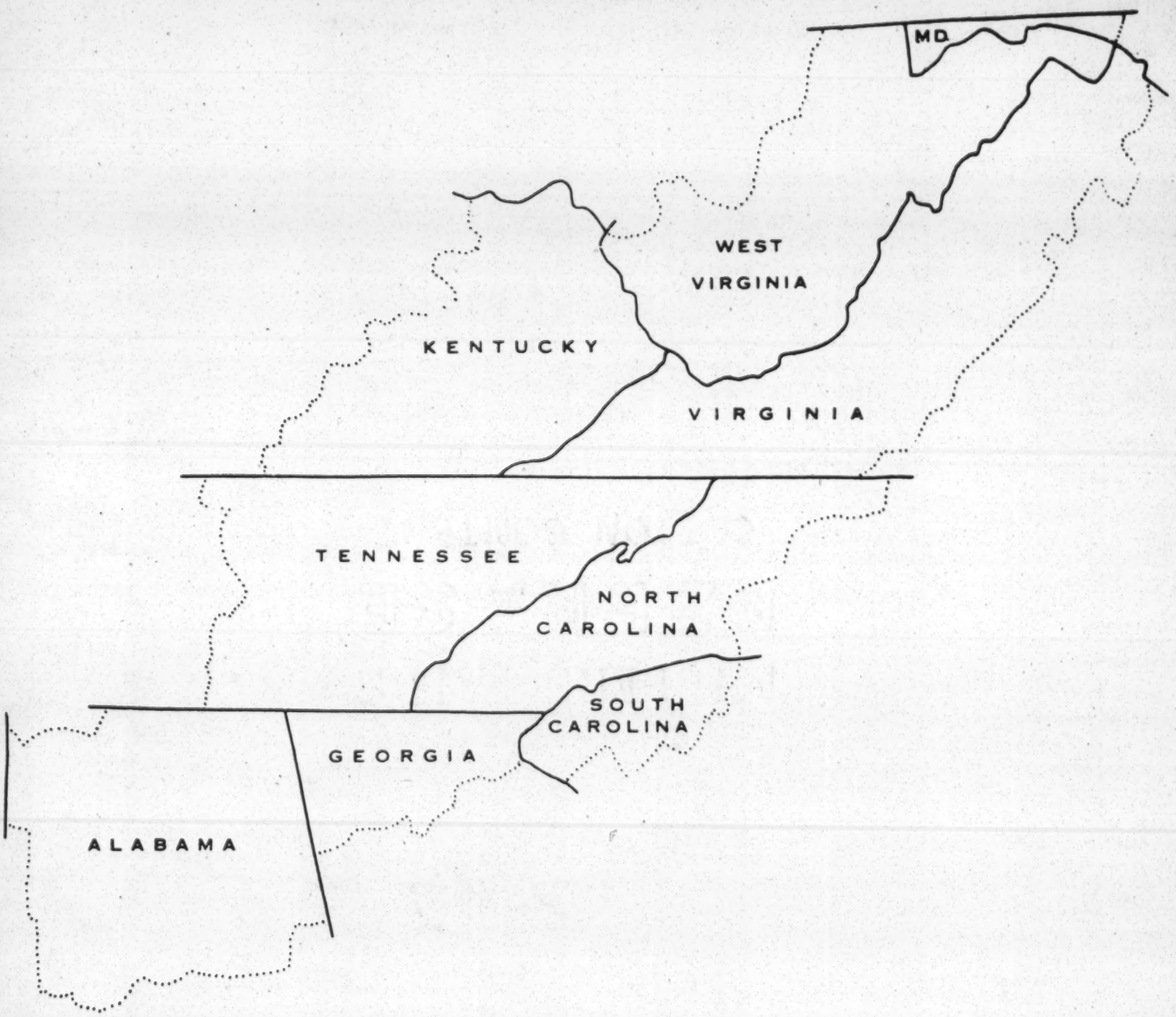
Sincerely,

Loyal Jones

Loyal Jones
Associate Executive Secretary

LJ:dbh

Enclosures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December 26, 1962

Mr. Loyal Jones
Associate Executive Secretary
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.
College Box 2307
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Jones:

We are glad to send you three copies of "A Hundred Years Later, together with a copy of the first of this series. We are including also a list of publications and would be glad to fill any request you may have.

It seems a pity that our organizations, which have so much in the way of common interests, do not know each other better. I have taken the liberty of adding your name to our mailing list; I hope we may see something of you from time to time. It would be a great pleasure to attend your annual conference, but this year we cannot. Perhaps another year we can.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures:
Publications list
Mailed separately:
A Hundred Years Later
The South & the Nation
New South, March 1962

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Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
COLLEGE BOX 2307 PHONE 986-3109 **BEREA, KENTUCKY**

January 2, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your good letter of December 26 and for sending the three copies of A Hundred Years Later, and also the first ~~of~~ copy of ~~the~~ series. I shall look forward to receiving them. Thank you, also, for your list of publications. I want to look through this when I have more time and order some of these. This is am impressive list of publications.

It is a pity that there is not more communication between our two Councils. Let us improve this situation. Thank you for adding my name to your mailing list. May I propose that we arrange an exchange of memberships between our two organizations ar at least an exchange of publications. I am taking the liberty of enrolling the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as an exchange member of the Council of the Southern Mountains. This will bring you MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK, a quarterly, Newsletters and other publications and communications from this office. I am enclosing several publications which may be of interest to you.

I have shared your letter with Mr. P. F. Ayer, Executive Secretary of the Council who will be in Atlanta on January 19 and possibly January 18. He would like very much to drop by to see you if you will be in your office on one of these days.

I am sorry you will not be able to attend our Annual Conference. I hope you will be able to attend one of the Conferences in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Loyal Jones
Associate Executive Secretary

LJ:dbh Enclosures

YOU ARE INVITED TO OUR 51st ANNUAL CONFERENCE—FEBRUARY 19-23, 1963—AT GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE

January 7, 1963

Mr. Loyal Jones
Associate Executive Secretary
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.
College Box 2307
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of January 2. I shall be in the office January 18 and would be delighted to see Mr. Ayer. Unfortunately, on the 19 I shall be out of the city.

Thank you for enrolling us as an exchange member of the Council of the Southern Mountains. We look forward to receiving your publications.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LWDr

file

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
College Box 2307 Berea, Kentucky

March 3, 1964

Dear Council Member:

The Executive Committee met in Berea on February 21 and voted to submit By-laws revision and addition to a vote of the membership at the Annual Conference in Asheville, April 7-10, 1964.

The revision and addition suggested are as follows:

To change the title (in the Index and on Pages 4 and 7) of "The Committee for Economic Development" to "The Committee for Resource Development;"

To add the following provisions for a "Committee for Urban Affairs," as No. 20 under Article VIII and to include the above title in the Index and on Page 4.

The Committee for Urban Affairs shall consist of not fewer that seven (7) members of the Council. Other non-voting members may be appointed by the Chairman. The duties of the Committee for Urban Affairs shall be:

a. To carry out the purpose of the Council, as provided in Article II, relating to problems of mobility and problems of Appalachian people now residing in urban centers.

b. To consider the recommendations of the Annual Conference.

c. To represent the Council, when approved by the Board of Directors, at significant meetings relating to urban affairs.

d. To plan meetings and workshops to promote understanding of rural-urban problems and programs which will ease these problems.

e. To submit written reports to the Executive Secretary as requested on:

(1) Proposed plans and proposed expenditures.

(2) Activities and accomplishments.

The Committee for Urban Affairs will, if created, take the place of the ad hoc Urban Workshop Committee and will become a permanent committee of the Council.

I urge you again to attend this important 52nd Annual Conference. We feel it will be of great significance.

Yours sincerely,

Loyal Jones

Loyal Jones
Associate Executive Secretary

LJ:dbh

File

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
COLLEGE BOX 2307 PHONE 986-3109 BEREA, KENTUCKY

August 21, 1964

Dear Subscriber:

As a reader of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK, you know that the work of the Council is unique and important - and growing every day. We are now conducting pioneer projects in education, under a grant from the Ford Foundation; we have organized the Appalachian Volunteers, a community action program, under an Area Redevelopment Administration grant; under another special grant, we have opened an office in Chicago to ease the adjustment problems of migrants to the city from the Appalachian South. The more we do, the more there is to do - and we are expanding our services to mountain people and adding new activities as rapidly as we can find the resources. Now that the nation as a whole has become aware of the plight of Appalachia and its people, we have unprecedented opportunities to render greater service.

But, all the special grants and new projects increase our basic operating costs. Our budget isn't very exciting, and it doesn't get written up in the newspapers, but if we can't pay our overhead expenses we can't do anything else - yet the new programs, while they bring greater operating expenses, don't bring the money to pay them. That's why we must seek additional support for the basic budget. If our financial nucleus is sound, we will receive other project grants (right now, the Council is being considered for a $150,000 grant to help communities organize and become eligible for development funds, but neither this grant nor any of the others allows a large enough amount for administration to offset our administrative costs).

I invite and urge you to become a member of the Council and thus help us meet the challenges that confront us with each morning's mail. I urge you also to invite others to join; our work needs the widest possible support.

The Council is serving well on the resources it presently has - but "well" is only a relative term when there is so much to be done. We can do much more with greater financial help, and you can be sure that your money will be added to many times over. We ask your help because we need it.

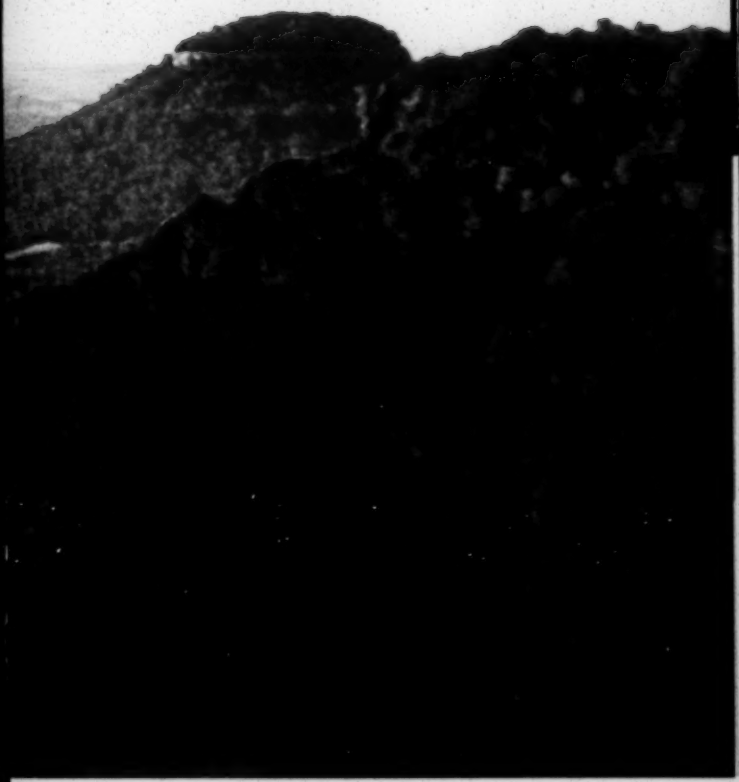
Sincerely,

Loyal Jones

Loyal Jones
Associate Executive Secretary

YOU ARE INVITED TO OUR 53RD ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, APRIL 20-23, 1965

"The Mountains and the Plains Are One Land"



Inc. College Box 2307, Telephone 986-3109
Berea, Kentucky 40403

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in the United States of America

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257 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 4-6407

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United Presbyterian of North America
Reformed in America
United Church of Canada
United Church of Christ
Congregational Christian
Evangelical and Reformed
American Bible Society

933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

November 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The October issue of NEW SOUTH has just arrived and I feel that it should have wide distribution both here in the South as well as in other parts of the nation. I would like to have 100 copies if you can spare them. Please ship to the above address and bill to the Delta Foundation, Inc.

Sent 11/27/57 RHA

+ Bill

I appreciate your making possible the meeting at your office last week where Hazel Smith could present some of her problems. After I had heard some of the difficulties facing you folks in Georgia and Alabama, I began to get ulcer symptoms before I reached Mississippi.

I had planned to visit Chilton County, Alabama, last week but the trip to Centerville put me behind schedule. Since I did not get to the county, folks cannot say that Cox had anything to do with the shooting that took place at Clanton over the week-end. When I first visited Chilton County, I wrote Dave Minter that I would prefer to take my chances in Holmes County, Mississippi.

With very best wishes to all, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

Note instructions on Original ltr. attached

November 27, 1957

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I'm glad you think the October issue of New South is especially useful. We're sending today the 100 copies you requested.

After some delay, I finally reached Mike Yarrow and found him completely receptive to the idea of "Rights of Conscience" receiving contributions to an HBS Fund. We will pursue the idea of an appeal from the Atlanta-based agency staffers. Meanwhile, please pass on any further word you get from the Smiths about their situation.

I'm relieved to hear you weren't on either end of the shooting iron in Chilton County. We just had a visitor from South Africa who has found that the Deep South makes his home country look pretty good.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

I N V O I C E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

November 27, 1957

Purchase Order No.
Date shipped: 11/27/57

100 copies: THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH @ 20¢ per copy . . $20.00

Sent to: Mr. A. K. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

TELEPHONE: 672-M-4
LEXINGTON, MISSISSIPPI

EXPRESS AND FREIGHT
TCHULA, MISSISSIPPI

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED

CRUGER, MISSISSIPPI

933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

December 5, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just returned home after a week in Nashville and St. Louis where I attended the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches.

The package containing 100 booklets arrived in good order and everything would have been excellent had the issues shipped been October in place of September. I regret that our budget will not permit our keeping the copies of THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH. I will write to Will Campbell to suggest that he take them. Otherwise I will plan to ship them back to your office.

100 Oct issue sent. 12-7-57

If available, I would appreciate your sending me a few copies of the smear sheet on Highlander Folk School.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

A. E. Cox

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

December 7, 1957

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I'm very sorry about the blooper we made on the shipment to you -- one of those failures of intro-office communication. We are sending you the 100 copies of the October issue you asked for.

Just send the voting pamphlets back to us C. O. D. If you've already sent them otherwise, we'll refund the postage to you.

Our supply of the Highlander sheet is temporarily exhausted, but we are undertaking to get some more and, if successful, will send you several.

Art Lewin and I are doing what we can to hustle up some emergency aid for Hazel so that she can meet her December 18 deadline of $2,500. We're also working on the longer range' needs. I khave no particular assurance that we will be successful, and I'm depressed by the consequences of failure, but it won't be for want of trying.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

VIA AIR MAIL

December 26, 1957

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I am sorry to report that we are still snarled up in red tape in our effort to secure aid for Hazel through interagency channels. I was with Will last week and he told me that you are arranging stop-gap assistance in the form of a loan to tide her over the immediate emergency, which is a blessing.

We got the consent of the AFSC's Rights of Conscience Committee to channel any contributions through them. Also, Art Levin, Will Campbell, and I have agreed to sign a circular appeal, showing our organizational positions for identification only. I am enclosing what we propose to send to the other agencies. If you could sign in the same fashion, Will and I think it would strengthen the letter.

Now the problem. One of the major national agencies which would be important in determining what aid was forthcoming, has been sounded out and has raised an objection. According to this agency information, sometime ago Hazel was attempting to raise funds against a mortgage on her properties, estimated at a combined value of some one hundred thousand dollars.

I quote from the anonymous agency official:

"We were unable to secure anybody here who would lend a substantial amount to the Smiths on Mississippi property, but I then advised that Mrs. Smith's borrowing problems would be minimal if she sought the funds from a lending institution in the South -- fully aware, as we were, that in seeking that type of loan she would be revealing her need for funds, and would also encounter hesitancy on the part of an average Southern lending institution in light of the history of her need for funds.

"However, when she seeks 'contributions', the matter takes on a somewhat different aspect. It is my feeling that there would be a disinclination on the part of most national agencies to make substantial contributions either toward the $2500 fund or toward the still larger funds she will need during 1958. This is not to say that there is any lack of sympathy with her plight; on the contrary, we think she has been very courageous in the face of outrageous difficulties, and certainly some other agencies with which we have discussed the matter doubt that we could ever justify making a substantial contribution to people who have unencumbered property worth about $100,000.

We still want to send our letter around, but we are not well informed enough to know what the proper answer is to this objection. And we do think the objection is important, since the persons holding it would be influential with most of the agencies approached.

Do you know the facts of the matter? If not, do you think you gould get them without unduly upsetting the lady?

God willing, we may yet be able to do something. I will look forward to hearing from you. Meanwhile, all best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Draft Letter

December 30, 1957

Mr. A. E. Cox
The Delta Foundation, Inc.
Cruger, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Cox:

Thank you for your check of $20.00 representing payment for 100 copies of the October 1957 New South. Sorry about the earlier mix-up, but we appreciate Will helping us out. We are sending him an invoice for the September copies. Enclosed is a duplicate invoice as you requested.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure: 1 Invoice

March 5, 1958

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I share your concern about the lack of response to our appeal and the Smith's unrelieved plight. We've recently received one additional $100.00 contribution (now being funneled through AFSC) from the Union of Hebrew Congregations - and that's it.

I have little hope that much further, if any, response will be forthcoming. What can we do - or get others to do?

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Gene:

I share your concern about the lack of response to our appeal and the Smiths' unrelieved plight. We've recently received one additional $100.00 contribution (now being funneled through AFSCJ) from the Union of Hebrew Congregations — and that's it.

I have little hope that much further, if any, response will be forthcoming. What can we do — or get others to do?

All the best.

Sincerely,

HCF

Rec'd 2/28/58

933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee
February 26, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Last week, I was in Holmes County, Mississippi, and found Hazel Smith just about at the bottom of the barrel - both financially and in spirit. Both she and Smitty agreed that the offer of our foundation for a small, short-time loan would be of little help to them. They can see little prospect of repayment in the near future.

I must confess that I had little to offer them in the way of encouragement. I did promise to write you of the seriousness of the situation with the hope that our letter may have revealed some leads at the organization or foundation level. Hazel told me that she had received a total of $75 from Mike. If the letter fails to stimulate some concern and financial help I must admit that I see little hope for those under pressure in the South.

Just as soon as there is some indication of the response to our appeal, it might be wise for you and Art to give Hazel your frank appraisal of the situation.

Mrs. Sara McCorkle - recently hired by the executive committee of the Mississippi Councils as Director of Woman's Activities of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi - has been displaying three magazines at her organizational meetings. Two of these have Hazel's picture - EBONY and TIME. Early this month, such a meeting was held in Lexington but Hazel was not aware of the meeting until it was over. Some weeks ago, Mrs. McCorkle spoke to a civic group at Yazoo City, Mississippi, and displayed the magazines and made some strong charges against Hazel. She was answered from the floor by a local newspaperman who is a friend of Hazel.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

May 26, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sending you this batch of clipping for use during coffee breaks. During recent months, I have made it a practice to accumulate a fistful and then pass them around to Dave Minter and others who have left the region. You might send these back if they are of no value for your records.

Will came through Memphis last Friday on the way to the coast. He has rented a trailer for a 30 day vacation with the family. He wanted me to attend the meeting in Atlanta tomorrow but I have to be in Mississippi for a previous engagement.

I enjoyed the visit with the folks in your office on my recent trip to Atlanta.

With very best wishes to all, I am

Cordially,

Gene

A. E. Cox

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

March 3, 1959

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I am writing this letter to bring to your attention a fine young man who would be exceptionally good as a roving ambassador of good will in race relations in the rural South. Jack Singletary is a licensed minister. I am sending you a copy of his vita sheet in the hope that you might be able to find a slot for his talents.

Jack is one of the few people in Sumter County who has consistently been a friend to Koinonia Farm.

Anything you can do to help would be appreciated.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
cc: Jack Singletary

U of A Researchers Delve Into Mystery of Placenta

By BILL LEWIS
Of the Gazette Staff

The pl[illegible]enta ("afterbirth") is one of th[illegible] stood organ[illegible] of the human body.

Structu[illegible]ly, quite a bit of work h[illegible] much is kno[illegible]n about its actual compo[illegible]ly th[illegible]

House Studio Used to Make Council Films

By ELIZABETH CARPENTER
Gazette Washington Bureau
1202 National Press Building

Washington, May 11.—With the aid of Representative John Bell Williams (Dem., Miss.), a series of films and recordings for the White Citizens Council Forum of Jackson, Miss., have been produced for radio and television in the House recording studios.

As a result, the Citizens Council gets a 15-minute TV film for $30 to $50, depending upon the number of cameras used, and a five-minute radio tape for $1.50 to $5. Commercially, the film would run several hundred dollars, and the radio tape several times the government price.

Under House rules, only members of Congres can request and be billed for the use of the recording studios. Both the crew and the use of equipment are paid by government funds.

The original purpose of providing the television and radio recording room was to make it easier for congressmen to inform their constituents on public issues. Many representatives and senators use the recording studios.

Representative Williams' use of the studios in behalf of the Citizens Council goes far beyond the stretches of his Mississippi district.

Interview with Faubus

His most recent interview, with Arkansas Governor Faubus, filmed for radio and TV, will be distributed to more than 200 stations by the Citizens Council Forum. It is one in a series of the Forum shows which have been filmed in the House recording rooms, billed to Williams at the regular congressional cost, and then shipped to Jackson, Miss., for duplication and distribution.

Sometimes Dick Morphew of Jackson comes up to Washington to moderate the shows which have included interviews with more than 40 members of Congress. The participation by congressional members does not limit itself to Dixie. Senator Karl Mundt (Rep., S. D.) has been a guest.

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

RECEIVED MAY 18 1959

May 15, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you would be interested in the attached. It might be helpful to have someone give the matter wide-spread publicity.

In Jackson, Mississippi, last week, I checked on the bulk rate for the paper published by the Association of Citizens' Councils. It can be secured at the rate of $5 per month for 100 copies. In smaller quantities, the price will run around ten cents per copy.

In the event you and others want to secure copies of the paper each month, I will work out some way to receive it here and re-mail it each month.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

June 12, 1959

Mr. A. E. Cox
President
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

This is in response to your letter of June 5 describing the need for expense funds that would permit you to make field trips in Mississippi in the interest of better human relations.

The proposal outlined in your letter, as amplified in our personal discussions, seems to us a worthy one. Our understanding is that the general objective would be to meet and counsel with persons throughout Mississippi who are concerned with bettering relations between the races and who presently are largely isolated from each other and from likeminded people elsewhere.

To further this purpose, I am enclosing our check for $250 payable to the Delta Foundation. When these funds are exhausted, we will probably be in position to consider a further contribution up to the total of $500 for 1959 which you suggest.

To the extent that you can manage it, we would appreciate periodic reports on the problems and opportunities you uncover in the course of these field visits. We will be glad to follow up your visits with any materials or advice that SRC can

furnish to people of good will in that state. It would also be helpful to us if the individuals who have been related to SRC -- through the Mississippi Council or otherwise -- could be told by you that we are cooperating in the support of this effort.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (SRC check - #229, $250)

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 5, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn NE
Atalnta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Our work with the National Council of Churches as director of rural development during the past two years has required that we maintain a program based almost entirely on contacts in the field. During both 1957 and 1958, we averaged over 30,000 miles on an annual budget of $2,000 for all expenses.

Due to the reorganization of the Division of Home Missions, certain adjustments had to be made in the 1959 budget. This resulted in a cut in funds available for our work during the current year. The fact that the Council's 1956 Plymouth has seen service of over 72,000 miles during the past 2½ years means additional expenses out of a curtailed budget.

All of the foregoing adds up to this: Since we have been compelled to shorten the length of our communication lines with the Rural Development Program, there will be considerable time for some work closer to home base - which, incidently, is just two miles from the Mississippi line.

As you well know, not a single person is working in Mississippi with specific responsibility in the field of human relations. The entire field is in the hands of the White Citizens' Council who have spent over $250,000 during the past four years on a sales promotion job.

Finally, to get to the point: with a small expenses account for travel and other expenses - not more than $500 for the rest of 1959 - we can establish a minimum of from 1 to 5 contacts in well over half of the 82 counties of the state.

In the event you feel inclined to react favorably to the above suggestion, the Directors of the Delta Foundation would be happy to handle the grant.

Cordially yours,

Gene Cox

A. E. Cox,
President

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Ex 7-5102

July 31, 1958

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I find I haven't returned to you the enclosed clippings you were good enough to share with us. Many thanks.

I'm delighted to learn that the AFSC has given Hazel Smith additional, and substantial, assistance.

Come see us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. clippings

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 30, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Those of the attached clippings relating to the Clennon King case can be returned with the others I sent you yesterday.

When in Jackson last week, I was told that Gov. Coleman directed the maneuvering of the some 50 highway patrol officers who were stationed on and near the Ole Miss campus at the time of Mr. King's attempted entrance to the university. Mr. Coleman was sitting in a car equipped with two-way radio.

You may have read that King was taken from the university to Jackson where he was held over night in the state highway patrol building. After everyone had left the building for the night, two Jackson, Mississippi, newspaper men located an unlocked door to a rear staircase. They went to the top floor where King was locked up for the night and had an interview with him and took pictures. I understand that they got hell from the powers that be after the story was printed.

I was in Holmes County, Mississippi, last week and had a good visit with Walter and Hazel Smith. Hazel told me that Mike had sent her an additional grant of $2,500. from the AFSC. If she can arrange to re-finance the press, she should be in much better shape for some time.

With very best wishes to all, I am

Cordially,

Gene

A. E. Cox

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DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 16, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for the $250 check from SRC for use by our organization in Mississippi.

Just as soon as our plans are completed, it would be helpful if your office could furnish us with the names of any whom you might wish us to contact.

We plan to furnish your office with periodic reports on the results of our efforts. At the same time, we hope to keep you informed as to potential members of SRC.

As we have indicated before, it is our firm conviction that the first - and urgent - need is to spend the time available in locating those with the potential for a future organized effort in the field of human relations. At the present, this may mean little more than a face-to-face meeting of two concerned individuals - often times both will be of the same racial group.

With very best wishes, we are

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox
President

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

TUESDAY MORNING, JUNE 16, 1959

Agonizing Re-Appraisal

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, MEMPHIS,

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

Dear Harold:

After I saw the attached cartoon in yesterdays paper, I called Dr. Hollis Price to see if there was anything that could be done to answer this type of thing. As the result of our converation, I rounded up 30 copies of the paper to provide that number of the cartoons. Some time ago, Will Campbell had given me a number of copies of the attached NCC Information Bulletin on the NAACP. Dr. Price has agreed to write a letter to about 30 leading citizens of Memphis - using the attached two items as enclosures. We hope it may help to bring a little enlightenment to a few people here.

I am going to call Lucius Burch about the story on the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Someone should protest the use of taxpayer's funds for the cost of a special referendum. Obviously, the Negro citizens of Memphis are not anxious to see their tax money used for this purpose.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

P. S.

The news that Gov. Collins vetoed the bill which would have appropriated $500,000 for the segregation sales campaign was most emcouraging.

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

JUN 18 1959

Voluntary Race May Be Sought

'Gentleman's Agreement' Being Discussed As Answer To Negro Vote

A voluntary preferential primary for candidates seeking the public works commissioners post was being seriously discussed in political circles yesterday.

The possibility came into focus after Gov. Buford Ellington, here for the National Citizens Planning Conference, said he would not call a special legislative session to pass a private act providing for a runoff in the municipal election races here Aug. 20.

Commissioner Henry Loeb, a candidate for mayor, had sought out the governor's attitude in the matter.

Plan Considered

As envisioned, the special election now being considered would:

1. Be held by "gentlemen's agreement" among all the candidates now entered in the race. (There now are seven).
2. Be conducted soon after the qualifying deadline, July 21.
3. Only the top two candidates in the referendum would run Aug. 20.
4. Cost of the special election, or referendum, would be paid by the city. Estimated cost is $40,000.

Primary purpose of such an unofficial competition would be to remove the possibility of a Negro candidate winning the race as the result of a Negro bloc vote, over six or more white candidates.

Several of the candidates last night said they had heard of the plan, and some have discussed it with their own advisors and others.

No Manipulations

John Ford Canale said he would be willing to enter such a primary if it were conducted on a bona fide basis and not be subject to political manipulations.

William Farris said he would be agreeable.

Sam Chambers—"If some of the other candidates feel they need a second chance, I would agree to go along with the voluntary primary. The race is not too crowded for me as it stands."

W. B. Fowler—"Nobody has consulted me on it. I haven't given it any consideration."

R. B. Sugarmon Jr., Negro candidate — "I don't think it makes sense. Somebody must be on the verge of hysteria."

A. W. 'Ott' Anderson — "I don't believe we should spend $40,000 of the taxpayers' money on something like this. I think the six candidates should give up a lunch hour some day to get together and work something out. I'm sure some kind of gentleman's agreement could be made."

The other candidate, Sam Clark could not be reached for comment.

INFORMATION SERVICE

Published Weekly, Except During July and August by the

BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND SURVEY
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
297 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Price $2.50 Per Year—Single copies this issue 10 cents. **Volume XXXVI, No. 8**

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America is the cooperative agency through which thirty communions render united service. Articles appearing in this publication furnish information on current issues and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies of the National Council of Churches.

Entered as second-class matter January 4, 1924 at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

What Is the NAACP?

One of the widely discussed organizations in the United States is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. It was organized in 1909 by both white and Negro leaders. This number of the SERVICE gives information on why the Association was organized, what it has done, and how it has worked. This is done by means of a summary of the recent annual reports of the Association, of writings of its officers, and of various current articles about the program. We also give data on persons who are active in the Association's affairs. It is noted below that probably most of the local meetings are held in churches of predominantly Negro congregations.

Nearly two hundred years after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, proclaiming "that all men are created equal," the American social scene of mid-Twentieth Century is marked by a turbulent struggle between those striving toward basic human rights for all Americans and those who oppose such rights. Generally considered as one of the leaders of the former forces is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has as its goal the establishment of equal rights for citizens of all races and religions with respect to: security of the person, housing, education, employment, voting, and various public accommodations.

Three-fold Approach

In working to achieve its goal, the NAACP makes a three-fold attack on racial discrimination: legal, legislative, and educational. In brief, the NAACP plan of action consists of court tests, espousal of anti-discrimination laws, and a public information program.

The NAACP does not propose to await the enlightenment of all members of a given locality before proceeding with positive work to bring about equality of citizenship rights in the area. This view of the Association received unsolicited support in a recent article summarizing public opinion surveys conducted throughout the United States during the past fourteen years by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, which concluded that "it is not necessary to wait until a majority of whites are ready, to grant the Negro equal access to schools, buses, and residential neighborhoods."

The article published in the December, 1956, issue of *Scientific American*, New York, noted that in southern localities which have desegregated their public schools since the 1954 Supreme Court decision "two-thirds of the white public continue to mutter that Negro children really should go to 'separate schools,'" although "the fact of integration has been accepted." This situation, the article states, illustrates that it is not necessary to wait for "a majority mandate from the people" before desegregating local facilities.

Despite its consistent efforts to inform the public (by means of pamphlets, press releases, an annual report, radio, and television programs, and other materials) about the racial situation in the United States and also in its views on the situation, the NAACP is convinced that most Americans have only a dim, distorted idea of the total civil rights' picture and of the Association's work. At least two reasons for this state of affairs may be found. First, the NAACP cannot give information to the public in a continuous "saturation" campaign such as that used by mass media advertising, even should Association officials agree on the ethics of such a scheme. Second, its officers believe that the workings of the NAACP have been distorted deliberately by many of its bitter enemies in the South, resulting in much confusion in that region within recent years.

Membership and Officials

The NAACP is a large membership organization, with some 350,000 members located in almost every state, the District of Columbia, and Alaska. More than fifty per cent of the members are in the seventeen southern and border states. Both the membership and the national staff of ninety persons are multi-racial, with an estimated eight to twelve per cent of whites among the members. On the local level, NAACP members work through branches, which in turn constitute state units. These branches more often than not hold their meetings in local churches. Three regional offices have been established by the Association: in Atlanta, Georgia; Dallas, Texas (currently closed by a court injunction); and San Francisco, California. A Washington Bureau maintains contacts with members of Congress and with the executive branch of the government.

National officials of the Association are of various races and faiths. Arthur B. Spingarn, president since 1939, is a white attorney of New York City, who was preceded in his office by two other white men: his brother, J. E. Spingarn, and Moorfield Storey, the first president. Allan Knight Chalmers, a member of the faculty of the Boston University School of Theology, serves as treas-

Page 1 What Is the NAACP?
Page 4 Man's Development and Possibilities

urer; and Theodore Spaulding, a Negro judge of Philadelphia, as assistant treasurer. The chairman of the Board of Directors is Channing H. Tobias, veteran educator, church leader, often called one of the "elder statesmen" of the Negro race. Robert C. Weaver, a graduate of Harvard University, now New York State Rent Administrator, the first Negro to be appointed to a cabinet post in the state government, is vice-chairman.

Among the Association's twenty-one vice-presidents those who perhaps are best known in their respective fields are Norman Cousins, Oscar Hammerstein II, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Wayne Morse, Bishop W. J. Walls, Rabbi Judah Cahn, Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Eric Johnston, and A. Philip Randolph.

A widely circulated statement about the NAACP, which has been promoted actively by anti-Negro elements of the South, is that its policy is charted by a handful of northerners, mostly New Yorkers, who have taken it upon themselves to dictate to the rest of the nation concerning rights for Negroes. Actually, Association policy is formulated by the body's annual convention, a representative group of some one thousand NAACP members from all sections of the United States and Alaska. The policy set by the convention is carried out by the Board of Directors of forty-eight members which also selects the executive secretary, who, in turn, appoints the staff.

The present Board of Directors, of whom about seventy-five per cent are Negroes, has more than thirty-three per cent Southerners in its ranks, including persons from Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Among current board members are the Rt. Rev. Stephen Gill Spottswood, Walter Reuther, Ralph J. Bunche, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Rev. Benjamin E. Mays, Herbert H. Lehman, Judge William H. Hastie, Mrs. Jessie M. Vann. The interests of board members, in addition to those of the several named above, include civic leader, business executive, physician, attorney, and homemaker. Members of the Board are elected for three-year terms; one-third of the Board is elected each year by means of a referendum among branches.

The Association's staff, headed by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, includes the noted civil rights attorney, Thurgood Marshall, and such other department heads as Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau; Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Herbert Hill, labor secretary; Madison S. Jones, special assistant for housing; John Morsell, assistant to the executive secretary; James Ivy, editor of *The Crisis,* the Association's monthly organ; and Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations. A "church secretary" is scheduled for early appointment.

Notes on History

The formation of the Association, perhaps ironically, was immediately influenced by an incident in the North. In the words of Mary White Ovington, a white social worker who was a founder of the NAACP:

"In the summer of 1908, the country was shocked by the account of the race riots at Springfield, Illinois. Here, in the home of Abraham Lincoln, a mob containing many of the town's 'best citizens,' raged for two days, killed and wounded scores of Negroes, and drove thousands from the city. Articles on the subject appeared in newspapers and magazines. Among them was one in *The Independent* of September 3, by William English Walling, entitled 'Race War in the North.' After describing the atrocities committed against the colored people, Mr. Walling declared:

" 'Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must be revived and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North.' "

In January, 1909, Miss Ovington relates, she met with Mr. Walling and Dr. Henry Moskowitz and the three selected February 12, Lincoln's birthday, for the issuance of a call "for a national conference on the Negro question."

The Lincoln's birthday call, Miss Ovington continues, was drafted by Oswald Garrison Villard, then president of the *New York Evening Post* Company, and said in part:

"If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be disheartened and discouraged. . . . The spread of lawless attacks upon the Negro, North, South, and West—even in the Springfield made famous by Lincoln—often accompanied by revolting brutalities, sparing neither sex nor age nor youth, could but shock the author of the sentiment that 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' Silence under these conditions means tacit approval. . . . Hence, we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

Among the fifty-three signers of this call were Jane Addams, John Dewey, John L. Elliott, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Francis J. Grimke, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Frederick Lynch, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Lincoln Steffens, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Bishop Alexander Walters, William English Walling, and Lillian D. Wald.

To continue in the words of Miss Ovington: "We have had five conferences since 1909 [her account was written in 1914], but I doubt whether any have been so full of a questioning surprise, amounting swiftly to enthusiasm, on the part of the white people in attendance. These men and women, engaged in religious, social, and educational work, for the first time met the Negro who demands, not a pittance, but his full rights in the commonwealth. . . . In May, 1910, we held our second conference in New York, and again our meetings were attended by earnest, interested people. It was then that we organized a permanent body to be known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People . . . pledged to a nation-wide work for justice to the Negro race."

One Broad Accomplishment

In 1957, surveying nearly a half-century of NAACP work, the outstanding over-all accomplishment of the organization, in the opinion of its leaders, might be said to be a general loosening of the color-caste system of the United States. The system, though still operative, is declared to have lost a degree of its former inflexibility.

Robert Morrison MacIver, a well-known sociologist, set forth the results of a study of intergroup discrimination in the United States in a book, *The More Perfect Union* (New York, Macmillan, 1948), in which he stated:

"It is beyond contention that in the United States all 'colored' people—and this designation must here be extended to include Chinese, Hindus, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos, as well as Negroes, and for fuller measure American Indians and Latin Americans—are commonly regarded as and commonly treated as constituting a lower caste. In the drawing of this line practically no distinction is made between people of high cultural achievement

or historical eminence and those which have no such pretensions."

Lynching

Until recent years, a concomitant of the caste subordination of Negroes was the lynching by mobs, which often carried on this macabre activity secure in the knowledge that predominant local sentiment was on their side. Statistics cited by Walter White, late executive secretary of the NAACP, in his book, *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (New York, Knopf, 1929), show that during the two decades 1890 to 1910, mobs lynched 2,586 men and women, while in the years 1910 to 1927, the lynchers claimed 1,144 victims. Of these 3,730 persons who suffered the effect of mob sadism, a small number were white. Miss Ovington tells the story in her book, *The Walls Come Tumbling Down* (New York, Harcourt, 1947):

"As Garrison, in *The Liberator,* relentlessly held up the horrors of chattel slavery to the world, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People relentlessly broadcasted this [lynching] and other stories of the horrors perpetrated against the black man. One hundred-page study [*Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1890-1918*] went to libraries, not only in this country but throughout the world. . . . Besides the publicity of the printed word, we used the public meeting. . . ."

The NAACP also campaigned persistently for a federal anti-lynching law and although such legislation never became a reality, the campaign itself served as an education for many white Americans by further exposing the extent and the horrors of lynching.

Walter White's Observations

The analysis of the causes of lynching to which most of Mr. White's book, *Rope and Faggot,* is devoted, probably had an effect upon those who read the volume, published in 1929. A chapter dealing with the relationship between expressions of Christianity and lynching, for example, states in part:

"In these states with the greatest number of lynchings to their discredit . . . the great majority of the church members are Protestants and of the evangelical wing of Protestantism as well . . . Protestantism in the lynching states has become the stronghold of bigotry, directing its onslaughts against Negroes, Catholics, and Jews."

Having helped to undermine the acceptance of lynching, which it considered to be the first task in its war against racism, the NAACP proceeded to the gigantic undertaking of eliminating other manifestations of race prejudice in America: segregation and discrimination. The Association's activities in this regard have made a part of recent American history. The methods used by the NAACP were summarized by a native Alabaman now residing in Georgia whose letter on Southern racial relations was published in *The Christian Century,* Chicago, May 30, 1956. Albert E. Barnett said in this letter:

"As a southerner I am thankful for the NAACP. Elsewhere today—as has happened throughout history—repressed minorities are seeking redress of grievances by torch, dagger and bomb, instruments that produce social chaos and involve loss of precious moral values. . . . The NAACP counsels patience and moderation, and admirably illustrates both. It hires a good lawyer and takes its cases to court."

Mr. Barnett's letter also points out: "In no case has 'privilege' surrendered of its own accord. Nor will it. If to 'go slow' is to relax pressures through the courts and public opinion, no social change will be effected."

Hiring a Lawyer

By hiring a good lawyer and going to court, as Mr. Barnett puts it, the NAACP has won a long list of favorable legal decisions. The Association reports that it has won forty-two of forty-six cases it carried to the United States Supreme Court. Among these Supreme Court decisions are those declaring segregation unconstitutional in public elementary and secondary schools, public colleges and universities, public parks and playgrounds, interstate travel vehicles, and intrastate buses. The judicial enforcement of racially restrictive 'covenants' in housing has been invalidated by the Supreme Court, as has been the denial of jury duty to Negroes and varied maneuvers to prevent Negroes from voting. The right of an accused person to a trial in an atmosphere not dominated by the mob also has been established by the court.

NAACP lawyers recently secured from the Interstate Commerce Commission a ruling that interstate passengers cannot be required to use segregated seating on carriers nor to use segregated waiting rooms. The year-long mass protest against racial discrimination on the city buses of Montgomery, Alabama, came to a successful conclusion when an NAACP case carried to the U. S. Supreme Court resulted in a decision, November 13, 1956, that the enforced racial separation of local bus passengers in Alabama is unconstitutional.

On the federal level, the Association has been unable to obtain passage of any civil rights legislation by Congress, such as that to make lynching a federal offense, to protect the right to vote, to ban racial discrimination in hospitals, employment, and housing. The NAACP has, however, been a factor in the passage of fair employment practices laws in fifteen states. On the subject of racial bias in employment, an NAACP leaflet declares:

"Denying a man a decent job because of his race is denying him the basis of his existence. . . . The NAACP believes that an FEPC—to guarantee citizens an opportunity to secure jobs on the basis of merit, not color or religion—is the keystone of the federal civil rights program."

The NAACP also was successful in its efforts to secure enactment of anti-discrimination laws governing public housing and urban renewal in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. New York State went further in 1955 when two laws, the first of their kind in the United States, were enacted banning racial discrimination in housing which has received publicly-insured or guaranteed financing from the Federal Housing Authority or the Veterans' Administration.

Reaching the Indifferent

In addition to its legal and legislative accomplishments, the NAACP believes that its educational program has been responsible for creating a positive point of view among many civil rights agnostics. By consistently attempting to reach the public with facts about the denial of rights to Negroes, the Association hopes mainly to influence the undecided, the misinformed, the ignorant. Americans whose lives are consumed by racial hatred are considered by the Association often to be beyond the reach of facts, and those who already believe in full constitutional rights for all are not in need of further education on the subject. Support by the latter is needed by

the NAACP, however, in carrying forward its program. To those who contend that "education is the answer" to the civil rights problem, the NAACP replies that education is needed but cannot do the job alone; moreover, that it is frequently the white people who stand in need of education concerning the rights of Negroes.

However, apparently because of its most recent accomplishments, particularly the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools, the NAACP presently finds itself in deep and dangerous water in some southern states. Southern resentment has expressed itself by legal and legislative action against the NAACP as well as by vocal tirades denouncing the Association as a "Communist organization." This triple-faceted attack, beginning in 1955, mounted to a crescendo in 1956.

Legal Moves Against NAACP

It was in 1956 that the NAACP was banned by court decree from functioning in Louisiana, Alabama, and Texas. During the same period, legislative attacks on the Association included a package of Virginia laws designed to halt the NAACP in that state, the establishment of a Florida legislative commission to investigate the NAACP, laws making it difficult or impossible for NAACP members to hold teaching or other public positions in Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina. Of these attacks, Roy Wilkins, the Association's executive secretary, recently said:

"[By] restricting freedom of speech, assembly, petition, redress of grievances in the courts, and even freedom of thought, [these attacks] illustrate that the attempt to enforce racial inequality has entered dangerously into the area of civil liberties, in violation of the Bill of Rights.

"This invasion of individual liberties has extended beyond the assaults on the NAACP as an organized body. Southern white citizens who have dared express an opinion contrary to the popular view have been subjected to intimidation and loss of employment. Among these victims have been ministers, school teachers, college professors, and others, including a newspaper editor in South Carolina who was forced to announce that desegregation would no longer be discussed in his editorial columns."

Writing in *The Catholic Review,* Baltimore, October 12, 1956, Msgr. George C. Higgins, director of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, asserted:

". . . The time has come for law-abiding citizens of the United States—whatever their personal opinion of the NAACP—to rally to its defense in those states where its very right to existence as an organization is being challenged not merely by private individuals but by government itself. . . . One does not have to be a supporter or an admirer of NAACP to recognize that those states which are trying to outlaw the organization by administrative ruling or by legislative fiat are clearly violating one of the most fundamental principles of the natural law in the field of political action. That principle is the freedom of association. . . ."

The American Jewish Congress adopted a resolution on October 21, 1956, declaring that recent southern legislative and legal proceedings "to outlaw or paralyze" the NAACP are "a greater menace to constitutional liberty than mob violence."

Southern attacks labeling the NAACP as "Communist" were made despite the fact that the Association has a long record of opposing Communism and frequently has been denounced in the Communist press. Its officers allege that it hardly is likely that such public figures as J. Edgar Hoover, Francis Cardinal Spellman and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey would publicly have praised the NAACP were it a "Communist" organization.

Frederick Woltman of the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* wrote in that newspaper, May 19, 1956: "On the charge of Communism, this writer . . . has first-hand knowledge. It goes back more than a decade and a half. Over those years, the NAACP was one of hundreds of church, labor, civic and other groups the Communist party tried desperately to infiltrate. Of them all, the NAACP was one of the least receptive. . . . The NAACP's top leaders have sternly resisted Communist inroads."

Today, stronger financially than ever before in its eventful history, the NAACP has a single aim: to accomplish its objectives and thus eventually to put itself out of business. The Association's leaders believe that segregation can be ended by 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Roy Wilkins has called the Negro the test of American democracy. In his year-end review, "Race Relations in the United States, 1956," Mr. Wilkins stated:

"The Negro knows that state-imposed segregation is dead even though certain elements are struggling furiously to revive it. During 1957 and succeeding years he will employ all possible approaches and techniques to attain his objective of first class citizenship."

In this struggle, Mr. Wilkins continued, Negroes "will not be intimidated by economic reprisals, threats of violence or violence itself."

"On the other hand," the NAACP official pointed out, "large segments of the white population of the South have been intimidated and at the present time do not dare to dissent in any degree from the position taken by rabble-rousers reinforced by the politicians."

A series of "desperate measures adopted during the year" by Deep South states to stop desegregation simply are "testimony to the progress being made and to the recognition that compliance with the Supreme Court rulings is inevitable," Mr. Wilkins observed.

Writing in the *New York Times,* August 20, 1956, C. L. Sulzberger expressed a similar thought in a somewhat different way:

"The most important moral issue facing the United States . . . is that of full freedom and equality. . . . We cannot pretend to be a valid model for democracy if we continue, even regionally, to insist on race superiority."

Man's Development and Possibilities

A booklet, *Modern Man,* by Ashley Montagu is published by Science Research Associates (Chicago, 1956, 60 cents). It is a clear study planned for upper grades, high school and young adult readers. Mr. Montagu is an anthropologist. He has been assisted in writing the booklet by Paul F. Brandwein, a teacher and science editor. Their main theme is that "people are alike in many more ways—and in more important ways—than they are different. . . . We all have the same basic physical and mental equipment."

After a survey of ancient types of man and a brief account of the evolutionary processes of mutation, geographic isolation and natural selection which make modern man, Mr. Montagu proceeds to explain why men are different.

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

December 14, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My sincere thanks to you for the time you took out of a very busy schedule last Tuesday. No news from the NCC. The opportunity presented itself on Wednesday for me to tell Lindy, my wife, about the possibility of the axe falling. It is a problem we need to face together and I feel much relieved now that she knows.

Tell Paul Anthony that his message of last Monday was called up to my room at the hotel around 9:00 p.m. Tuesday. Sorry I missed him.

After I arrived home Wednesday afternoon, I debated the wisdom of going to New Orleans. Thursday morning, I took an early flight and was there in time to have a good session with Father Twomey before he wrapped up his statement for the Committee. We shared some concerns and on Friday he made a vigorous statement at the hearing which provided the proper moral and theological tone for the scene.

I secured permission of Harold Brown for the National Agricultural Workers Union and the Division of Home Missions of NCC to submit written statements, if they so desire. A representative of the Tulane School of Social Work made an excellent presentation in which she referred to unemployment problems arising from discriminatory practices based on race.

I would like to have the attached clippings returned for the files here.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

C

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cc: Will D. Campbell

VIA AIR MAIL

December 23, 1959

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

This is just to let you know, on the eve of Christmas Eve, that I am not dead at the switch. I appreciated your last letter and the clips (which have been or will be returned), and am gratified to learn that conscience impelled you to New Orleans. I'm sure Father Twomey's presentation was the stronger for your help, and the written statements will be valuable if done.

I have not moved faster on the draft application to Taconic simply because my friends there have informed me that everything except the church gifts is in abeyance until January. I hope to take advantage of the between-holiday lull (if any) to give some sustained attention to this. You will be hearing from me further before long.

Meanwhile, do advise me at once if you get word from the NCC or if the situation changes in any way. Even if it takes some time to get action by Taconic, we may be able to make an interim arrangement that will keep you laboring in these vineyards.

Noel, and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 1/14/60

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED

933 CHAMBLISS ROAD

MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

January 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

On a trip to Holmes County last week end, I saw Walter and Hazel Smith. Hazel has received a loan of $10,000 and has the promise of another $5,000 on May 1 if it is needed. Obviously, she will have to call for it. The $10,000 is to be repaid within two years.

Just recently, Walter sold for a price of $1,500 an acre of their farm land. It is to be used as the site for a radio-telephone transmission tower.

The Four-County News published at Pickens in Holmes County announced on January 1 that it is through after a five-year venture of operating in the red.

Hazel is convinced that the Holmes County Heard will be unable to survive its second year of publication. In some ways, the picture looks a bit brighter for the Smiths.

Brother Will was here for a few hours yesterday as he broke the trip to Pine Bluff, Little Rock and Austin, Texas.

With very best wishes to all, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

C

P.S.
The $10,000 is new Republic money -

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DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

February 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

On Thursday I was by to see Hazel Smith concerning the matter related in your memo of January 28.

Without revealing the source of my information, I relayed to her Yarmolinsky's sentiments regarding both the matter of public relations and the repayment of the three short-term loans. I got no reaction one way or the other about her intentions with respect to the loans. She assured me that she had both called and written Yarmolinsky during the final days of the negotiations with Harrison. I did suggest that she follow through at this time with another communication.

Throughout our conversation I tried to impress upon Hazel the need for some fence-mending with those who have given her support. At one point, I was on the verge of telling her that she might well keep the lines of communication open with 63 Auburn Avenue. However, one of the shop men had been on a drunk with the result that both Hazel and Smitty had been up until 3:00 a.m. getting the papers out. I'll save that for another time.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox
President

C

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March 8, 1960

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I don't believe I have thanked you for following through so helpfully on my letter regarding Hazel Smith. I'm most grateful -- for that and for the items of intelligence that you are thoughtful enough to send us.

I take it there is no further news about your own prospects. You will let me know, I'm sure, when and if there is any new development.

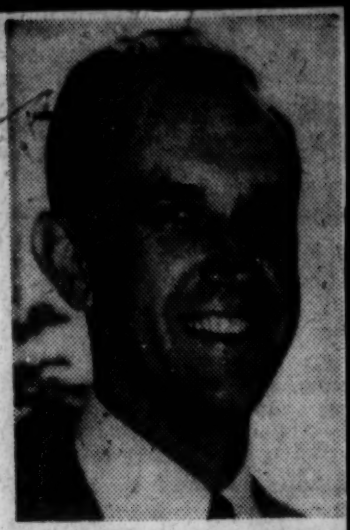
All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MAR 11 1960



DR. PAUL TUDOR JONES

* * *

Relations Group Names Dr. Jones

Succeeds Attorney Lucius Burch Jr.

Memphis Committee on Community Relations has as its president for 1960 Dr. Paul Tudor Jones, minister of Idlewild Presbyterian Church. Dr. Jones was elected at a meeting of the Committee yesterday at the YWCA, 200 Monroe. He succeeds Lucius E. Burch Jr., attorney.

Vice presidents elected were Edmund Orgill, former mayor; Hollis Price, LeMoyne College president, and Frank Ahlgren, Commercial Appeal editor. Rabbi James Wax was reelected secretary. Arthur McCain, retired banker, was reelected treasurer.

Serving on the executive committee will be:

Mr. Burch
Edward J. Meeman
A. I. Davies
B. G. Olive
Russell Sugarmon Jr.
George W. Lee
Rev. John Mickle
Rev. S. A. Owen
Jesse Turner

The committee was formed slightly more than a year ago with a view to helping Memphis deal reasonably and peaceably with stresses created by the existence in the community of various racial and religious groups.

PR - F.Y.I. ✓

HCA

COPY

not your" group

DID YOU KNOW?

1) That Mrs. J. A. Burt, Administrative Assistance on the Mississippi Methodist Advocate staff was (and may still be) on the staff of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. This council is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, an organization which, according to the Communist Daily Worker (Dec. 1, 1954), was founded by a communist - James R. Jackson.

2) That the late Mrs. W. R. Ratliff, mother-in-law of President Ellis Finger of Millsaps, was the president of this Mississippi Council on Human Relations; and that Dr. H. G. Williamson, Mississippi Methodist minister, was also on the Board of Directors.

3) That according to testimony presented before a Joint Legislative Committee of the Louisiana Legislature by ex-Communist Manning Johnson, the Communist-founded Southern Regional Council has its offices "in a little church office building (in Atlanta) presided over by the Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore!"

4) That the book "Behind Soviet Power" by Jerome Davis was sent to 22,000 Methodist ministers by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, and these books were paid for with money from Methodist missionaty funds. This in spite of the fact that Davis has 99 Communist and Communist-front affiliations!

5) That the Volunteer Civil Rights Commission, designed to urge Congress to pass civil rights legislation is headed by Methodist Bishop Oxnam.

6) That according to Bishop Marvin Franklin, speaking before the North Alabama Annual Conference meeting in Decatur, Alabama, on January 13, 1960, the Methodist Church lost 199,000 members last year and 1,000,000 since 1952. (I wonder why? Could it be that our church has become so liberal and steeped in preaching the "social gospel" - including integration - that people are finding spiritual guidance elsewhere?)

7) That at the National Conference of Methodist Youth meeting at Purdue University last August, the morning prayer service was conducted with a background of recorded jazz music.

8) That at this same Youth Conference Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Stassen and others participated in a special panel discussion on world affairs.

9) That this statement appeared in the June 11, 1958, edition of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate: "When we (Southerners) claim to believe in democracy and are unwilling to share it with Jews, Mexicans, Orientals, and Negroes, we really do not believe in democracy. If we profess that every American is entitled to equal opportunity to develop, and do not work toward this end, can we say that we believe that what we profess?"

Note: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write me for extra copies.

s/ Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

Memphis, Tennessee
March 12, 1960

To Members and Friends of the Tennessee Council On Human Relations
Greetings:

You are invited to attend a meeting at the Y.W.C.A. (on Monroe) on Thursday, March 17th at 4:00P.M.

Our agenda will be as follows:

Report of the Program Committee
Dr. Hollis F. Price, chairman

Report of the Membership Committee
Mrs. Ruth Osoinach, chairman

Report of Mr. Mickle regarding his attendance at the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Tennessee Council which was held at Nashville.

Consideration of a letter from Miss Louise Young, Executive Secretary of the Tenn. Council, concerning local organization.

We hope to make this a profitable hour of planning and discussion.

Please put forth every effort to be present, and ALSO bring one interested person with you.

Sincerely yours,

The Committee:
Ellen Correll
J.A.McDaniel
J.C.Mickle

P.S. A correction to a postscript to the letter of February 27th: Memberships for the year are being received at the state office, 2001 Division Street, Nashville 4, Tennessee, ranging from $5.00 to $10.00 to $25.00 and up. All memberships at $5.00 and above include a $2.00 year's subscription to the magazine, NEW SOUTH, and $1.00 which will be returned to the local organization.

April 27, 1960

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

Enclosed is the original prospectus that you prepared, as well as a copy of the briefer, edited version which I sent to the Taconic Foundation. I am also sending a copy of the latter to Will Campbell.

I raised the matter with Jane Lee Eddy on the way to Savannah and found, as I had suspected, that the proposal had been lost in the shuffle. I am sending her another copy of the brief version (with budget), in the hope that her exposure to the "hard core" discussion will give it a greater claim on her attention. Anyway, I will keep pushing until we get a definite "yes" or "no".

I'll look forward to seeing you at the next Penn clambake.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Enclosures returned to Cox 8/20/60

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

July 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

The enclosed is our operating statement and balance sheet as of December 31, 1959.

A breakdown on land and buildings is as follows: approximately 1,500 acres of land, 5 residences, shop, community building, clinic, craft center and farm buildings.

The book value as indicated on the property sheet does not reveal a true picture of the assets of the corporation. The land was purchased in 1938 at a cost of less than $7.00 per acre. Land sales on two occasions brought almost as much as the original purchase price of the property.

Likewise, the figure on buildings is far below actual value. Much of the lumber used in construction was produced in our mill from timber on the farm. The labor for the construction of the community building was donated by members of the Providence Cooperative Association in 1939. Partial cost of construction and remodeling of residences was paid by staff members. In the case of the 12 room building formerly used as a clinic, Dave Minter paid for much of the cost of converting a dairy barn and pasteurizing plant into the clinic. Thus the low book value on buildings.

We have just closed a deal to purchase 130 acres of land which was sold out of the farm in 1880. The cost is $4,000 and the Cooperative Foundation, Inc., has reacted favorably to our initial approach for a grant to cover the cost. Last year, they gave $2,000 to purchase 64 acres in the same area. We have agreed to furnish Soil Conservation Service an easement for a dam which will be constructed on the tract purchased in 1959. One of the main reasons we purchased was to assure control of a potential recreation area in the area immediately adjacent to our community center.

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It would cost a minimum of $25,000 to replace buildings through the same means as they were constructed originally. This we could not do. Land, buildings and improvements are worth in excess of $90,000. In addition, we have other assets valued at $27,182.05 today.

It might be well to note here that an agreement entered into by Delta Foundation, Inc., and Cooperative Farms, Inc., restricts the use of our capital assets to the type of program now being carried on in Holmes County, Mississippi. In 1956, Cooperative Farms transferred all their assets to Delta Foundation for the consideration of $1.00.

At the present time the program in Holmes County has little value other than as a holding operation with some psychological value in a county characterized as one of the worst in the entire South.

We will need the auditors report for our files when you have finished with it.

I telephoned Stan Hovatter and Hodding Carter III after I talked with you this morning. Stan is willing to serve on the board and I am to go to Greenville tomorrow to go over the matter with Hod. He indicated a willingness to accept. I will give you a call Monday to report on his decision.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox, Executive Director

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Enc. (1)

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

July 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It is not my intention to burden you with all the minor details of the needs of the Memphis Chapter of the Tennessee Council. However, I do have a request and you can pass it down the line.

In anticipation of what might possibly be some reactions to the presence of our organization here in West Tennessee, I thought it wise to have in our files adequate background information on SRC - including answers to the stock charges frequently leveled by the opposition. We have a fine working relationship with the press in Memphis - especially with the Memphis Press-Scimitar.

I was reminded of the need for a little planning in this area recently when the Rev. Billy James Hargis, the perennial antagonist of the National Council of Churches, came to Memphis for a three-night stand. I could find no responsibile churchman in Memphis who was prepared to answer any charges Hargis might have made. Too, the image of the hatchet job done on the Mississippi Council by the Jackson, Mississippi, press gives ample warning for the need to be prepared.

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

c

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

August 3, 1960

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

You are wise and foresighted to prepare for the kind of smear attack that the organized segregationists specialize in. I'm enclosing our main "defense" documents, which deal with most or all of the charges to date. We have found the editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch a particularly effective rebuttal.

The Taconic proposal is bogged down again, worse luck. They feel that the kind of program we are proposing should be done under the sponsorship of an established church group. I have passed this word on to Will, and he is supposed to do some exploring of possibilities. Do you have any ideas? This is discouraging, but I don't think we should consider giving up yet. More on this later.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enclosures

T-D edditorial
Bolling Cong. Rec. Reprint
Douglas Cong. Rec. Reprint
Answer to the "Firing Line"
Fleming-Waring exchange

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

October 5, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for the $500 check. These funds will be used to help take care of expenses in connection with our field work in Mississippi.

From time to time, we shall report to you the results of our efforts with this project.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

c

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

October 5, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Leflore County, Mississippi, is the only county in which I have contacts. For all practical purposes, these are useless in matters relating to registration of Negro voters.

Some years back, a Negro shoe repairman by the name of Collins was active at Greenwood, the county seat of Leflore County. If I recall correctly, some pressure has been put on him in recent years.

I would suspect that the Rev. Aaron Henry (?) of Clarksdale (Coahoma County) might be the logical person to furnish information on the Mississippi counties. In all probability, he is in touch with the Commission.

I think it is safe to assume that any white persons in these counties who might have any concern are in no position to give information. In fact, the next step might well be that of furnishing them with information on the status of Negro registration in Mississippi.

Two or three years hence we might be of some help to you.

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

c

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THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY 1920 1960 40th ANNIVERSARY Disciples of Christ

A. DALE FIERS, *president*
JESSIE M. TROUT, *vice-president*
MAYBLE M. EPP, *secretary*
FRANCIS W. PAYNE, *treasurer*

The United Christian Missionary Society
A BOARD OF MISSIONS AND EDUCATION

222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVENUE • FLEETWOOD 7-1166 • INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

November 1, 1960

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

Here's what we'd like to try first as a way of supporting the work described in your prospectus:

The prospectus - with only minor changes to identify the U.C.M.S. as the sponsoring agency - should be submitted again to the Foundation for consideration.

In our thinking the U.C.M.S. would not be in a position to put any funds into the Midsouth project for the next three years. After that time, if the financial askings we have made become actual money, we may be able to support it.

The responsibilities you would have to us as the sponsoring agency would be primarily reporting - keeping us informed of the work, special situations, and financial accounting. We would plan to consult with you at least every three months.

I regret very much the delay in getting this to you. I hope we can now move quickly to get reconsideration by the Foundation.

As I understand it, you with Harold Flemming will move on the next step. If you need information or papers in regard to the U.C.M.S. we shall be glad to provide them.

Again, I hope this works out.

Sincerely,

Lewis

Lewis H. Deer

Division of Church Life and Work

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE
Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary • **Executive Directors:** Mrs. Ruth E. Milner, Social Welfare Services; Lewis H. Deer, Social Education and Action; Robert A. Fangmeier, Joint Program • **National Director:** Thomas J. Griffin, Church and Community Service • **Departmental Associate:** Miss Loisanne Buchanan • **Coordinator of Relief and Rehabilitation Services:** Miss Ella L. Williams

November 8, 1960

Harold:

I called Will today to tell him of the results of my two visits with Lewis Deer and Barton Hunter. He is to be in Atlanta on Thursday and will tell you of his visit with Galen Weaver.

In view of what you told me about the conditions laid down by Taconic, I can see little hope of their buying the proposal suggested by the Disciples of Christ.

Best wishes,

Gene

A E Coy

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

January 7, 1961

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are listing below our expenditures for travel made during the past three months:

October	$112.11
November	67.66
December	106.95

With the exception of one trip each to Louisville, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee, these expenditures covered travel in Mississippi and West Tennessee.

In addition to the above, we have made the following disbursements which can be allocated over a period of some months:

(1)	4 new tires	$91.62
(2)	Car repairs	107.09

During the time we have spent in Mississippi a number of new contacts have been made as we renewed many old ones. From the experiences of the past few months we have come to the conclusion that anyone who does a human relations job there needs a respectable front - you name it.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox
Executive Director

c

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

January 16, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
201 Forsyth Street, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Last week was spent in Mississippi - January 9, 10 & 11 at Mississippi State University, January 12 in Jackson and January 13 in the Delta area.

You have heard, I am sure, of the suit filed in federal court to block contributions by the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission to the Citizens Council Forum. The suit goes much beyond this and actually challenges the constitutionality of the State Sovereignty Commission. Those who filed the suit are:

William L. Higgs, 25, 707 N. Congress Street - office telephone FL 3-5166 - Harvard law graduate who has been in Jackson since 1958; Robert L. T. Smith, Negro groceryman, 1253 Valley - telephone FL 2-7186; Lonnie B. Daniel, 666 Cummins Street - home telephone DR 2-5205 - area director for Communications Workers of America; and, Charles E. Shaffer, 3115 Shirley Drive - home telephone FL 4-1568 - assistant business agent for International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. All four men are nativesof Mississippi.

In talking with Higgs, I found that he is getting quite a bit of support from over the state. At the present, there is no need for financial assistance. Threats have been made against Higg's' parents who live in Greenville. On the day that I talked with Higgs, he told me that his life had been threatened that morning.

I would like to have the attached material back for my files in case you do not need it.

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

c

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

January 23, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We need your reaction to a suggestion that a new proposal be presented by SRC to Taconic on behalf of Delta Foundation.

We have a definite commitment of $15,000 toward the support of the Mid-South Project - and a good possibility of an additional $2,000 - in case Taconic can be persuaded to put up the $40,000 we have requested from them. The money will come from the liquidation of a trust fund of which the actual value is yet to be determined.

The promise of this support is based on our projection of a plan to operate the Mid-South Project for a minimum of 6 years - longer if additional funds can be secured. The attached is our proposal for a maximum budget of $10,000 per year for this period. If Taconic could carry the project for 4 years at this figure, we will be able to have $20,000 on hand by January 1, 1965. The $17,000 invested at 4 percent, compounded semi-annually, would reach a little more than the required figure of $20,000.

Almost 7 months of unemployment prompts my rushing of this additional burden to you.

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox
Executive Director

c
enc.

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

Proposed budget for the Mid-South project - 1961 through 1966

Salary	6,000.00
F.O.A.B. tax	144.00
Retirement fund	480.00
Travel	1,800.00
Depreciation reserve - automobile	500.00
Auto expenses - insurance, tires and repairs	300.00
Office equipment, telephone, postage and supplies	600.00
Utilities	120.00
Miscel.	56.00
	$10,000.00

January 25, 1961

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation
933 Chambliss
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

Thanks for your letter of January 23 and the good news about the financial commitment for the Project. Is it possible to know the source of the trust?

I am going to be in New York the first of next week and will then raise again with Taconic the question of its support in the light of these new sources. It's cold comfort to a man living on a shoe string, but we have had you very much on our minds in recent weeks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1961

February 25, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The following confirms our telephone conversation of February 23 in which we gave you the following estimates of the financial assistance needed by William Higgs:

Before 3-Judge District Court:

1. Estimate of time to preliminary hearing - $600

2. Discovery for preparation for preliminary hearing (deposition, etc.) - 500

3. Correspondence, printing, reproducing papers, telephone calls, etc. - 250

Appeal to U. S. Supreme Court: 3,000

The first three items cover immediate needs while the item for $3,000 will be needed if and when the case goes to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Sincerely yours,

A. E. Cox
Executive Director

c

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

VIA AIR MAIL

March 9, 1961

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation
833 Chambliss
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I had a call from New York a moment ago which calls for a change of plan on the request to the Field Foundation. The first step, it seems, is for Taconic to pass its material on the Mississippi Project to Field. It may still be necessary to submit a formal request to Field, but meantime just sit tight.

For your guidance, you are not suppose to know anything about the idea of a Field Foundation matching grant.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 2, 1961

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cox:

Les tells me that you say you have not received materials, aside from NEW SOUTH, from the Council on several months. We cannot understand this since your stencil is in our all purpose list which would mean that you would get practically everything the Council mails out.

We are mailing you, under separate cover, a copy of the latest Special Report, first class. We are addressing it to the address we have on the stencil and the one in our central files.

I would be interested in knowing if you received a copy of "The Freedom Ride" Special Report by second class mail since one presumably has gone out to you. Please let me know if you receive either or both of the reports.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 12, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Thank you for sending copies of your latest Special Report. Both arrived by the same mail.

My fuss with you folks at SRC may be entirely out of line. However, from press reports I now and then see some reference made to studies and reports which have been released by your office. More often than not these would be of interest and value to us.

If we have your assurance that we are getting everything that is not marked "top secret" - and can be bought with good Mississippi money - we will gladly call off the dogs.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Gene Cox

A. E. Cox
Executive Director

c

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

June 16, 1961

Mr. A. E. Cox
Executive Director
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cox:

Since you received the second class mailing of the Freedom Ride Report, you apparently are receiving all of our materials.

The press reports you have been seeing may have referred to statements by persons at the Southern Regional Council made directly to reporters and not included in any report.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lsc

Delta Fd.

PROPOSAL FOR A HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT IN THE MID-SOUTH*

The following proposal is submitted by the trustees of the Delta Foundation with the sincere belief that its implementation would help to solve some of the basic problems which confront the Mid-South today.

The Delta Foundation, a non-profit organization (See Appendix A), has had a long-time concern for the needs of the people of the region. In the 1930's, a companion corporation, Cooperative Farms, Inc., began work with the dispossessed white and Negro sharecroppers of Mississippi and Arkansas. For over a decade, this organization sought to bring some degree of economic security to small-farm operators in the Mississippi Delta.

In 1946, the Delta Foundation was organized to provide a wider base for the educational and medical work being carried on among the rural Negro population of a few Mississippi counties. For over twenty years, these two organizations gave active support to the interracial organizations which functioned in the region. The officers of the corporations provided leadership and financial assistance to many of the organizations which worked for goodwill and understanding in the field of human relations. Today, as never before, there is a desperate need for such leadership.

During the period from the middle 1930's to 1954, numerous groups manifested an interest in the region and its people. The

*The term Mid-South, as used here, refers to an area approximately 500 miles in diameter, the center of which rests in the vicinity of Jackson, Mississippi.

following were especially active: Mississippi Council on Human Relations, Home Missions Council, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Sharecropper Fund and various church agencies. Today the field is left almost entirely in the hands of the local church and the White Citizens' Councils.

For the Want of Being Known

Background

In the present struggle to achieve democracy in the Deep South, the most serious and strenuous opposition arises in those areas formerly characterized as the Cotton Belt. From Colonial times to the present, this is the area in which progress in the field of race relations has been slowest and always accompanied by the greatest difficulties. It is here that irrational prejudice and uncontrolled passions have joined hands to deprive many citizens of their civil rights and where relations between Negro and white citizens have deteriorated to an all-time low. Efforts toward interracial cooperation are regarded with grave suspicion and the avowed support of integration is often met with the sternest reprisal. It is from these areas, notably Mississippi and Alabama, that the most powerful organizations opposed to integration in either church or secular institutions arose, and it was from these areas that much of the reaction which beclouded the situation in the upper South originated.

This area might properly be called the hard core region of opposition to integration or to movements which greatly would enhance the status of our Negro citizen. In some of these areas, again and notably Mississippi, the organization(s) spearheading the movement to retain segregation receive the unabashed support of the whole apparatus of government, including its representatives in the Congress of the United States. There can be little doubt as to the length to which these movements will go to attain their ends.

Because these areas are so determined in their intention to maintain segregation, there are many who feel that there is little to be gained by spending valuable time and money in an effort to strengthen the hands of those who are trying to bring some sanity, faith and common sense to prevail in the minds of harassed men and women. The feeling is that it would be better to concentrate on the border and near-border states where the opposition to integration is not so strong. While every effort should be made to strengthen the work in these areas of least resistance, it would be, we believe, a fatal mistake to vacate the hard core areas, leaving them to the courts on the one hand and the White Citizens' Councils on the other.

It is imperative, we believe, to take some effective measures now to help build a native opposition to the White Citizens' Councils, and their equivalent in other states; an opposition, we might add, which is already in evidence, but which lacks coordination and backing in terms of personnel and money.

The Need

There are many people of good will in this hard-core area. There are intelligent and educated Negro leaders striving to organize and unite their people. There are white church women, ministers and priests, teachers and others who stand in opposition to the dominant pressures in Mississippi, Alabama, and elsewhere.

Intensive pressure has been brought to bear on liberals and moderates alike by the White Citizens' Councils and those who share their sentiments. These pressures, social and economic, have already taken their toll of valiant men and women. Many have been compelled to leave the region. Others remain and will be sorely needed in the years ahead.

All too often the Deep South liberals fight a lonely battle. Isolated in small communities, in towns and on college campuses, they often neither know or are known by those standing on similar ground in neighboring communities. These people need outside help and encouragement in thinking through their own problems, in making contact with like-minded men and women throughout the region.

The Proposal

It is proposed that a full-time specialist in community relations be made available for travel and contact work in Mississippi and in the adjacent cotton belt areas of Arkansas and Alabama. The person employed for this work should, preferably, be a native of the area.

We believe that such a project could be of service in these ways:

(1) Identification of liberals in this hard-core area. Those individuals and agencies working in the Deep South can function with more effectiveness if they can be put in touch with friendly and knowledgeable persons throughout the area.

(2) Support of Deep South liberals. The project representative will be in regular, continuing contact with as many of these people as possible. He will keep them informed of developments elsewhere and give them counsel, materials and other aids. Where persons are suffering from economic pressures because of their support of democratic principles and effort would be made to channel necessary assistance through this project.

(3) Contact and communication. A major goal of this effort would be to bring isolated liberals into contact with each other. This would involve small group meetings and occasional workshops or conferences. An effort would be made to bring whites into improved communication with other whites of similar views and, where possible, with likeminded Negroes.

(4) Special work with church groups. Many ministers and other individuals in the hard-core areas who have opposed the WCC position have based their actions in religious principles. The religious groups of this area, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, are a valuable resource for moderation and reconciliation. Ministers and church groups in the area should be encouraged to

consider these problems within and across denominational and faith lines. A number of special retreats and meetings for churchmen might be made possible through this work.

(5) Improved understanding of the area. A community relations specialist, working constantly in this cotton belt area, will learn much about the temper of the area, the direction of public opinion, the strength of resistance groups, etc. Such information and interpretation by someone close to the situation would be most helpful to church leaders and human relations agencies throughout the South, as well as to the national press and appropriate agencies of the Federal Government.

It is not proposed that this be considered as a program of indefinite duration. A three-year period would afford ample opportunity to apply the lessons learned through the project itself and to accomplish many of the objectives described above. In any case, a thorough re-examination of the hard-core area and its program needs should be undertaken at the end of the three-year period.

Meanwhile, the Delta Foundation asks support for three years at the annual rate of expenditure set forth below:

Estimated Annual Budget

Salary	$ 7,800
Travel	3,000
Office Supplies & Equipment	500
Postage, Telephone, Telegraph	1,000
Conferences	1,000
Social Security Taxes, Insurance, Misc.	500
Total:	$13,800

Enclosure - 1.
(Appendix A)

APPENDIX A

THE DELTA FOUNDATION - Its structure, purpose and tax status

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit, Mississippi chartered, corporation. The management of the corporation is under the direction of a Board of Trustees whose members serve without compensation for their duties as such. The Trustees may, however, receive payment for reasonable expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

The purpose of the corporation, as set forth in Paragraph 7, section (a) of the charter, provides that the corporation was organized "to receive by gift, bequest or devise, money and property, real or personal, and to administer, invest and re-invest, use and dispose of said money and property exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary and educational purposes, provided, however, that no substantial part of the activities of the corporation hereby created, or of the money and property thus received, shall be devoted to carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in ruling that the corporation is a tax-exempt organization, stated in a letter dated November 9, 1949, that "it is the opinion of this office, based upon the evidence presented, that you are exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 101(6) of the Internal Revenue Code and corresponding provisions of prior acts, as it is shown that you are organized and operated exclusively for charitable and educational purposes.

"Contributions made to you are deductible by the donors in arriving at their taxable net income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 23(o) and (q) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended, and corresponding provisions of prior acts.

"Bequests, legacies, devices or transfers, to or for your use are deductible in arriving at the value of the net estate of a decedent for estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by section 812(d) and 861(a) (3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts. Gifts of property to you are deductible in computing net gifts for tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided in section 1004(a) (2) and 1004(b) (2) and (3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts."

DID YOU KNOW?

— PART ONE —

Dupont

1.) That Dr. Albert E. Barnett, a professor of New Testament at your Methodist school of theology at Emory University, is a national officer of the NAACP and has sixteen Communist affiliations?

2.) That G. Bromley Oxnam, a bishop of the Methodist Church, is also a national officer of the NAACP with 36 Communist affiliations?

3.) That E. Stanley Jones, the famed Methodist missionary, is a member of the Advisory Committee of Martin Luther King's "Congress of Racial Equality"?

4.) That this same E. Stanley Jones said in his book "Christ's Alternative to Communism" that "When the Western World was floundering in an unjust and competitive order and the Church was bound up with it and was part of that order, God reached out and put his hand on the Russian Communists to produce a more just order..."?

5.) That in order to secure a teaching position at Wood Junior College a person must sign a statement agreeing to teach "any race, creed, or color" who might enroll there? (I have no tangible proof of this; only the word of a friend who taught there two years ago.)

6.) That the Mississippi Methodist Advocate defended, in a sly "round-about-way" the Castro regime in Cuba? (See the editorial page of the September 16, 1959, edition.)

7.) That the Advocate refused to carry an announcement of the annual meeting of the Methodist Laymen and Minister's Association?

8.) That the Methodist Church was one of the organizations which sent witnesses before Congressional Committees, urging more "Civil Rights" and anti-South legislation?

9.) That the pastor of the First Methodist Church in Clarksdale said in a sermon (November 1956) that "segregation is a sin and those who believe in segregation are sinners"? (I was present, and walked out in the middle of the sermon!)

10.) That every Methodist Church in Mississippi has an item in its budget for the National Council of Churches. This is the organization whose president, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, recently said that the time has come to eliminate such expressions as "The precious name of Jesus", "Saved by Grace", "Born of the Spirit", etc.? (We in our Dublin church have cut this item out of our budget.)

NOTE: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for extra copies.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

DID YOU KNOW?

—PART TWO—

1) That Bishop Marvin Franklin signed and approved the "Bishop's Address" of the 1956 General Conference of the Methodist Church, even though (or maybe because) it contained this statement: "...there is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation ...it is our business to free our world and our nation from these evils." (page 44, "Bishop's Address")

2) That in the July 20, 1958, edition of the Methodist Sunday School publication for youth entitled "Twelve-Fifteen", this statement appeared: "Prejudice indicates a lack of maturity, a weakness in the personality, fear and ignorance." (page 12) (Have you glanced through your child's church school literature lately? If you haven't, then you should.)

3) That of the 95 men who wrote the Revised Version of the Bible, 30 have numerous Communist or Communist-front affiliations.

4) That a number of Methodist preachers from Mississippi attended the Human Relations Conference at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, last September. Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP was one of the featured speakers at this conference! Rev. R. L. Long of Como and Rev. J. W. Chatham of Sardis went from the Sardis District, and both of these men refused to write an evaluation of the conference when asked to do so by the Methodist Ministers and Laymen's Association. (Rev. Garland Holliman of Clarksdale also attended.)

5) That I have been told by a recent graduate of Emory School of Theology that there are several theology professors there who do not believe in the physical resurrection of Christ.

6) That upon being informed by the congregation of the Dublin Methodist Church that it was cutting several objectionable items (inclusing Millsaps) out of its budget, the District Superintendent, Rev. J. D. Wroten, Sr., roundly condemned the action and said that "When people can't support the church and its institutions, then its time for some people <u>to get out of the Methodist Church</u>!" (This occurred just this past August. I was there.)

7) That Dr. Dudley Ward of the Board of Social and Economic Relations highly recommended in a sermon to the 1959 North Mississippi Annual Conference that a good book which all should read is "The Road to Brotherhood."

8) That Dr. Harry Denman made no bones about it when he said in a sermon to the same North Mississippi Annual Conference that "I am for integration!" (Every Methodist ought to try to attend a session of the Annual Conference; you might be shocked at some of the things said there!)

9) That this statement appeared in an editorial in the November 19, 1958, edition of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate: "We Southerners can afford to be more tolerant of people who do not look like us...We have made His world a shambles as far as human relationships are involved."

NOTE: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper OR write to me for extra copies.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

DID YOU KNOW?
— PART THREE —

1) That Mrs. J. A. Burt, Administrative Assistant on the Mississippi Methodist Advocate staff was (and still may be) on the staff of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. This council is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, an organization which, according to the Communist Daily Worker (Dec. 1, 1954), was founded by a Communist--James E. Jackson.

2) That the late Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, mother-in-law of President Ellis Finger of Millsaps, was the president of this Mississippi Council on Human Relations; and that Dr. H. G. Williamson, Mississippi Methodist minister, was also on the Board of Directors.

3) That according to testimony presented before a Joint Legislative Committee of the Louisiana Legislature by ex-Communist Manning Johnson, the Communist-founded Southern Regional Council has its offices "in a little church office building (in Atlanta) presided over by Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore!"

4) That the book "Behind Soviet Power" by Jerome Davis was sent to 22,000 Methodist ministers by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, and these books were paid for with money from Methodist missionary funds. This in spite of the fact that Davis has 99 Communist and Communist-front affiliations!

5) That the Volunteer Civil Rights Commission, designed to urge Congress to pass civil rights legislation is headed by Methodist Bishop Oxnam.

6) That according to Bishop Marvin Franklin, speaking before the North Alabama Annual Conference meeting in Decatur, Alabama, on January 13, 1960, the Methodist Church lost 199,000 members last year and 1,000,000 members since 1952. (I wonder why? Could it be that our church has become so liberal and steeped in preaching the "social gospel"--including integration--that people are finding spiritual guidance elsewhere?)

7) That at the National Conference of Methodist Youth meeting at Purdue University last August, the morning prayer service was conducted with a background of recorded jazz music.

8) That at this same Youth Conference Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Stassen and others participated in a special panel discussion on world affairs.

9) That this statement appeared in the June 11, 1958, edition of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate: "When we (Southerners) claim to believe in democracy and are unwilling to share it with Jews, Mexicans, Orientals, and Negroes, we really do not believe in democracy. If we profess that every American is entitled to equal opportunity to develop, and do not work toward this end, can we say that we believe what we profess?"

NOTE: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper OR write to me for extra copies.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

DID YOU KNOW?

—PART FOUR—

1) That this "modern" teen-age version of the Lord's Prayer appeared on the Forum page of a recent issue of Concern. This magazine, published by our Methodist Publishing House in Nashville, is referred to as "the voice of Methodist youth and is widely circulated among Methodists of college age.

"Oh, Daddy, O, Who are the most, Hurrah for your support. My personality integrate, All physiques develop. My nervous system calm, In body as in mind. Prepare me new tempo, our daily jive, and Release us from parents And other repressed victims. Lead us into more self-expression And much less boredom. For you are the coolest, Gonest and hepest drive, From now on."

2) That the Sept. 27,1957, issue of Concern carried a race relations report containing this statement: "We recommend students and youth join and take an active part in organizations that are working in the area of race relations such as: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Crossville, Tenn., Anti-Defamation League, New York.

3) That while the Baptists Of Mississippi were gaining in number by 257% during the past 50 years, Methodists increased by only one-third as much.

4) That a poll of 7,000 Methodists in the Washington, D. C. area last November showed that only 18.7% believed that all discrimination and enforced segregation should be abolished now. (This, mind you, in Mr. Eisenhower's "model city", 5years after the schools were desegregated. Evidently the leaders of the Methodist Church do not voice the sentiments of Methodist people, either North or South, when they advocate integration.)

5) That this statement appeared in an editorial in the February 17, 1960, edition of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate: "...they (all the members of the United Nations) had an overwhelming desire for peace, they had the same legal system, high cultural attainment and many things in common." (How ridiculous! Who believes that Communist Russia has ever had an "overwhelming desire for peace"? And who would be so stupid as to say that the Communist countries had the same legal system as such great law-respecting nations as the United States and Great Britain? I wonder what warped mind wrote this Advocate editorial?)

6) That G. Bromley Oxnam, radical integrationist and pro-communist Methodist bishop, was featured in the October 1959 issue of the MYF (Methodist Youth Fellowship) program book Roundtable, as being a man whose life should be an inspiration to young people. On page 29 Oxnam is quoted as saying: "It is not enough to prohibit segregation by legislation and judicial decision. The spirit that breeds segregation must be driven from the heart; the Church must undergo the cleansing of conversion."

7) That according to a news bulletin of the Federal Council Of Churches (now called the National Council of Churches): "...some pioneer spirits should take advance steps in that direction (intermarriage)...mixed marriages may be highly socially desirable". (And the Methodist churches of Mississippi support the National Council of Churches through the "Interdenominational Fund" item in their budgets. WHAT FOOLS WE ARE TO SUPPORT SUCH AN OUTFIT!!)

Note: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for extra copies.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

DID YOU KNOW?
—PART FIVE—

THAT ALL OF THE FOLLOWING QUOTATIONS WERE TAKEN FROM METHODIST PUBLICATIONS!

1) "The Methodist Church is officially pioneering toward the blending of all its members into a body undivided by racial segregation. Perhaps your own church has such an environment that on its doorstep is a chance to make a fine move toward integration. If this is true, you would do well to remind your fellow churchmen of their responsibility as pioneers." (WESLEY QUARTERLY, Jan. 3, 1960. page 17.)

2) "Every church should be for all people...to divide the church simply on the basis of color is completely artificial." (LESSONS FOR INTERMEDIATES, May 10, 1959. pages 22-23.)

3) "The idea of white superiority in our own country leads us to try to justify prejudice and segregation and hence makes second-class citizens out of millions who have also committed themselves to the idea of freedom for all. It is this conflict of ideas which lies at the heart of the racial strife and difficulty evident everywhere in our country...Many people talk about freedom and yet try to make laws restricting the freedom of certain groups." (ROUNDTABLE, Sep. 1959. pages 24-28.)

4) "That all feasible steps be taken toward abolishing racial discriminatory clauses in fraternities and sororities. We commend those fraternities and sororities which are earnestly seeking to eliminate discriminatory clauses in their Constitutions and By-Laws...That racial discrimination be abolished in entrance, participation, or employment practices in any Methodist institution, agency or project (for example, colleges, universities, hospitals, homes, camp and assembly grounds, etc.). (CONCERN, Sept. 27,1957. page 15)

5) "...a step towards Communism", is the way the March issue of the monthly magazine of the Mississippi Methodist Youth Fellowship referred to the church bill now being considered by the state legislature. (I wonder who, and what, has been poisioning the minds of our Mississippi youth?)

6) "Strangers began moving into the neighborhood. They were a different kind of people. We wanted the church to be for 'our kind'. So, of course, we didn't welcome these other people. One day Janice shocked us by bringing the children of one of these 'different' families to Sunday church school. "I just couldn't help it," she explained. "They ought to be in church school and ours is near them." We liked these children. We invited their parents. Later others came. Now the church has changed. We have many of the new families among us. But we have changed in another way. We've learned what it means to be the children of God. We've learned how to be together in Christ."(You can easily guess the race to which these "strangers" belonged.) BIBLE LESSONS FOR YOUTH,Nov.8, 1959. page 25)

CORRECTION:"DID YOU KNOW",Part Four, made the statement that CONCERN is published by the Methodist Publishing House. This is incorrect. It is published by the National Conference of Methodist Youth.

MALCOLM H. MABRY,JR.
DUBLIN, MISSISSIPPI

Write for extra copies of this paper.

Harry C. Spencer
General Secretary

Howard E. Tower
Associate Secretary
Director of Program, Production and Utilization

Make card

File By name

CABLE ADDRESS
TRAFCO

TELEVISION, RADIO AND FILM COMMISSION

THE METHODIST CHURCH

1525 McGAVOCK STREET • NASHVILLE 3, TENN.
CHapel 2-3561

8/22/60

August 20, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Let me thank you again for the very pleasant and useful talk we had on Thursday in Atlanta.

Enclosed are a maximum-minimum budget breakdown, some notes on the proposed film and a summary of my experience in motion pictures.

The minimum budget assumes that we will do all the shooting in Nashville and that we will be able to get interested people to give their services for a nominal remuneration. The higher figure includes more substantial payments to crew and actors, location expenses outside of Nashville and original music. Both of these figures are realistic, although the first presupposes more cooperation than we have a right to assume. We have available to us at a very reasonable rental charge the excellent facilities of the Methodist Film Commission. Needless to say these are not "hard" budgets as we do not yet have a script, but, I repeat, they are realistic.

I wish that the "Notes" were more detailed, but before I can prepare a treatment that would stand up I must know the situation and some of the people involved much more intimately.

I hope this information is satisfactory and that Mr. Cohen can be persuaded that this is a worthwhile project. The office number that I did not remember the other day is printed above. If you need any more information please call me there.

Thank you very much for your interest and help. If we can make this film I am sure you will not be disappointed.

Sincerely,

Douglas Cox

RDC/pw

Douglas Cox

SUMMARY PRODUCTION COST

Date Aug.20

Title Proposed film on School Desegregation Production No.

Producer Douglas Cox Type of Prod. Black & White

Director " " Promised Completion Date

Notes:

	Minimum budget	Maximum budget	Final cost
2. General Production	1635.00	3965.00	
3. Photography	1345.00	2210.00	
4. Sound	950.00	2295.00	
5. Studio	-------	--------	
6. Editing	175.00	625.00	
7. Laboratory	854.00	984.00	
8. Location	100.00	1025.00	
9. Cast	1050.00	2100.00	
Sub Total	6109.00	13,204.00	
10. Contingency 20%	1222.00	2641.00	
1. Story	760.00	1260.00	
TOTAL	8091.00	17,078.00	

1. STORY

	Minimum ~~Estimated~~ Budget	Maximum budget ~~Charges to date~~	Final Cost
Treatment			
Script	750.00	750.00	
Mimeographing	10.00	10.00	
Travel		500.00	
TOTAL	760.00	1260.00	

2. GENERAL PRODUCTION

	~~Estimated Budget~~	~~Charges to date~~	Final Cost
Pre. & Post Production Supervision		800.00	
Director	900.00	900.00	
Asst. to Director		200.00	
Property Clerk			
Properties			
Script Clerk	350.00	350.00	
Make-up Artist			
Make-up Supplies	5.00	5.00 ~~$ $1~~	
Art Director			
Art Supplies			
Art Work			
Titles	75.00	75.00	
Lunches		210.00	
Miscellaneous Purchases	50.00	50.00	
Travel		1000.00	
Tele. & Tel.	30.00	100.00	
Insurance	100.00	100.00	
Legal fees	50.00	100.00	
Bookeeping & Audit	75.00	75.00	
TOTAL	1635.00	3965.00	

3. PHOTOGRAPHY

	~~Estimated~~ Budget Minimum	~~Changes to date~~ Maximum budget	Final cost
Director of Photo.*	900.00	1200.00	
First Cameraman		500.00	
Second/Still Cameraman			
General Assistant ~~Lighting~~	140.00	280.00	
Rental Camera Eqpt.	100.00		
Rental Still Camera Eqpt.			
Extra Equipment Rental			
Film 6000 ft. B&W	180.00	180.00	
Still Film & Processing	25.00	50.00	
Processing Time			
Processing Material			
TOTAL	1345.00	2210.00	

* Includes camera and most equipment.

4. SOUND

	~~Estimated Budget~~	~~Changes to date~~	Final cost
Sound Man	240.00	450.00	
Second Sound Man		150.00	
Rental Sound Eqpt.	240.00	400.00	
Sound Tape	50.00	50.00	
Sound Film	25.00	50.00	
Duping Eqpt. Rental	40.00	40.00	
Music	300.00	600.00	
Musicians		350.00	
Tape Editing		50.00	
Mixing	40.00	40.00	
Miscellaneous	15.00	15.00	
Disc Master			
Signal Transfer			
Music Recording		100.00	
TOTAL	950.00	2295.00	

The maximum budget would include original music.

5. STUDIO

	~~Estimated~~ Minimum Budget	~~Changes~~ ~~Accurate~~ Maximum budget	Final cost
Studio Rental			
Studio lights & Eqpt.			
Labor: Studio Super.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
Construction Material			
Set Dressing			
Supplies			
Truck Rental			
Miscellaneous			
TOTAL			

6. EDITING

	~~Estimated~~ Minimum Budget	~~Changes~~ ~~Accurate~~ Maximum budget	Final cost
Editing Eqpt. rental	150.00 ~~300.00~~	300.00 ~~600.00~~	
Editor		300.00	
Asst. Editor			
Editing Supplies	25.00	25.00	
TOTAL	175.00	625.00	

7. OUTSIDE LABORATORY

	Minimum Budget	Maximum budget	Final Cost
Developing	180.00	180.00	
Work Print	220.00	220.00	
Process sound	30.00	30.00	
Transfer Sound to Optical	105.00	105.00	
(Negative cutting) Conforming Original	85.00	85.00	
Dupe. Negative	140.00	140.00	
Internegative			
Answer Print(s)	65.00	195.00	
Miscellaneous	30.00	30.00	
Filmstrip Master			
TOTAL	854.00	984.00	

8. LOCATION

	Minimum Budget		Final Cost
Transportation			
Housing & Board		600.00	
Pre-diem			
Truck Rental		125.00	
Gratituties	100.00		
Car rental			
Location Rental		300.00	
TOTAL	100.00	1025.00	

9. CAST

	Minimum ~~Estimate~~ Budget	~~Actuals~~	Final Cost
Actors	1000.00	2000.00	
Narrator	50.00	100.00	
Extras			
Casting Fee			
Casting Travel			
Casting Time			
Actors Travel			
Actors Per Diem			
TOTAL	1050.00	2100.00	

NOTES ON THE PROPOSED SEMI-DOCUMENTARY
FILM ON PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Much has been written about the process of public school desegregation in the South and "border" states. Newspaper coverage has been quite complete. Most of the objective facts and events - demonstrations, court suits, organizational stands - are well documented and available to those interested in the problem. Yet out of all this material the picture that emerges is primarily group and organization conflict and the participants do not often appear as individuals. I feel that this is particularly unfortunate because the inability to recognise people as individuals rather than as representatives of groups is part of the foundation of prejudice.

I believe that motion pictures is one of the mass communication mediums best suited for the presentation of problems in terms of the people involved. Through film, the audience has an opportunity to get to know these people, to gain understanding of their emotional reactions to other people and situations. In this way the audience can begin to appreciate them as individuals, sharing some characteristics with a group or groups, having some that are uniquely their own. A twenty-eight minute film on this subject, with distribution through interested organizations, churches and television, should prove useful in promoting tolerance and understanding.

(cntd.)

In this film I propose to follow one Negro child who is going to a school which is desegregated for the first time. The focus of interest will be upon the child and her family. In addition we should touch upon the reactions of the child's neighbors and the school teacher or principal. It might also be possible to explore some of the feelings of a white family that has a child in the same school. This situation has a great deal of inherent drama and conflict which can be utilised without resorting to sensationalism. I have no desire to make a film that will reinforce antagonisms, but rather one that will help to create understanding and bridge the gap between the races. The threat of violence is, of course, present, but will be used to show the courage and bravery of the child and the people involved in sending her to school.

I would like to pattern the film on a family similar to the Griffith family of Nashville. They have, at present, two children in desegregated schools and two older ones in segregated schools. Theirs was one of the first children to go to a desegregated school in Nashville, and the pressures brought to bear on them were considerable. Mr. Griffith is a postman and, I gather (I have not yet talked with him as he is out of town), of average intelligence and background. However, he believed strongly enough in the cause of

desegregation to register his little girl in a previously all white school. Mrs. Griffith had some misgivings about exposing the child to possible danger and as the pressure increased wished to withdraw the child and send her to an all Negro school. With the support of some friends and people interested in desegregation Mr. Griffith stood fast and the child was entered in the school. There were, I believe, some antagonistic demonstrations, but fortunately there were no really serious incidents.

This is the sort of story I would want to film. I cannot give you specific incidents in the story line as I am just starting my detailed research. However I would emphasise that I feel the story should grow out of the more subtle and intimate relationships between the participants, rather than be hung on a series of spectacular newspaper incidents. I would like to end the film on a hopeful note, perhaps the first tenuous contact between two children across the racial barrier, but I would not like to have a slick happy ending which would suggest that with school integregation the problem of racial discrimination is solved.

Douglas Cox
2415b Acklen Avenue
Nashville, Tenn.

Bachelor of Arts degree in Writing and Dramatics from the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Two and a half years graduate studies in Motion Pictures at The University of California at Los Angeles, the last year as a Teaching Assistant in Production Workshop.

One year experience as a free-lance photographer and editor. (Ref: Floyd Crosby, Box 210, Carpinteria, Calif.)

Two and a half years as a staff director for Film Productions International, 1801 West Magnolia Blvd., Burbank, Calif. The majority of this work was done on foreign locations with very small crews.

Direction credit on the following films:

UPRIVER IN SARAWAK (Borneo)
THE CROSS IN JAPAN (Japan)
AGAINST THE TIDE (Japan)
SUICIDE MOUNTAIN (Japan - adjudged the best Foreign Missions film of the year by The National Evangelical Film Foundation)
LAND OF THE MORNING (Philippines)
CONGO JOURNEY (Belgian Congo)
BEYOND BRICK AND MORTAR (Belgian Congo)
PORTRAIT OF PROMISE (Liberia)
WATERS IN THE WILDERNESS (Iran)
MID-EAST PROFILE (Iran, Lebanon and Jordan)
BEYOND THE NIGHT (Brazil)
LITTLE MAN STAND TALL (Paraguay and Argentina)
CHOOSE YE THIS DAY (New Mexico)
A STAKE IN CENTRAL AMERICA (Guatamala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica)
TAKING THE CITY (Los Angeles)

Direction in part:

THE LONG STRIDE (Jordan and Lebanon)
BEARER OF THE BOOK (Arizona, Guatamala and Brazil)

Production Assistant on location in Nigeria for the feature MARK OF THE HAWK

Director of the feature SEVENTY TIMES SEVEN for Film Productions International, Inc., San Juan, P.R. starring Eartha Kitt, Scott Forbes and Dick Cutting (not yet released)

Mr. Lloyd E. Young and Mr. Burton Martin of Film Productions International, 1801 West Magnolia Blvd., Burbank, Calif. Telephone: THornwall 5-3581 can vouch for my work. Mr. Martin was formerly with the Presbyterian Church and, I think, the National Council of Churches.

Shirley Clarke, a film producer in New York City, knows me personally, but not my work. Her address is C/o Clarke and Way, 35 West 21st Street, N.Y.C.

Colin Young and John Young at the University of California at Los Angeles are acquainted with some of my films.

November six, 1953

Reverend and Mrs Adam Weir Craig
P i n e h u r s t
North Carolina

Dear The Craigs:

The Harrises wrote us that you would like to know about the Southern Regional Council.

I could send you reams of printed things which you would not read. I give you the shortest definition I ever heard of its work, from a Negro in an audience I talked to some weeks ago:

> "Mr Mitchell, in any little town in the South whatever you will find a few fair-minded white people."

The Southern Regional Council is an Association of fair-minded white people and their Negro friends. We are pushing mighty hard these days on a program of getting local discussion groups to use these two pamphlets. Quite amazing response in getting the pamphlets bought by interested organizations all over the South. Two thousand, if you please, were bought the other day by the Mississippi State Board of Education!

I have put in a membership form - the back of the grey mimeographed leaflet. We would be delighted to have you as members.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 3

February 4, 1954

Miss Sue Crank
YWCA
599 Tatnall Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sue:

They tell me you had a grand celebration, and I am mighty sorry I was gone out of these parts and did not get to it.

Nice to hear of all the new life that came in with Miss Sue Crank.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

State of North Carolina
Department of Archives and History
Raleigh

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 8, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

In accordance with your request, we take pleasure in enclosing a copy of "Code of Ethics for Political Campaigns," which was adopted by the Young Democratic Clubs of North Carolina, in Convention, September, 1951. Our youthful followers of Andrew Jackson seem to have done a pretty good job - if we do say so.

} to AH

You can find the "Scattered Nation" speech in Clement Dowd, Life of Zebulon Baird Vance (Charlotte, N. C: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897.), pp. 369-399; and also in Edwin Du Bois Shurter, Oratory of the South: From the Civil War to the Present Time (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1908.).

With best wishes to all of you, I am

Yours sincerely,

Christopher Crittenden
M.R.

Christopher Crittenden
Director

CC/mr

Enclosure: sheet

July 29, 1955

Mr. Floyd W. Crawford
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Floyd:

I am here in Atlanta this summer and I did not get your letter until I went home last week. I am sending the requested recommendation and hope that you will receive a satisfactory offer.

Some time ago, I talked to Dr. Mallilieu and he left me under the impression that he would seek to get funds for your employment at the university. I don't know what happened to his request.

If I get to New York before the end of August, I will look you up. Meanwhile, you may reach me at the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Assistant Director

CHP/vc

Home 30 Downing St.
N.Y. 14 N.Y.
phone Chelsea 38441

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
NEW YORK 53, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND SOCIOLOGY

TELEPHONE: LUDLOW 4-0700

Sept 12, 1956

Dear George,

What exciting and crucial times you are entering in your work. My thoughts are often with you and your co workers these days. I know of no more important work going on anywhere than that in which you are toiling. With tragedy hanging heavy in the air I am sure it is most difficult for Southerners of all colors to keep a sense of balance, much less a sense of humor, but I am sure you will contribute toward the maintainence of sensibility and good will.

I was happy to see that you are going to talk at the New School October 2nd. Bonnie and I would love to see you during your visit. Realizing that you likely will want to be with Broadus and his wife, and probably have other commitments, may I give you an open invitation to dine with us the evening of Oct 2 (we are only a few blocks from the New School) or to dine or visit with us at any other date which is more convenient to you. This of course applies to your wife as well if she is able to make the trip. I remember fondly a most enjoyable afternoons conversation with her in 1950 and I would like to be remembered to her. Best wishes from Bonnie and me.

Sincerely,
Jim Crown

P.S. Received my PhD from Yale. but, unfortunately, not the Guggenheim.

September 17, 1956

Mr. James Crown
30 Downing Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Jim:

Most kind of you and of your wife to let me come to supper at your house the night before the Tuesday, October 2nd, speech-reading at the New School. I accept gladly. I will be in New York a number of days that time, and there will be other chances to see Broadus and Louise.

I take it you live somewhere in the south end of Manhattan. I take it, also, that you teach in Washington Square College though the letterhead has all this fancy up-staged up-island notation. Indeed I once found your name on the bulletin board of the Washington Square College. Straighten me out about where you teach and where you live.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
NEW YORK 53, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND SOCIOLOGY

TELEPHONE: LUDLOW 4-0700

RECEIVED SEP 27 1956

Dear George

Bonnie and I look forward with much pleasure to your forthcoming visit. I take it you are able to come to supper with us Monday October 1st. I think this is made clear in your letter, but I believe mine may have been somewhat confusing. We are expecting you Monday evening about 7.

If by any chance I have confused the date, you can call us on arrival and we'll make arrangements to get together at the right time. If, however, Oct. 1 is correct, as I think it is, no need to notify us further. Just come to 30 Downing St. This is a little street which runs from 6th Ave. (Avenue of the America's, to tourists) to 7th Ave. ~~It~~ The street immediately to the north~~,~~ is Bleeker Street, the street immediately to the South is Houston Street. We are about 12 blocks (approx.) south of the New School. Subways to take are either the IRT local to the Houston St. stop or Ind. to 4th St stop.

You are correct in assuming that I used to grub around full time downtown at the Square, and, fortunately, I still do some of the time, but my main work is at a little snob arts and science shop we run on a Bronx hilltop. I use this stationery to guild the lily.

Goodbye until October. Bonnie sends regards.

Sincerely,

Jim Crown

typed by hand JTC

September 27, 1956

Mr. James Crown
30 Downing Street
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

I don't know how we got mixed up on the dates. My speech-making at the New School is Tuesday, October 2nd at 8:00 p.m. I have no faintest purpose of squatting in New York City all day Monday, October 1st. And I think I am rather a hero to haul myself up in the dawnings of October 2nd.

So my chance to have supper with you and your nice Bonnie is Tuesday night. And 7:00 is squshingly late. How about moving it up to 6:30?

Therefore, unless I hear from you otherwise, you will find me hanging on your door at 6:29 Tuesday, October 2nd -- and hungry.

If you have to get hold of me, the telephone number in Atlanta at my home is DEarborn 5961. I am in the office off and on on October 1st. And the telephone number there is WAlnut 1821.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 17, 1957

Reverend Mr. William Crowe, Jr.
P. O. Box 521
Roswell, Georgia

Dear Mr. Crowe:

It was nice to talk to you this afternoon and I am sending you under separate cover the materials you requested. I am also enclosing a short list of other materials which would be helpful to you in your studies of this problem. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosure

Allport	The Nature of Prejudice	
Ashmore	The Negro and the Schools	Chapel Hill, '54
Bontemps	The Story of the Negro	
Clark	Prejudice and Your Child	Beacon, '55
Ginsburg	The Negro Potential	
Hirsh	The Fears Men Live By	Harpers, '55
McIver	A More Perfect Union	
Myrdal	An American Dilemma	Harpers, '44
Vance and Demerath	The Urban South	Chapel Hill, '54
Williams and Ryan	Schools in Transition	Oxford, '55

MEREDITH COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

October 19, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

You will remember that I have been in correspondence with you about my manuscript, "Sit Down With Abraham." I have now had a final report from the Broadman Press. I am enclosing the letter which I received from Dr. Fallis in which he explains the reason for turning it down.

I am now writing to you to ask if you have any further recommendations. Dr. Mitchell suggested, first by telephone and then by letter on November 9, 1956, that the SRC might consider the possibility of publishing it. He also suggested that there might be other agencies he could contact. I shall be happy to follow any suggestion which you may make.

It was a great disappointment to me that Broadman did not see fit to publish the manuscript. This is particularly true since I had been informed in July that the editors planned to recommend to the Book Committee that it be published. Had it come from the Broadman Press, I feel that that fact would have persuaded some of the faint-hearted to read it.

If you would like to see the manuscript again, I shall be glad to place it at your disposal.

Sincerely yours,

Roger H. Crook

Roger H. Crook

P.S. I should like to have Dr. Fallis's letter back when you have finished with it. → returned 11/20/57 mf

November 20, 1957

Mr. Roger H. Crook
Department of Religion
Meredith College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Crook:

I am very sorry that illness and travel have caused this long delay in replying to your letter.

I recall very well how eager Dr. Mitchell was that your manuscript be published, and am very sorry to learn that the Broadman Press has turned it down.

Others of us here would be glad to read the manuscript and make any suggestions that occur to us. But lest we sail under false colors, I feel you should know that the Council, unfortunately, is unable to undertake any publishing venture as ambitious as this would necessarily be.

If you can spare a copy of your manuscript without hampering your approaches to possible publishers, we shall be glad to read it and make such suggestions as we can.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Executive Committee: Madeleine M. Low / Morris C. Finkel / Christine M. Gibson / H. Daniel Carpenter. — Director: Lawrence Creshkoff

Answered 2/26/59

February 11, 1959

Dear HCF:

Assuming that I have traced you correctly and this actually reaches you, Hail!

It appears that on or about May 4 I shall be delivering a paper at a convention in Miami. Having never yet ventured further into Confederate territory than the Virginia suburbs of Washington, it seems to me that my education demands that my first-hand impression of the South not be limited to the very special ambience that environs Biscayne Bay.

Unless you have reason to believe that a third agony of Atlanta would be precipitated were I to dismount there, I should like to investigate the possibility of routing myself that way, especially since I may be traveling to or from Columbus, Ohio. The stop would probably be only for a few hours, unless it happened to work out during a weekend.

How say you?

Faithfully,

Larry

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sponsors: Board of Education of the City of New York / Hudson Guild Neighborhood House / Language Research, Incorporated — Cooperating agencies: New York City Department of Health / New York City Housing Authority / New York City Department of Welfare / Harvard University Graduate School of Education / New York Public Library / New York University Division of General Education

436 WEST 27TH STREET / NEW YORK 1, N. Y. / CHICKERING 4-0795

Established under a grant from The Fund for the Advancement of Education

Executive Committee: Madeleine M. Low / Morris C. Finkel / Christine M. Gibson / H. Daniel Carpenter. — Director: Lawrence Creshkoff

CHANNEL 6
CHELSEA CLOSED-CIRCUIT TELEVISION

RE 17 1959

April 15, 1959

RECEIVED APR 17 1959

Dear Hal:

Gad, man! You're as delinquent in answering your mail as I am.

Undaunted, however, I persist: My plans are now to arrive in Atlanta at about 6:30 P.M. on Wednesday, May 6 and to leave for Columbus, Ohio on Thursday, May 7 at 1:45 P.M.

Please don't disarrange your life on this account, but I would like to see you in the glory of your peach-tree environment. (I am so far behind the times that I don't even know what your present condition of servitude is, nuptial-wise, as they might say on Madison Avenue.)

Per asperum ad Atlanta.

Larry

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sponsors: Board of Education of the City of New York / Hudson Guild Neighborhood House / Language Research, Incorporated — Cooperating agencies: New York City Department of Health / New York City Housing Authority / New York City Department of Welfare / Harvard University Graduate School of Education / New York Public Library / New York University Division of General Education

436 WEST 27TH STREET / NEW YORK 1, N. Y. / CHICKERING 4-0795

Established under a grant from The Fund for the Advancement of Education

Executive Committee: Madeleine M. Low / Morris C. Finkel / Christine M. Gibson / H. Daniel Carpenter. — Director: Lawrence Creshkoff

CHANNEL 6
CHELSEA
CLOSED-CIRCUIT
TELEVISION

RECEIVED JUL 27 1959

Answered 7/28/59 Hal

July 24, 1959

Dear Hal:

My, that was a handsome high school graduation picture I saw of you in the Times t'other week.

I am sending you the enclosed in case you happen to be buddy-buddy with Reinsch and could whisper a few words about my extraordinary abilities and character.

On second thought ....

Yours faithfully,

Larry

Lawrence Creshkoff

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

LC:vh
Enclosures

Sponsors: Board of Education of the City of New York / Hudson Guild Neighborhood House / Language Research, Incorporated — Cooperating agencies: New York City Department of Health / New York City Housing Authority / New York City Department of Welfare / Harvard University Graduate School of Education / New York Public Library / New York University Division of General Education

436 WEST 27TH STREET / NEW YORK 1, N. Y. / CHICKERING 4-0795

Established under a grant from The Fund for the Advancement of Education

LAWRENCE CRESHKOFF
Philadelphia Public Schools
Harvard University
Age 35. Married, four children

HOME: 24 Lloyd Road, Montclair,
New Jersey, PIlgrim 4-6643
OFFICE: 436 West 27th Street,
New York 1, LOngacre 4-9040

Abstract of Professional Experience

Program development, management, production and public relations in news, public affairs, drama, music and educational radio and television.

Design, development and programming of closed-circuit television systems for instruction, public relations, security and inter-communication.

Currently: (from 1957)
Project Director, Chelsea Closed-Circuit community television project under joint sponsorship of New York City Board of Education, Hudson Guild, Language Research, Inc., of Harvard University and the Ford Foundation.

1947 - 1957: Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council, Boston, operating radio and television station for Harvard, M.I.T., Brandeis, Boston College, Boston Symphony Orchestra and other educational institutions. 1954-57: Program Director, WGBH-TV; 1951-53: Assistant Station Manager, WGBH-FM; 1947-51: Producer and Assistant to the Director.

1953 - 1954: (on leave from WGBH)
Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, Paris. Production consultant on educational broadcasts to the United States under a Fulbright Research Fellowship.

1946: XMHA, U. S. Armed Forces Radio, Shanghai, China. Writer-announcer.

Publications: Articles on closed-circuit television and non-commercial broadcasting in professional journals, including Le Journal de la Publicité, Paris, and journals of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers.

Education: Harvard University, A.B., cum laude, 1947 - History, Government and Economics. (First Prize, Boylston Oratorical Contest; Charles William Eliot Scholarship; Harvard Club of Philadelphia Scholarship.) Languages: French and German.

War Service: U. S. Navy, 1943-46. Assistant Port Director, Shanghai, 1946.

Organizations: Radio and Television Executives Society, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Harvard Club of New York City.

LAWRENCE CRESHKOFF

Summary of Professional Experience

Program development, management, production and public relations in news, public affairs, drama, music and educational radio and television

Design, development and programming of closed-circuit television systems for instruction, public relations, security and inter-communication

24 Lloyd Road
Montclair, New Jersey
PIlgrim 4-6643

436 West 27th Street
New York 1, New York
LOngacre 4-9040

Professional Experience

Chelsea Closed-Circuit Television Project, New York City

Project Director, 1957 -

General management of experimental project, established under Ford Foundation grants, to explore:

techniques of instructional television utilizing minimal equipment and personnel for direct teaching, enrichment of the school program and teacher training

effectiveness of language teaching films over television as an efficient means of teaching a second language

effectiveness of a community-rooted television system as a means of improving integration in an ethnically heterogeneous neighborhood

Community-oriented programs that have been developed from local resources have included:

"So You Want To Get a Job" - vocational counselling
"Teens Off The Cuff" - teenage discussion group
"Spotlight On Chelsea" - local residents working for a better community
"To Your Health" - the community health officer in weekly programs on preventive medicine
"New Neighbors Club" - a weekly variety program of information and entertainment in Spanish

My responsibilities included program development, supervision of production and evaluation, public relations, fiscal control and coordination of closed-circuit television activities of:

New York City Board of Education
Hudson Guild Neighborhood House
Language Research, Incorporated (Harvard)
New York City Housing Authority
New York City Department of Health
New York Public Library
New York University Division of General Education

Professional Experience (cont'd.)

Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council, Boston, 1947-1957

Assistant Director of Programs, WGBH-TV and WGBH-FM, 1954-57

Development and supervision of twenty-five hours of television programming and over fifty hours of radio programming weekly, for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the Boston museums of Fine Arts and Science, and eight universities, including M.I.T. and Harvard

Executive producer of all live public affairs programs, including:

"News and Backgrounds" with Louis M. Lyons, Nieman Foundation, Harvard (Peabody Award, 1957)
"Of Science and Scientists" with Philippe LeCorbeiller and other Harvard and M.I.T. scientists (23-program series, national distribution)
"They Bent Our Ear: Travelers To America" (13-program radio series, national distribution)
Various programs in drama, book reviews, opera, chamber music and public affairs

Assistant Station Manager, WGBH-FM, 1951-53
Producer and Assistant to the Director, 1947-51

Development, supervision and control of fifty hours weekly of adult educational and cultural radio programs -- drama, music, literature, psychology, anthropology, economics and history -- over 75% locally produced. Productions included:

Boston Symphony Orchestra concerts from Tanglewood
"L'Ecole des Femmes" with Louis Jouvet (subsequently released by Pathé-Marconi)
Readings by Dylan Thomas (released by Caedmon)

Administrative responsibilities included personnel, public relations and publicity, preparations for operation of non-commercial FM station and educational TV station, preparation of annual reports and award presentations. (WGBH-FM received Variety Showmanagement Award in 1953.)

Professional Experience (cont'd.)

Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française and Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique, Paris, France, 1953-1954 (on leave from WGBH)

Consultant in Broadcasting (Fulbright Research Fellowship)

Supervision of all English-language broadcasts for U. S. educational stations; associate producer, French translation of four programs from "The Jeffersonian Heritage"; narrator and editor, "Review of the French Press," short-wave broadcast to U. S.

Consultant, Brussels Treaty Organization Conference on Educational Television and European Broadcasting Union Conference of Producers

U. S. Armed Forces Radio Station XMHA, Shanghai, China

Writer-announcer, 1946

Producer of remote live news and entertainment in addition to recorded music programs

Publications

Articles on closed-circuit television and non-commercial broadcasting in:

Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers Journal
National Association of Educational Broadcasters Journal
Le Journal de la Publicité, Paris

Education

Harvard University, A.B., cum laude, 1947 (History, Government and Economics). Philadelphia Public Schools, 1929-1942.

War Service

U. S. Navy, 1943-1946. Assistant Port Director, Shanghai, 1946

Personal

Born in Philadelphia, December 29, 1924. Married; four children.

Executive Committee: Madeleine M. Low / Morris C. Finkel / Christine M. Gibson / H. Daniel Carpenter. — Director: Lawrence Creshkoff

July 30, 1959

Dear Hal:

I am sorry that somehow I caused you to misunderstand. I am not interested in coming to WSB, but merely in communicating with Reinsch in his role as broadcast advisor to the Democratic National Committee.

He is currently working with Paul Butler on campaign and convention plans for next year. I would like to look into the possibility of getting involved in that end of the operation.

Why do you characterize a word from you as the kiss of death? The only reason I can think of is that you might be too reactionary on the integration question. (

Cordially,

Larry

Lawrence Creshkoff

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

LC/vh

Sponsors: Board of Education of the City of New York / Hudson Guild Neighborhood House / Language Research, Incorporated — Cooperating agencies: New York City Department of Health / New York City Housing Authority / New York City Department of Welfare / Harvard University Graduate School of Education / New York Public Library / New York University Division of General Education

436 WEST 27TH STREET / NEW YORK 1, N. Y. / CHICKERING 4-0795

Established under a grant from The Fund for the Advancement of Education

March 31, 1960

Miss Lorraine Crotteau
3225 W. Wisconsin Avenue, #20
Milwaukee 8, Wisconsin

Dear Lorraine:

Soon I hope to write a worthwhile and newsy letter. In the meantime, real thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending the clipping.

Hope your bowling score is holding up better than mine.

Best to Phyllis.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

JC -

Please answer this in my absence.

I told Cregar earlier we'd probably be willing to give the book a good write-up in New South. Of course, they must send us a copy.

Thanks.

H.

Books—Authors

NYT

How a white father and son in Little Rock came to support integration is told by Ralph and Carl Creger in "This Is What We Found." Their collaboration stemmed from a history assignment for Carl, a 17-year-old student at Little Rock's Central High School. Ralph Creger is chief train dispatcher in Little Rock for the Rock Island Railroad. The joint research wound up as study of the history of the American Negro and a formulation of the reasons why the authors now support integration. The book will be published Dec. 9 by Lyle Stuart in hard cover and paperback editions.

Margaret Kennedy's new novel, "A Night in Cold Harbor," will be issued by Macmillan on Oct. 17. It deals with a young aristocrat of early nineteenth-century England who devastates several lives before he begins to awaken to the responsibilities and privileges of his class.

"In the Cool of the Day," a new novel by Susan Ertz, will be published Oct. 12 by Harper. It is the story of an English publisher who finds escape from his tragic marriage through the love of an American woman.

A first-hand account of the "exciting, sordid and bloody" years of the Prohibition era in Chicago will be published Oct 31 by Prentice-Hall, entitle "The Dry and Lawless Years. The author is John H. Lyle, Chicago judge who issued t first public enemy warrant f Al Capone's arrest, set $100,0 bail in hoodlum cases and ran determined reform campaign fo Mayor in the early Ninetee Thirties.

Only Artichoke State

California is the only state that produces the artichoke commercially, according to the AP. The winter vegetable was introduced in the state prior to 1900 by Italian immigrants.

M-2-60 Form 2630

9/19/60

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Sept 17 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Harold,

I don't recall if I sent you a copy of the changes in the first two pages in my book, and the dedication I wrote at the request of my publisher, so I am sending them now.

I recieved a letter from Brooks Hays yesterday telling me he planned to write a review of the book for the Knoxville paper after the book comes out.

A reporter from the Rock Island railroads company magazine come to Little Rock and took our pictures (Carl and I) and plan to run a story on our efforts in the next issue of the company magazine. I checked with miss Brand (Lyle Stuart's editor) and asker her permission, and she told me any promotion of this nature would be fine. She said most magazines took two months or more to get something published, but that it should be kept out of Newspapers until publication date. She said they would handle promotion there, but that anything I could do to help it along would be alright.

William Fulbrights assistant called me yesterday and said that when the senator got back to Washington he would see what could be done to help promote the book as far as the national news media is concerned.

If you have any ideas to help make the booklet known to the public I would appreciate hearing them. Publication date is still supposed to be October 28th. They said they should make that date, or at least not miss it far.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ralph Creger

14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

Change of address
Card sent 9/19/60
MS

PREFACE

We feel sure that nearly all Americans are aware that the teachers in our public schools are frequently underpaid. Most folks, if they are honest, must admit that these "molders of character" are often subjected to unwarranted criticism from irate parents who feel that "Miss Jones" singled "Junior" out for punishment even though "Junior" obviously had done no wrong. It is pretty generally understood that school teachers must be quite careful about where they are seen in public, careful that they dress modestly and that their conduct in general is above reproach.

In view of all this, many of us feel that the average school teacher must have a certain nobility of character to remain in a profession where their efforts are often not properly rewarded, and where even more often they are unappreciated.

The difficulties encountered by teachers are not confined to one region of our land, they are national in scope. However, since 1957, school teachers in the Little Rock, Arkansas, public schoolsystem have been subjected to pressures above and beyond those known elsewhere, and their refusal to bow to these pressures may have been largely responsible for the preservation of the public school system throughout much of the South.

These teachers did not advocate segregation nor integration, but tried to proceed with the process of education. Like most educators, they valued freedom of thought and opinion. There have been no book burnings in Little Rock - the RABBIT WEDDING can still be purchased. Most of them did make it clear to their students they expected to see a display of good citizenship when Negro children entered formerly all-white schools.

Many of these instructors paid a high price for doing what they thought was right and for speaking out against what they felt was sheer demagoguery on the part of State leaders. They came to know the anonymous telephone call at three in the morning, and the threatening, anonymous letter. Part of the Little Rock School Board, with the support of the Governor, tried to dismiss fifty of these teachers in the summer of 1959. No reasons were given for these dismissals other than the vague hint that some of those on the "purge" list had been "soft" on integration. The three remaining school board members refused to be a party to this wholesale "firing" of teachers, and as a result, a special school board election was held which resulted in the replacement of the extreme segregationists with men pledged to preserve the public schools.

This special election may have been far more important than most of us realize. It may have been the turning point in favor of the retention of public schools throughout an entire region.

As Winston Churchill once said, "Never have so many owed so much to so few."

In the winter of 1959, a history instructor in Central High School required his students to prepare a composition on any subject pertaining to American History. What follows is the result of this Classroom assignment.

We respectfully dedicate this book to the public school teachers in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Ralph and Carl Creger

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND

As a father and son directly affected by the chaos brought on by the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in September, 1957, we were disturbed by what seemed to us a lack of Christian principals shown by so many, and by the willingness of some of those in high political office to exploit an emotional crisis for political gain.

We felt that anything causing as much tension, ill will and bitterness as we had witnessed justified much study and research. We read nearly every book pertaining to race or related matters offered by the public library. In addition, we tried to make an objective study of the Scriptures.

Acts 8-27 through 31 tell of Phillip's experience with the Etheopian:- "And he arose and went, and behold an eunuch of great authority under Candace, Queen of the Etheopians, who had charge of all her treasure, and he had come to Jerusalem to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot reading Esaias the Prophet. Then the spirit said unto Phillip, go near and join thyself to this chariot. And Phillip ran to him and heard him reading and said, do you understand what you read? And the Etheopian said, how can I expect some man should guide me? And he asked Phillip to come up and sit with him." What a wonderful opportunity this would have been for the Lord to have explained to us that the Etheopians were really a simple people, not to be trusted, unlearned and unable to assume leadership. It is obvious that such was not the case. The man was everything the racist tells us the Negro is not supposed to be. He was a man of learning, trustworthy and a man of great authority.

Verses such as these may or may not be significant but certainly we found nothing in the Bible to indicate that the Etheopians were less worthy than others, or that they were inclined toward stupidity, immorality, dishonesty, crimes of violence or any of the many undesirable characteristics attributed to the Negro by racists, and which the racist claims are innate.

All of our research led us to believe that the low status of the Negro in America is cultural, forced on him and not inherent. To us it seemed obvious that it would be impossible for the Negro to achieve the successes others have, because of the obstacles placed in his path, particularly in the field of job opportunities.

But more about that later. Our story is basically the history of the Negro in America, and for a better understanding of the subject, it seems advisable to cover some of the backgroud of the Negro people, prior to their arrival on this Continent.

In presenting this frequently tragic, but none the less praiseworthy history of achievement, emphasis will be placed on conditions as they were, and are today, rather than as some might wish them to be.

There are those to whom race is all-important, and to whom racial supremacy has become a religion. Among these people, the statement is frequently heard that the colored races have contributed little that is worthwhile to the civilization of the world. They say that the colored people, even though inhabiting areas rich in natural resources have not exploited these resources as they might have. These racists always fail to mention that climatic conditions between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn are not as conducive to the energy and drive needed to excel, as that found in the temperate zones.

Be that as it may, the idea that the darker skinned peoples have always been culturally and industrially inferior simply will not stand up under the careful study of history and science. It is not often called to our attention, but students of history generally agree that for several centuries before Christ, Ethiopia, Egypt and other African countries had a high degree of culture and industry when our foreberas in Western Europe were existing in a state of savagery. Nationa such as China, Babylon, Greece and others of varied racial groups have had their periods of glory.

Why Western European nations and America have been in the dominant position in recent centuries is a matter of conjecture, and one guess is probably as

from here on the story is the same as it was

October 3, 1960

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

As Director of Information and Editor of our magazine NEW SOUTH, Mr. Fleming asked me to answer your letter of September 17, concerning your book.

We propose a write-up for your book in NEW SOUTH. This, of course, will call attention to the book of a goodly number of leaders and individuals in the South interested in this field. We would like a review copy as soon as they are available in order to prepare our copy.

If other ideas occur to you in which we might be of aid, please let us know.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

January 10, 1960

Mrs. Jennie Ruth Crump
P. O. Box 1248
Meridian, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Crump:

Thank you for your seasons greetings, and I am very sorry to hear that you have been ill with a virus.

It was really delightful meeting you at Mrs. Tilly's meeting and I do hope that I will have the opportunity of working with you again.

In spite of your illness, you still seem to be quite active. We, here in Atlanta, also sent Christmas or Freedom cards bought from the students. I understand that a week before Christmas the students had sold 31,000 of these and I am sure the number increased before the holiday season ended.

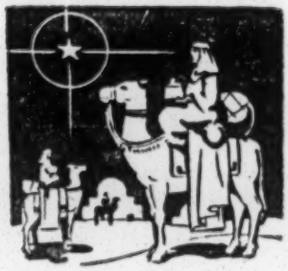
As you may know, the lunch-counter controversy is at a stalemate. A don't buy campaign has been started against the down town section, but it is uncertain as to how effective it is. The Chamber of Commerce has refused to do anything to help shave the situation. Fortunately, the students are standing firm and I do believe a sensible solution will finally prevail.

Again thanks for your note and your good wishes.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

Seasons  *Greetings*

CHRISTMAS ANNO DOMINE 1960

"Joy To The World!" When these words strike my ears, there is wonderous joy. There is perfect peace to think that Christ the Saviour was born and I am here with highly privileged to have the smallest opportunity to render the most infinitesimal service to my fellow man.

A consecrated, dedicated, Soul, A Ruth, the 20th Century Moabitess, (in my way of expressing it) sent me these words from a sermon. Little did she know she was sending to me the very message, the only message Christmas could have for me. These are they:

"God never comes to a man just to be seen . . . the danger of its being only a spiritual experience is too great. God never comes to a man only so that he can see himself . . . there are too many temptations to spiritual self-culture. But God always comes to a man with a job to be done, a mission to be accomplished, a call to be answered."

This Christmas more than ever, I can hear the call of the Christ Child to the same mission for which He came into the world, and to the one to which I am compelled to respond — a mission to be accomplished — a call to be answered.

May Peace be yours and Good Will toward all Men. "For unto you a Saviour is born."

JENNIE RUTH CRUMP.

Dear Mr. Constable,

My Christmas message is being sent on New Year's Day. The Virus Cold caught me as one of its victims.

Surely it was a most delightful pleasure and opportunity to have met you in Atlanta at the meeting of The Fellowship of The Concerned. "Links Inc." an organization, New Orleans Chapter, asked my cooperation in using money for Christmas Cards to be sent for "Sit-Ins". The Appointment of Power may mellow sentiment toward the Naacp. Unfortunately those who deal with young minds are the most fearful people at work. To me nothing is a greater truth than one of those great truths spoken by Lincoln, "To sin by silence when men should speak out makes cowards of men". I will speak for The Voters League Banquet January 1077. I have no alternative but to try to speak the truth. Sincerely

Jennie Rush Crump

Little Rock Arkansas
Feb. 23 1961

Mr. Harry Ashmore,
Editor-in-Chief
Encyclopaedia-Brittannica
Box 4068
Santa Barbara Calif.,

Dear Mr. Ashmore,

Thank you so much for your letter of February 8th. My delay in answering might have led you to believe I didn't appreciate the letter, as a matter of fact I have been so busy putting it to use that this was the reason for the delay.

Several Little Rock people have become quite interested in the book, and in it's possible effect on politics in Arkansas. Sid McMath is writing a man with B'nai Brith asking help in promotion, and has enlisted the help of Phil Back for possible promotion locally. Frank Newell tells me he plans to talk to Winthrop Rockefller about helping promote the book. Graham Hall, who has recently returned to Little Rock from diplomatic service, is quite interested in the book. He took Carl and I to Conway last Monday evening to attend one of his lectures, and to let Carl look the school over, as he will probably enroll there. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has started a project to send the books to all the libraries in the state, and also to as many schools and ministers as they can, depending on the amount of the contributions. Mr. Hall has said that he will contribute substantially to the fund, he wants to see what some of the others will do. Harold May, who owns May building and Supply company, across the tracks from my office, stopped me the other day and told me he had read the book. I told him of the Council's project, and he said he would contribute, but because of his business he would want to do in annonymously.

I have been trying to preach, to the best of my ability, to the people in Little Rock, those who feel as I do, that now is the time to start taking the initiative. Start putting Faubus on the defensive. For a long, long time now - it seems an eternity, he has been taking the initiative, making his inflamatory press releases, etc, as he saw fit, heaping personal abuse on first this person, then that person, and the targets of his abuse have had to try to defend themselves, often without much support from others. I say it is time to start calling him the demagogue that he his, at frequent intervals, and I intend to do it. When my wife and I were trying to decide whether or not to let the book be published, we sweat it out for several days, we finally decided what we were doing was right, and let it go. We were prepared to send Carl North to school, if things got to tough, and to move to an apartment and get an unlisted telephone number. We thought there would be trouble. There has been NONE, we have gotten many, many letters and calls of commendation from this are, not one bad one. We did get one abusive letter from Toledo Ohio, and it was full of anti-semitic literature, and we got one from Minneapolis which was full of personal abuse for Carl and me. The last day before the Christmas holidays Carls english class went to a resturaunt to each lunch instead of having class, there are two colored kids in this particular class. We thought there might be trouble, but they all went into a nice eating place and were served as though it were an everyday occurrance. To me all of these things are very signifigant.

Brooks Hays tells me he is going to try and get some of the Senators to say something about THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND to the national news media. Whether he will or not remains to be seen, Brooks is a nice guy, and surely has every reason to try to strike back at Faubus, but he seems to be afraid of hurting peoples feelings.

Senator Fulbright, in letters, has told me he would help in every way he can with the national news media. So far he has done nothing. Mrs. David Terry tells me Fulbright is a political coward, and that Orval Faubus will beat Fulbright, and she hopes that he does. I don't know about these things, I just know he hasn't really done any thing to help with the book. I'd think a lot more of him if he'd show some of the guts Kefauver did in last summers election.

A writer for the Pittsburgh Courier seems to be going all out to help me. His name is P. L. Prattis. He has written me several letters, and is giving the book a good write up in the Courier. He says he has a friend in the White House who he thinks can get the book to Kennedy, and he has several other ideas for promotion

I have had letters indicating active help from Ralph Bunche, Hodding Carter, Benjamin Fine, Rufus Clement, Brooks Hays, and many others. I have been dissappointed by not getting acknowledgements from Jackie Robinson, Harry Belefonte and Martin Luther King.

My publisher tells me he plans to put your letter to good use. I am enclosing a copy of a letter that is going to every Arkansas paper, weekly and daily. The principal of Harace Mann High is having his typing classes type up 150 original copies so I can send them instead of duplicate copies. The Gazette people tell me they will be much more likely to get attention that way. I am also writing almost the same letter to about 200 large dailies all over the country.

I have been surprised at the interest in the book among the colored people, and I don't mean just the better educated colored people. It seems to me that just about every colored railroad employee has come by the office and gotten books, and those working at Brinkley and Memphis take 5 or 10 along with them every trip they make. I let them have them at my cost and they make the profit.

All this is just scratching the surface though. Unfortunately the Lyle Stuart Company, although apparently high reputable, is small, and just not able to promote a book as Harpers or Doubleday would do it. And they have no salesmen working the south, that is the most unfortunate part of it. This is where it is needed. These people, and I mean the "red necks" or whatever you want to call them read the book, they read it clear through, and it doesn't make them mad. Some of them start thinking halfway realistically where race is concerened.

I am sure you know all the angles, as far as book promotion is concerend, and I would welcome any advice you would want to give me.

Winthrop Rockefeller advised against the use of your letter. Brooks Hays, Sid McMath, Graham Hall, and several others said USE IT. I had planned to use it regardless of what anyone said.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

R C Creger - 14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

March 1, 1961

Mr. R. C. Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

Thank you very much for your lengthy report on what's going on in Little Rock. I find it rather encouraging and I appreciate the efforts that you are rendering the community.

I am so impressed, as a matter of fact, that I am sending the letter along to Harold Fleming at the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, who is one of the wisest men I know in this field. I think he will find it of considerable interest, and you might consider getting in touch directly with him. As you know, the Southern Regional Council is the parent body with which the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is affiliated.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore
Editor-in-Chief

cc - Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA

425 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

Office of the Editor in Chief
Box 4068
Santa Barbara
California

March 1, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Cousin:

I think you'll find the enclosed letter from Ralph Creger interesting. Creger and his son wrote a sort of sentimental but useful book on the Little Rock school crisis, and he is an earnest fellow. His report on Little Rock I find quite encouraging.

Why don't you come out to Santa Barbara and sit in for a spell? It's much more comfortable here.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Editor-in-Chief

Enclosures

969.3281

Creger

April 3, 1961

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Harry:

I was sorry to miss you in Washington recently. Since I did, I must content myself with sending you the enclosed announcements about the changing of the guard at SRC.

As you will see, I am to be a sort of a vigilante on the New Frontier, operating very much in the spirit of the Council. (That is, being officious, but trying not to appear to.)

I hanker for a chance to sit down and talk with you at length about all this. My new work will have me commuting between Atlanta and Washington until school is out and I can move the family. It also means that I will be coming to New York pretty freqeently for a day or so at a time. Keep me posted on your own travel schedule so that we can plan the next reunion.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Please send me, as soon as it is published, 25 copies of the SRC condensation of the U. of N.C Press' THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS.

And 25 copies of each of the publications sent me 21 April 1954 by Mr. Mitchell: a publication of the NEW SOUTH containing an article by the president of Morehouse College; the Attorney General's brief of 9 December 1953, and the check list for schools.

Please bill me for these since I do not know the cost of them (what I have already received is on loan).

Thank you,

Mrs. Demas T. Craw
RFD 2
Charlottesville, Virginia

File

1537 CASWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

We thought you might be interested in this editorial for the Conference.

And could you please send us Gage Mitchell's address.

Sincerely
Janet Cuttenden
Mrs. Christopher Cuttenden

RECEIVED
DEC 30
Southern Regional Council

Crackpots!

Mobile, Alabama,
December 28, 1953.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I see by the Mobile Press Register that you are to address a gathering of Negroes here when they celebrate the 91st anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

All intelligent people know or should know that the proclamation was illegal, it was just meant to be war propaganda, to fool the ignorant people in the North and in England, Ireland to make them willing to fight "to free the poor slaves."

On August 22, 1862 Lincoln wrote Horace Greeley, Editor N. Y. Tribune:

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could do it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery (the colored race) I do because I believe it saves the union, and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the union."

Slavery was not legally abolished until the ratification of the 13th Amendment which was December 18, 1865, eight months after Lincoln's death.

It seems strange that Lincoln did not "free the slaves" in the slave states still in the Union and over which he had authority, viz Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia. The answer is, he knew he had no legal right to do so.

In his first inaugural address he said:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

While the outstanding characteristics of the vast majority of Negroes are immorality, lying and stealing, yet they have one admirable trait, they are loyal to their own race and never go against their own people to favor the white people. However, there are many white men, I am ashamed to say, who are not loyal to their own race. They will take the part of the negro against their own race. Some even want to see the negro rule the white people. Often these whites who favor the negro against the whites are on the public payroll.

Yours truly,

John F. Proctor

Copy

Copy 9 pgs.
Sept 27, 1954

Southern Regional Council.
#63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta
Ga.

Dear Sirs.

In a recent issue of a daily paper, your pamphlet "Schools in the South" is mentioned. The question asked & quoted in as follows:- "Do mixed schools lead to mixed marriages." In answer to this, may I say - from long observation that in this fight of the part of the negroes for a segregation is for this are reason - to interbreed with the whites to get rid of their black colors. They have longed for this ever since they saw the color of the half breed. Why don't any intelligent white man or woman with an ounce of pride matter recognize the subtlety of this negro thought? Think you not that intermarriage is a rare thing, you are

mingle — look at England. They
mingle equally — look at California
take a glimpse at the U.C.L.A.
student body — where the black
negro's think nothing of dating
a white girl or boy — and the
foolish white girls & boy's go
with them & equitably mingle
them. Have not the white people
a right to demand segregation — you let them here.
and no decision of a supreme
court has a right
to force them to come down
to the level of a negro by
compulsion. Why did Abraham
Lincoln want to segregate
the negros after the Civil war
& colonize them? Because he
recognized the necessity of
doing it — in order to pro-
tect purely white girls
& boy's from the lust &
animality that still obtains
in the negro mind. The white
people also are so undeniably

advocating the equality of the two races and most of them doing it for political reasons or for self gratification. The "nigger" as they know it, is mentally not fit to associate with our white girls & boys. They know it. They know the dirty lustful desires that opening into action when they even look at our white girls & boys. Only the southern people understand this. The northern people either don't want to see this issue - even for their own sons & daughters - or else they are too blind to recognize it. Our race is quite in our favor in the minds of many as saying - before this question of segregation is settled - that it will cause a revolution - I hope it does. Then the white people will

rope up with a sickly dull thud. Why don't the southern people as a whole take the stand that they have the a legal right to segregation. May God give them the courage & strength to do this. I speak with all sincerity — because I know that the rubbing of races together causes a friction & finally ends a blaze of destruction and this is the aim of the negro — to destroy the white race by belittling it with the backbiting faults of half breeds. I only hope & pray that the white race will awaken before it is too late. Segregation is the only answer to the whole mixed states.

Respt. Yours.
Margaret J Palmer
Casper Wyo.

NOVEMBER, 1954

THE RACE INTEGRATION CASES

By

CHARLES WALLACE COLLINS

Author: The Fourteenth Amendment and the States (pp. 220)

Whither Solid South? (pp. 334)

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ROBERT R. JACKSON SR
128 RAWSON ST, S.W.
Atlanta Georgia
CYpress 6949

FOREWORD

On February 1, 1954, in anticipation of an adverse ruling by the Supreme Court of the United States against the South in the Race Integration Cases, I prepared a paper in the nature of a forecast in which I warned the Southern leaders to prepare for the worst. This paper was sent to States' Rights leaders with whom I had worked in the campaign of 1948. The present paper is a revision of that forecast and is an adaptation to the opinion of the Court as handed down on May 17, 1954.

This decision did not come as a surprise to me. To close observers here on the ground there were straws in the wind that he who runs might read. As a member of the Bar of the Court for forty years and the Court's Librarian for a term of years, and as a constitutional lawyer, I cannot concede the constitutionality of the opinion. I think the Court exceeded its powers and invaded the province of the State legislatures and Constitutions. The Court has attempted to exercise the legislative and administrative powers of the Federal Government in a field in which Congress itself has no jurisdiction, namely, the control of the social behavior of individual persons—a matter solely within the jurisdiction of the States.

We States' Righters hold that we still live under the Constitutional Republic of the United States of America. The basic principle of that Republic is local self-government founded upon the State as the unit of power. The Federal Government, no matter how far the Federal machine may have roamed out of bounds, is now and has always been a government of limited, enumerated and delegated powers, identified and documented in a formal written instrument of organic law—the Constitution of the United States.

The following paper is a preliminary dissertation on these principles as they apply to the Race Integration Cases. The final appraisal must await the decree and orders of the Court which may not come before the middle of 1955. At that time the battle lines can be intelligently drawn. It may be appropriate then to issue a new revision of this paper to bring the decree in line with the previous discussion.

A political and sociological Court, in the name of the Federal Government, has challenged the way of life of the Southern States. It is a Federal challenge and is therefore from the outside. In the history of the civilizations which have appeared on the face of the earth there have always been conflicts and aggressions. Many of these failed to

rise to meet the challenge when attacked and went down to obscurity and oblivion. Others—fewer in number—rose to strike a harder blow and survived. The history of the South shows where she will stand.

The South faces a long drawn out cold war with many a battle front along the racial integration line. It will not be limited to the question of the school children. Groundwork for an even more dangerous infiltration has already been laid by the Federal Government. Eisenhower recently issued an Executive Order which put the old Roosevelt-Truman FEPC into all Government contracts and subcontracts. It is based upon racial integration at all levels in industry under the coercive power of the Federal Government. This is to be done in connection with the expenditure of billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money appropriated for national defense. This action by the President is also unconstitutional. He has no power as Chief Executive to employ these funds directly or indirectly to control the social behavior of persons—black or white. Here again is an attempt to override the jurisdiction of the States over the private rights of their citizens.

After the foregoing developments have come more clearly to public view and after the South has made progress in the establishment of its own defences, it may be appropriate to issue a States' Rights Manual for publicity and general information.

CHARLES WALLACE COLLINS

THE RACE INTEGRATION CASES

By

Charles Wallace Collins*

1. Background

The remote historical background of these cases, as of every other question which involves the Negro race, goes back to the work of the New England slave traders who brought the Negroes to America; their sale as slaves to the tobacco, rice and cotton planters of the South; the Civil War and Reconstruction; and the adjustment arrived at in the administration of President Hayes. The immediate background of these cases goes back to the year 1936, when the Negro vote, traditionally Republican, went over to the Democratic Party and joined hands with the newly organized CIO and other minority groups which sought left wing legislation from the New Deal. The Negroes, supported by these groups began to organize to restore the old civil rights legisla- enacted by Congress during Reconstruction but which, in a series of leading cases, had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. After Roosevelt's death strong pressure was brought to bear upon Truman, who, notwithstanding the long line of precedents that the Federal Government was without power in this field, appointed a Presidential Committee on Civil Rights. This committee made a report and a number of recommendations from which several bills were drafted—including the notorious FEPC. These proposed measures were known as the Truman Civil Rights Program, but it was in fact the program of the Negro leaders in the North. The main emphasis was upon the abolition of segregation of the races. The committee even held that Congress could proceed under the authority of the United Nations Charter! Congress did not enact any of these bills during the Truman Administration.

2. The Question

These cases were twice argued before the Court but the real issue was not discussd by the lawyers on either side nor by the Court during

* Mr. Collins is a native of Alabama. He received his education at Auburn, the University of Chicago and Harvard. He now resides in Maryland, having retired from the active practice of law. In his career as a constitutional lawyer Mr. Collins was a member of the Alabama Bar, the Federal Bar of the District of Columbia, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and for forty years a member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. As a public servant he has held the offices of Director of the Federal Legislative Reference Service, Law Librarian of Congress, Librarian of the Supreme Court of the United States, General Counsel of the Federal Bureau of the Budget and General Counsel for the Comptroller of the Currency. Mr. Collins is the author of the authoritative work—*The Fourteenth Amendment and the States*—the States' Rights book, *Whither Solid South?* and other works on constitutional law, public finance, banking and politics.

argument or in its opinion. All of the official talk was about segregation. But during the last few years the Negro leaders have set their sights much higher. Their aim is not integrated education of the races but racial integration as an end in itself. To integrate is to combine the parts into a whole. To integrate races of people is to produce one race where two or more previously existed. The American Negro is the most race conscious of any minority group in the country yet his leaders deny the existence of races of man and brand as "racism" or "racist" anyone who asserts the contrary.

The question here involved is not concerned with educational policy or with educational practices in the public schools. These Negro leaders know that, under the present system in the South, a Negro, under the "separate but equal" rule, can obtain a satisfactory education. The question in these cases is how to employ the coercive power of the Federal Government to produce racial integration in the South. The public school system was seized upon as the one instrumentality under which the whole population from the age of six to twenty-two could be held in coercive physical contact from early childhood to maturity. This should be clearly understood by Southern leaders. They should concentrate not upon education in the public schools but upon racial integration.

3. The Method

How do the Negroes propose to accomplish this integration? By means of these cases which were decided as one consolidated case on Monday, May 17, 1954. They turned to the Supreme Court where they finally found "the new climate of opinion" for which they had sought. They have laid their hands upon an asserted coercive power of the Federal Government. Here is the pattern. Beginning at the age of six, little white and Negro children, boys and girls, would be forced into continuous physical contact with each other in the public schools and public school activities. They would study together, recite together, sing together, play together, sit together, talk together, and dance together. They would eat lunch together from food provided by the Federal Government. In this manner they would go through the grade school, through high school, through college and through university. The social theory behind this procedure is that this close and intimate association during the entire formative period of their lives, would in itself produce integration, or, in other words, amalgamation of the races. Fantastic as it may appear the social aim is a Negroid South.

One may search the records of the history of nations, peoples, governments and minority populations and there will be found examples of genocide, extinctions, enslavements, torture and exile, but there will not be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to be integrated with another. In these cases, here under discussion, we see the first employment of this procedure. It comes in the Twentieth Century in the Constitutional Republic of the United States of America. The South and the four border states of Kenucky, Maryland, Missouri and Oklahoma have a white population of about 37,000,000 and a Negro population of about 10,000,000.

The blow has now fallen and the danger signals are plain enough to cause the South to proceed at once to organize. The United States are divided into several regions which have distinctive geographical and social characteristics, such as New England, the Mississippi Valley, the Northwest, the Mountain West, and the Pacific Coast and the South. It is the South which is more distinctively a Region than any of the others. She has a common white racial stock, predominantly Anglo-Saxon; a common language; a common geographical position; and a common history with its poignant story of tragedy and triumph.

Pubilc opinion in the South is made and controlled by the white people. While each State in the South is responsible for its own legislative enactments, in the present crisis, she should act within the orbit of a policy formulated by organized Regional opinion. Unity of action and unity of purpose are essential in this case. This is mortal combat. The South must speak with one voice. The universal principle of political right in this controversy is powerful enough to form a bond of lasting concord to this end. It has been said that patriotism has always proved the best cordial of humanity and that all the sterner and more robust virtues are developed to the highest degree by its powers.

The Southern Region should provide a central organization as headquarters for the consideration of policy and dissemination of information. This body should be manned by strong men who are astute, that is to say, who are self-reliant, who know what the South wants, what can be done to gain it, and what will be done under a given set of circumstances. They will be removed from languor and timidity on one hand and from feverish and morbid excitement on the other. The South is faced by a highly organized enemy which acts with a singleness of purpose.

4. Limitation on the Powers of Congress

Immediately after the Civil War, Amendments 13, and 15, which prohibited slavery and provided that the power to vote should not be denied on account of race or color, were submitted to the States for ratification. They attracted little attention. But when the 14th Amendment came along it was loaded with dynamite. The Radical Republicans were in control of Congress and they intended to enact legislation under this amendment which would weaken the States and set up a strong central Government in Washington which would take over the jurisdiction of the civil rights of individuals and thereby dominate the South through carpet-bagger-Negro rule. On June 16, 1866, Congress submitted the Fourteenth Amendment to the States for ratification. This required the approval of three-fourths of the States. Each of the former Confederate States, except Tennessee (where public opinion was in fact against the amendment), voted to reject the amendment and ratification was thereby defeated. The amendment had been lawfully submitted and the rejection was lawful under the procedure provided by the Constitution. That should have been the end of the matter. But Congress became infuriated at the failure of the amendment to be ratified and from thenceforth adopted highhanded and extra-legal measures. It took over the Southern States by military occupation, disfranchised the white people and put the ballot into the hands of the Negro—coached by the carpet-baggers. In 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was resubmitted to the States for ratification and this time it was ratified almost unanimously by the Southern States. The United States Army attended to the details. This last ratification was unlawful and in violation of the Constitution. That is why—insofar as the Negro is concerned—the Fourteenth Amendment has never been of any moral force in the South. It was put into the Constitution at the point of a bayonet.

Congress next proceeded to enact legislation to enforce the amendment. There went to the statute books at this time the Enforcement Act of 1870, the Ku Klux Act of 1871 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The first case to reach the Supreme Court in a test of these acts was U. S. v. Cruikshank. This case arose in Louisiana. Cruikshank and a number of other white men broke up by violent means a Negro political meeting. Cruikshank and other whites were arrested, tried in the Federal Court and convicted of the violation of the Enforcement Act of 1870.

The case reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1876 on appeal. The Court held that Congress of itself had no power, and

derived no power from the Fourteenth Amendment, to legislate in respect to the acts of individual persons; that the restrictions of the amendment ran only against action by the State. In this case the State of Louisiana had taken no action. The Court held that whatever crime which may have been committed could only be a violation of the law of the State in respect to which the State courts were open. The Court said:

> "The very highest duty of the States, when they entered into the Union under the Constitution, was to protect all persons within their boundaries in the enjoyment of these unalienable rights."

The Cruikshank case saved the South and saved our Republican form of government. It was strongly and completely confirmed by the Supreme Court in 1883 in the Civil Rights Cases which held that Congress gained "no countenance of authority" from the Fourteenth Amendment to enact laws governing the civil rights of individuals.

From the time of these decisions until 1936—a period of sixty years—there was peace in the South between the two races. However, during the latter part of this period, large numbers of Negroes moved North to such cities as Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and New York. Here they gradually developed political power under the simple qualification of manhood suffrage. They developed local leadership. The Association for the Advancement of the Colored People was organized in New York. It became a nationwide organization with chapters all over the country, including the South. It entered politics. The Association and all of its subsidiaries and affiliates went over to the Democratics Party in 1936, and there, with the support of Northern Democrats, successfully—although indirectly—challenged the South. The Convention's two-thirds rule was abolished, the South thereby losing its traditional veto over the nomination. The South was thereafter unable to make any show of strength to recover her former position.

As a result of this development, the Negro leaders began to agitate for a reversal of the Supreme Court's position on civil rights as embodied in *Cruikshank* and the *Civil Rights Cases*. They planned to ask for new civil rights legislation by Congress with a view to having it confirmed by the Supreme Court. The core of this movement was the Truman Civil Rights Program which has now been reintroduced in the 83rd Congress as a somewhat obverse side to the then pending segregation cases.

5. The Opinion of the Court

The Court, by unanimous opinion, reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the case which in 1896 held that segregation was not a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment if the facilities offered were equal though separate. This doctrine of "separate but equal" had held sway for 58 years. It had been the basis of public school policy throughout the Southern Region. The Court did not make a constitutional exposition of this radical change of its position. It relied upon social and psychological considerations. It found that segregation had a tendency "to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children. Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected." (The language of *Plessy v. Ferguson* which the Court now rejects reads as follows: "Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plans.")

The "modern" authorities cited by the Court were not jurists or court decisions but seven psychologists and sociologists taking—God save the mark—Gunnar Mydral's, *An American Dilemma* as the principal authority! (See No. 9 post.)

6. The Court Invaded the Province of Congress

The legislative power of the Federal Government is vested by the Constitution exclusively in the Congress of the United States. If the Supreme Court hands down an opinion or issues a decree of general application to the whole United States, which has the effect of an Act of Congress, it thereby exceeds the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution and invades the powers of the Legislative Branch.

In such a case the Court moves out into the field of national policy and politics. This it has now done in these integration cases. It has flagrantly attempted to pre-empt the whole field of policy and administration of the public school system of the States. The opinion is a political opinion and the decree, when it is drafted, will constitute, not a judicial act but an act of public administration beyond the lawful reach of the Supreme Court. That the Court intends, by its action in

these cases, to create a new national policy in race relations and to provide for its administration, is clear from the language of the opinion. The Court said: "We hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought." * * * and again: "Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity." The Court then announced that it would restore the cases to the docket to hear argument upon the questions of the implemenation of the opinion. It has invited the Attorney General of the United States to participate (although the United States is not a party to the litigation) and the white Attorneys General of the Southern States—the latter in effect, to participate in the South's own funeral. Oral argument is now set for December 6, 1954. The Federal Government has no jurisdiction over State educational policy or over the administration of the State public schools. Congress cannot enter this field. But here the Supreme Court itself at the head of the Judicial Branch of the Federal Government has rushed in where neither of the other two branches can go and is attempting to set up a new and unheard of national policy in this field which is designed to revolutionize and coerce the human behavior of about forty million white people and ten million Negroes with the dictum that Negroes and whites are not only equal but are racially identical. If the Supreme Court succeeds in this effort the Constitutional Republic is dead and the Constitution itself has become a tattered scrap of paper. The implications and potentialities of this action by the Court staggers the imagination. If the Court can thus take possession of the lives of the people of the whole Southern Region and doom them to racial oblivion, there is no limit to which the Court can go in any direction.

The second hearing before the Court was supposed to be based upon a series of formal questions propounded by the Court to counsel. They dealt principally with the history of the Fourteenth Amendment in relation to the public schools. The briefs and arguments were limited to these questions. A prodigious amount of research was done on both sides in briefs running over 200 printed pages, yet the Court completely abandoned its questions and decided the cases on psychological grounds using Gunnar Myrdal as the principal authority. Myrdal's theories were not involved in the questions propounded by the Court neither were they touched upon by counsel except in one instance. In Thurgood Marshall's brief there appears this sentence:

> "Sensitive leaders soon found themselves confronted with what Gunnar Myrdal treated recently as An American Dilemma. (2 vols., 1944.)"

7. The Sphere of State Power

The unit of power in our Republic is the State. The States were in existence as sovereign political bodies prior to the formation of the Union. They met in Convention, adopted a written Constitution under which was set up a Federal Government of enumerated and delegated powers. The powers not granted to the Federal Government were reserved to the States. The guiding principle was local self-government at the State and county level.

The States never had any intention of losing control of the power to govern their own citizens and to provide for the protection of their fundamental rights. The State made provision for their education and for the method by which they would be taught. Nothing is more intimate to a State than her educational system. Any interference with it by the Federal Government would violate the most fundamental principle of our Constitutional Republic and plant the seeds for its destruction. These cases, here under discussion, strike at the heart of the States. The opinion lays the basis for a centralized Federal coercive power which would leave the States to exist in name only. No other single act of the Government in the history of our country has been fraught with greater danger to the existence of the Union.

8. Segregation Cannot Be Abolished

Segregation is inherent to the fundamental mores of the South.

John Temple Graves, a warm friend of the Negro, in 1942 warned the Negroes that there was no hope for them unless they were able to get along with the white men of the South. (Virginia Quarterly, Autumn, 1942.)

Mark Ethridge, the first chairman of the FEPC, and a white Deep South friend of the Negro, gave the following warning at a meeting of the FEPC in Birmingham in 1942, namely: "There is no power in the world—not even in all of the mechanized armies of the earth—which could now force the Southern white people to abandonment of the principle of social segregation. It is a cruel disallusionment, bearing the germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for any of their (Negro) leaders to tell them that they exact it as the price of their participation in the War."

The late William Graham Sumner of Yale University in his great works—FOLKWAYS—says that the mores come down to us from the

past; that we are born into them and are formed by them before we are old enough to reason about them. When we become conscious of them "we find them facts which already hold us in the bonds of tradition, custom and habit. The mores contain embodied in them, notions, doctrines and maxims, but they are facts." He says that the white people of the South have never been converted from the old mores of that region. "Vain attempts have been made to control the new order by legislation. (Referring to Reconstruction after the Civil War.) The only result is proof that legislation cannot make mores. We see also that mores do not form under convulsion and discord." He points out that arbitrary action on the mores accomplishes little or nothing. The conditions of success lie in the mores. The method must conform to the mores.

The rule is clearly stated in *Lanterns on the Levee* by William Alexander Percy. He says:

> "In the South the one sacred taboo, assumed to be Southern, but actually and universally Anglo-Saxon, is the untouchability of white women by Negro men. It is academic to argue the wisdom or justice of this taboo. Wise or unwise, just or unjust, it is the cornerstone of friendly relations, of interracial peace. It has not been the eleventh, but the first commandment. Even to question it means the shattering of race relations into hideous and bloody ruin. The whites make outcasts of their white women who have violated this taboo, sometimes punishing them as grossly as they punish the offending Negro. Never are they accepted even in the lowest stratum of white society." (P. 308.)

My final testimonial comes from an unexpected source, Hodding Carter, a fellow Mississippian of Alexander Percy, but a Southern "liberal" of outstanding national reputation and Pulitzer Prize winner for tolerance on the Negro question. When he came to write his autobiography he came down to earth and struck at the heart of the principle of race relations in the South. He says: "The ultimate issue . . . is essentially sexual in nature and cannot be ridiculed away, or legislated out of existence. . . . I share this insistence upon sexual separteness, for I can see no good coming out of blood fusion for the white and Negro people of the United States." (See review of *Where Main Street Meets the River* (by Hodding Carter) by John Temple Graves in the Freeman for August 24, 1953.)

9. Influence of Gunnar Myrdal on Negro Thought and Upon the Supreme Court of the United States

The effort toward racial integration on the part of the Negro is of recent origin. The old fight was designed to implement the "separate but equal" rule to better advantage for the Negro. But the Carnegie Corporation of New York had always professed a deep interest in Negro welfare and it decided to give the whole race relations in the South a "new look." In 1937 the Corporation brought over from Sweden Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, professor in the University of Stockholm. He was described by the Corporation as a "social economist" and an economic adviser to the Swedish Government and member of the Swedish Senate. He called himself a "social engineer." He was a socialist and had no knowledge of the Negro question in the United States. He was asked to make a thorough investigation of race relations in this country; was given an ample staff and funds for that purpose. He was told to publish his findings solely upon his own responsibility. On this project Dr. Myrdal naturally found himself largely in the company of the Negro leaders. After six years he came up with a two volume work of 1,500 pages: *An American Dilemma* (Harpers, 1944). His solution was racial integration because he held there is no such thing as race. However the author hedged himself in with so many self-imposed restrictions—"value premises"—that the book has no scientific validity. But as propaganda it became the bible of the educated Negro. It had strong financial sponsorship and has been widely circulated. But neither the Carnegie Corporation nor Myrdal dreamed that this book would be cited by the Supreme Court as the principal authority for Federal enforcement of racial integration in the public schools.

About this time the University of North Carolina Press requested a number of Negro leaders to join in writing a symposium—*What the Negro Wants*—the idea being to represent right wing, middle and left wing points of view. When the book came out it appeared that all of the writers had gone over to Gunnar Myrdal. Some Negro leaders say the manuscript would have been rejected had they not threatened a lawsuit over the contract. Mr. W. T. Couch, head of University of North Carolina Press, took issue with his Negro writers and condemned Myrdal in the following terms: "I believe that *An American Dilemma* was written under gross misapprehension of what such ideas as equality, freedom, democracy, human rights, have meant, and of what they can be made to mean. I believe the small measure of these gained by western man is in serious danger of destruction by widespread misunderstanding of the kind represented in *An American Dilemma*."

The Supreme Court reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson* not on legal or constitutional grounds but upon the authority of "modern" psychology and sociology—openly and frankly and unanimously. It cited seven recent works, dating from 1944 to 1952. Senator Eastland, in his masterful address to the Senate, in which he brilliantly challenged the opinion of the Court, on May 27, 1954, as a matter of emphasis to his address, obtained the consent of the Senate to print these references in the Congressional Record. Six of these citations were page references. The seventh and last to be cited was no other than Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* and the whole book is cited "generally." It was the chief authority for the reversal of *Plessy*. What have we come to when a fund corporation can hire a foreigner to write a phony book about the Negro and then see the Supreme Court puts its recommendations into effect!

Myrdal himself frankly expressed his total ignorance of the Negro question in the United States. Every position he took in his book was prefaced by a carefully formulated value premise. He was a pure theorist and his 1,500 page work is speculative to the nth degree. I paid my respects to Myrdal in *Whiter Solid South?* (Chapter IV, p. 54-57.)

10. "And See Generally Myrdal, An American Dilemma (1944)."

(1) In the above quoted language Myrdal is cited as the leading authority for the most revolutionary decision ever made by the Supreme Court of the United States. In the first place Myrdal is not the author of the book. It is a Carnegie Corporation project. Between seventy-five and one hundred anti-Southern writers—many of them Negroes such as Ralph Bunche and Walter White—spent about six years working up this propaganda against the South. Four books were published out of this project by Harper Brothers from 1941 to 1943 and thirty-five research manuscripts were written and deposited in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library. Myrdal and his immediate assistants put together *An American Dilemma* from this mass of material. This book was never intended to be an investigation of the Negro problem in the United States. The project ignored the squalor of Harlem, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia and other Northern cities with large Negro populations. The first thing Myrdal did when he came to this country was to make a tour of the South. The purpose of the Carnegie Corporation of New York was to prepare a brief for racial integration in the South.

(2) Mr. F. P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, wrote a Foreword to *An American Dilemma*. In it he said: "Though

he has achieved an extraordinary mastery of the English language, Dr. Myrdal is not writing in his mother tongue. Here and there it may lead to the possibility of some misunderstanding of some word or some phrase. This is a risk that has been deliberately taken." (by the Corporation—not Myrdal) * * * "I venture to close these introductory paragraphs with a personal word dealing with a matter upon which Dr. Myrdal himself has touched upon in his preface, but which I feel moved to state in my own words. It is inevitable that many a reader will find in the (two) volumes statements and conclusions to which he strongly objects, he be white or colored, Northerner or Southerner. May I urge upon each such reader that he make every effort to react to these statements intellectually and not emotionally. This advice I realize, is much more easy to give than to follow, but it is given with a serious purpose. The author is under no delusions of omniscience; as a scholar, he is used to taking hard knocks as well as giving them and he will be the first to welcome challenges as to the accuracy of any data he has presented, the soundness of any general conclusions he has reached, and the relative weight assigned by him to any factor or factors in the complicated picture he draws. Criticism and correction on these lines would add greatly to the value of the whole undertaking." (P. VIII.) This was written on December 15, 1942. This was the book cited as the principal authority by the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States to force racial integration upon the Southern States!

(3) Dr. Myrdal states in his preface that when he found out the seriousness of the task before him he proposed to Mr. Keppel that a committee be appointed comprised of one white Southerner, one white Northerner and one Negro to advise him. Mr. Keppel rejected this proposal and said what he wanted was a scholarly appraisal by a "fresh mind." Dr. Myrdal says further: "The author fully realizes, and hopes the reader will remember, that he has never been subject to the strains involved in living in a black-white society and never has had to become adjusted to such a situation—and that this condition was the very reason why he was asked to undertake the work. He was requested to see things as a stranger. Indeed he was asked to be both the subject and the object of a cultural experiment in the field of social science."

Dr. Myrdal protected his ignorance of the American scene through an elaborate system of value premises. The methodology of this system is explained in detail in his appendix No. 2 (Pp. 1035-1064). He says that they must be purposively selected. They cannot be self-evident or generally valid. They can only have an **hypothetical** character. (Emphis his.) "The scientific basis for constructing our 'field of valuations'

is poor. Public opinion in respect to the Negro problem has not been studied much, and the studies made do not meet our requirements. For the most part we have been forced to base our generalization on impressionistic observation of the values held by different groups and individuals." (P. 1061.)

"The value-loaded terms have a meaning and represent a theoretical approach itself is determined by the evaluations inherent in the governing **ethos** of a society." Upon this theory he concocts an over-all value judgment for his whole work. It is called the "American Creed." It is not a document and cannot be reduced to writing. It is his conception of the national conscience of the United States. It is composed of Christian precepts, the spirit of the English Common Law, the dignity of man, the brotherhood of man, equality of all men, democracy and the right of equal participation in economic and social life. Now this so-called Creed exists only in Dr. Myrdal's psychological speculation. But he imputes it to every Southerner and measures every phase of Southern life against it. He finds that the South does not live up to the American Creed in respect to the Negro. Therefore the South is suffering from a guilty conscience in respect to the Negro. He says of the book *An American Dilemma*: "We have organized this book around a set of valuations which we have called the 'American Creed'."

So it turns out that the Carnegie Corporation of New York produced through Myrdal the American Creed and the Supreme Court of the United States has employed it to accomplish integration of the races in the South!

Is it to be supposed that the members of the Supreme Bench read the forty-five chapters of Myrdal's two volume work with its ten appendices and two hundred and fifty-eight pages of footnotes? If they did it seems incredible that they could have brought themselves to cite it as an authority. The author himself is at great pains to say that his value premises were hypothetical and theoretical and were arbitrarily selected by him. In other words they are without authority. He says further that on account of the complications and difficulties attendant upon the Negro problem, to draw up adequate value premises, to relate them to relevant facts and to work out practical programs "is a task which cannot be accomplished within the confines of present research resouces." (Appendix 2, p. 1062.)

10. Segregation Follows Natural Law

The Negro had no part in the rise and development of civilization on the planet Earth. He came on at a later date. The great American

historian and Egyptologist, James Henry Breasted, (under whom I had the privilege of doing graduate work) in his *Conquest of Civilization* (1926) laid the place on Earth where civilization originated in what he called "The Great Northwest Quadrant." This area takes in all of Europe, all of Africa north of the Sahara, with an eastern boundary of the Ural Mountains with a line extending from them down to the Indian Ocean. In addition to Europe and North Africa, it also embraces what is known as the Near East. This is the original home of what Breasted calls "The Great White Race." Of this he says: "The population of the Great Northwest Quadrant, from the Stone Age onward, has been a race of white men of varying physical type. The evolution of civilization has been the Achievement of this Great White Race. In the territory adjoining the Northwest Quadrant there are only two other clearly differentiated races, the Mongoloid and the Negroid." The Mongoloids did not "develop a civilization until long after it was far advanced in the Northwest Quadrant. On the South of the Northwest Quadrant lay the teeming black world of Africa, separated from the Great White Race by an impassible desert barrier, the Sahara. Isolated thus and at the same time unfitted by ages of tropical life for any effective intrusion among the White Race, the Negro and the Negroid peoples remained without any influence on the development of early civilization." (Chapters V to VII.)

Along this same line and supporting Breasted, the Harvard University Press brought out in 1948 an authoritative work—*Human Ancestry*—by Professor Ruggles Gates of London University. Dr. Gates is a renowned geneticist. He was invited by Harvard University to take a position as Research Fellow in Biology to examine and report on the tremendous number of primitive human remains—skulls, bones, teeth and artifacts—discovered within recent years, especially in South Africa and the caves of France and China. This book is the result of his researches and conclusions.

He found (pp. 366-367) that the members of the human race appeared on earth at different times and on different continents. He discards the old theory that all human beings are descended from a common ancestor. This is the doctrine of *Homo Sapiens*. He says that this doctrine was never scientifically determined to be a fact. He holds that, except for two species of Negro now nearly extinct (the aboriginal Australian and the bushman of the Cape of South Africa), there are on earth today three distinct species of man, namely: *Homo Caucasicus* (the white man); *Homo Mongoloideus* (the yellow man); and *Homo Africanus* (the Negro). Dr. Gates holds that the Negro was the last to appear—centuries after the white man—and that he is closer to the anthropoid ape from which he sprung.

Nature has therefore marked the Negro and set him apart from the white man. The rejection of *Homo Sapiens* eliminates the political doctrine of equality of races and governments and destroys the basic principle upon which the United Nations is founded. It should be remembered that this doctrine against Homo Sapiens comes from Harvard University which is a hotbed of anti-Southern Negro pretensions. For this reason, Southerners—whether or not they follow Gates on evolution—are justified in using this argument as an admission against interest and as *argumentum ad hominem.* The Gates theory is based upon the scientific doctrine of the evolution of life on earth from lower to higher forms. However, this theory may be entirely disregarded in the consideration of the question here discussed. It takes no expert to see at a glance the physical differences between the Negro and the white man. Intellectually and spiritually there is no comparison between the two. Strictly speaking the proper place to make the comparison is in the jungles of Africa. The American Negro, by virtue of his short accidental sojourn in this country, has taken on a veneer of our way of life, but he is still rooted in the mores of his ancestors in the savage jungle life.

11. Private Schools

The Court has ruled that segregation in the public schools of a State is a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The least complicated way out would seem to be for the State to abolish the public school system. It should be noted that such an act would automatically eliminate compulsory education in the State. Citizens of the State could then proceed to the creation of private schools. These would be beyond the reach of the Federal Government. Of course there exist many private schools in every State in the South at the present time so the idea is not new. Private schools would take education out of politics and would diversify it. However, to establish private schools of general application throughout the State, would require a system of financing. There is discussion going on that the State could lend the money or in some other way pay the expenses. In my opinion, if the States give any aid to these schools, directly or indirectly, the Supreme Court would declare the school system to be an agency or instrumentality of the State and therefore subject to the decree. It seems to me that the umbilical cord which connects the school system with the taxing power of the State would have to be cut asunder. However, as a matter of tactics in this fight, time may be gained by accepting State aid and let the question go to the Supreme Court for a new decision and then go on from there. If a non-compul-

sory, self-supporting, private school system is put into operation, the State would be relieved of the entire financial burden of the school budget. Taxes could be reduced by that amount. A way would have to be found for the taxpayer to turn these taxes into the private school fund. The private educational fund would no doubt be in the custody of a corporation or a board of trustees under a charter and by-laws. I suppose that in these days of the industrialization of the South, the largest taxpayers are corporations. When the State would no longer tax for education, the taxes on these corporations could be reduced in proportion to its contribution to the school budget. The exact amount could be ascertained and the corporation in question voluntarily turn it over to the fund. The same would be true of individuals. Regional public opinion would no doubt facilitate this process.

12. Let the Negroes Educate Themselves

The Negro leaders in New York are boasting that they will now erase the last vestige of discrimination left by the Civil War. They think that this new application of Federal coercion will put the Negro in the South, in every respect, on a plane of equality with the white people. It was these New York Negroes who started this fight for integration in the South. They will have to take their medicine. Under a private system of education for white pupils only, the white people of the South would certainly be under no moral or legal obligation to support Negro private schools. The Negroes would have to educate themselves. No compulsion by the State or by the Federal Government could require the white people to support the Negro private schools. It has been estimated that the white taxpayers in the South pay about 94% of the public schools budget.

13. A Regional Cold War

This question did not arise in this controversy, but it should be borne in mind because it supports the *Cruikshank case* and may otherwise prove useful. In the *McLaurin case* (decided June 5, 1950) the late Chief Justice Vinson, in an obiter dictum, made an important observation. This was the case which admitted McLaurin, a Negro, to the graduate school of the University of Oklahoma over the protest of the State authorities. In handing down the opinion of the Court he said, in effect, that the Negro, after the abolition of segregation, might find himself no better off than he was before; "He still may be set apart by his fellow students" and nothing can be done about it. "There

is," he said, "a vast difference—a Constitutional difference—between restrictions imposed by the State which prevent the intellectual commingling of students, and the refusal of individuals to commingle where the State presents no such bar."

This principle could easily be put into organized effect in high school, college, and university and thereby make life miserable for the Negro. In the primary schools the parents would teach their children how to act.

14. To "Schools of Their Choice"

One of the questions raised by the Supreme Court was whether the Court should decree that "Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice." If left to themselves in the South, I think the Negroes would prefer their own schools and their own Negro teachers. The fight on segregation in the South stems from New York City. After the decree of the Court is promulgated, the first step of the South should be to attempt to induce the local Negro leaders to choose to take their own schools and teachers. If the Negroes are prudent, and the decree permits it, this is the choice they would make. This would make a cold war unnecessary and would preserve the traditional cordial relations between the races which has always been a feature of the civilization of the Southern Region.

15. If Worse Comes to Worst

The Negroes seem to be in this fight to the bitter end. If it turns out that there is no conventional way for the Souh to protect herself, there is one final weapon in her hands. It is secret organization. The South in her weakness after the devastation of the Civil War had the will to use this method to drive the carpet-baggers back across the Mason and Dixon line. The best men in the South manned these organizations. It may become necessary to revive them. (But not the Ku Klux for reasons.) Look up the fair record of the Knights of the White Camelia. (Spelling as in James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States. Vol. VI, p. 291.)

(ENVELOPE)

Asheville, N. C.
January 24, 1955
3 AM

Marion A. Wright - (retired lawyer)
Linville Falls, N. C.

Asheville
1-23-55

Marion Wright
Linville Falls
N. Car.

Be ashamed of yourself for the remarks you made on January 1st. and as head of that infamous band of traitors to the South! You are the father of a mulatto family, as is well known in South Carolina! and you are not fit, or welcome, to live in that proud State!

How dare you speak of the honorable and most distinguished Governor Byrnes, in such a way! You DOG! The (so-called) Supreme Court of the United States is full of contemptible politicians - and will soon be made to know its proper place, by Congress!

You and your kind had best get out of the South while the getting is good - for we loyal Southerners intend to run you out! - do you understand?

Only men who keep nigger "wives" act and speak, as you did, in the South - Get out - or you'll wish you had! Nigger lover!

The Ku Klux Klan is not dead, as you seem to think, by coming to live in North Carolina!

But Southerners of the right stripe do not need them to solve the South's problems. Nor will we tolerate your "Regional Council"- Traitors!

Signed:

True Southerners.

THE RACE PROBLEM FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ONE WHO IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE EVILS OF MISCEGENATION

BY

W. C. GEORGE

Sent to you by

ROBERT R. JACKSON SR
128 RAWSON. ST, S.W.
Atlanta Georgia
CYpress 6949

Published by

(I am a member of)

AMERICAN STATES RIGHTS ASSN., INC.

2112 First Ave., N. Birmingham, Ala.

FEBRUARY, 1955

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THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE CLERGY

Dr. W. C. George reports that about 350 communications have been received supporting the petition asking for continued separation of schools for white and Negro pupils. A few letters have been received condemning it. One from a divinity student urged withdrawal of the petition. Among other objections, he disapproved of the sentence that reads: "In as much as a careful reading of the New Testament reveals that Christ never said one word about the race problem, we deplore the efforts of some people to identify a program of racial integration with Christianity." And he raised the question: "Is it really significant that Christ said nothing about the race problem? . . . Our task is to see how the ethic that he lived and taught should be interpreted and applied in new situations."

Since this young preacher apparently represents a point of view common in divinity schools and among the clergy, it probably should have a public answer. The answer is that it makes a great deal of difference whether we teach as Christianity what Christ said or what ecclesiastical politicians say. Furthermore, attempting to interpret Christ's ethic is one thing. Making final judgments on complex human problems on the basis of little information or understanding is quite another.

Ministers have gone much further than raise the question of ethics. Without seeming to understand or even to be aware of very fundamental matters, they have promoted a rash of resolutions declaring that separation of the races is "unChristian" and they have promoted social revolution.

Attempts to exercise temporal power do not make ministers more worthy or more effective spiritual ambassadors of Christ. Doing wrong in Christ's name and calling it "applied Christianity" does not make it right. It merely compounds the wrong.

Those ministers who are tempted to make dogmatic statements and decisions about worldly matters based on their interpretation of the scriptures and try to impose "the Christian position" on the people would do well to read and ponder the sentence imposed on Galileo for proving that the earth is not the center of the universe. It reads in part as follows:

"We say, pronounce, sentence, declare that you, the said Galileo, by reason of the matters adduced in this trial, and by you confessed as above, have rendered yourself in the judgment of this Holy Office vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of having believed and held the doctrine—which is false and contrary to the sacred and divine scriptures—that the Sun is the center of the World and does not move from east to west, and that the Earth moves and is not the center of the World. . . . And that consequently you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated in the sacred cannons and other constitutions, general and particular, against such delinquents. . . ."

See *Durham Herald,* December 19, 1954.

The Race Problem From the Standpoint of One Who Is Concerned About the Evils of Miscegenation

By

W. C. GEORGE*

There is a widespread campaign to break down our barriers of custom and law that are intended to prevent miscegenation and the hybridization of America. This campaign is promoted in part by people who sincerely believe that they are doing God's will; also by people who have no regard for God's will but are merely seeking to gain publicity or political advantage. The fundamental issues involved are commonly ignored, and the arguments used are largely political and quasi-religious slogans.

One of the current and probably most effective propaganda lines is built up around the "Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man" motif. Concerning this I will content myself here with recalling to your minds that God made the races different and first segregated them. It requires the presentation of better reasons than have heretofore been advanced before we are justified in declaring that God's original policy of separation of the races should be abandoned. One of the favorite scriptural quotations of those who oppose the separation of the races is: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men." They stop there without quoting the remainder of the sentence, which really reads: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the time before appointed, *and the bounds of their habitation.*" (Acts 17, 26.)

Many sincere people have been misled by specious and false arguments and by appeals to their generous impulses into an acceptance of the thesis that we should eliminate all of our laws and customs intended to maintain separation of the white and Negro races in social relations. The purpose of this discourse is to point out the falsity of the arguments and conclusions of the proponents of racial intermingling and to explain why the inauguration of policies promoting social intermingling of the races and miscegenation would be furthering the deterioration of our race and our civilization and is, therefore, essentially unrighteous.

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* WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

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PAGINATION INCORRECT

In propaganda lectures, sermons, and published articles dealing with the race problem, the expression, "all men are created equal," is bandied around very loosely. If by "equal" is meant equal in their fundamental right to justice, then intelligent, fair, and honest men can agree to the quotation; but when the expression is used to imply equality in the biological sense, a more false statement is difficult to conceive. Biologically, instead of being equal individuals range at birth all the way from scarcely more than mere blobs of protoplasm to potential physical giants and intellectual geniuses.

In this discussion we can start out probably in agreement upon the general statement that any particular individual is the product of his genetic constitution (i.e., his heredity), nurtured and modified by the influence of his environment. We may differ as to the relative value we place upon genetic constitution and environment. Either consciously or unconsciously the supporters of a policy of racial amalgamation place a high value on the part played by environment in the making of an individual, and they tend to discount heredity. I hope to show you that the value of environment is overemphasized by these people and the potency of heredity underemphasized.

Let us see what two or three reputable and critical scholars have to say about this. Professor Charles A. Berger, of Fordham University, writing in *Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem* (published by the Catholic University of America Press) says: "We may safely state that most, if not all, psychic characters are deeply influenced both by the genetic constitution and by the environment."

Professor H. S. Jennings, the distinguished Head of the Department of Zoology of Johns Hopkins University until his retirement, and now Research Professor at the University of California, says in the same book: ". . . it is clearly proved that the following types of characterstics depend on the nature of the chromosomal material borne by the individual (that is, on his 'heredity'):

> "Sex, color of eyes and hair, complexion, form of the features, form and distribution of the hair, finger prints and palm and sole patterns, structure and form of the hands and feet, form of the body (stoutness, slenderness, stature, and the like), chemical composition of the blood, the blood types, the glandular types to which individuals belong, *the senses and their efficiency, efficiency of the brain,* vigor and weakness of the constitution, susceptibility and immunity to various diseases, and many other physical and physiological peculiarities."

How real is this matter of inheritance in our own experience? You are all aware of the reality of family resemblances, and those of us who are older see over and over again our friends reappearing in their children—not only their physical features, but their psychological, tem-

peramental and moral qualities. You are even more strikingly aware of the breed characteristics of size, shape, color, etc., of cocker spaniels, police dogs, collies, dachshunds, etc.; and you recognize that these characteristics are inherent in their genetic constitution; i.e., they are transmitted from generation to generation. The list of heritable qualities is not limited to such gross structural features as size, shape and color. As indicated in the quotation from Dr. Jennings, it includes many intimate features. The courage of a bulldog and the timidity of a rabbit are not environmental accidents. Neither are generations of greatness in the Adams family, or generations of crime, poverty and imbecility in such families as the Kalikaks, incidents of circumstance—although I am ready to admit that accidents of fortune do sometimes greatly alter the course of events, both in the greatly endowed and in the poorly endowed.

One of my neighbors and I are both cattle farmers. The difference between us is that he has a fine herd of thoroughbred Jersey cows that he keeps in well-fenced pastures and breeds to carefully selected thoroughbred Jersey bulls, whereas I have only grade cows in my herd, and that herd is sometimes contaminated by having another neighbor's Hereford bull break down our poor fences and visit at will. We have both observed the re-emergence of heritable qualities through generations of cattle. As I observed my animals through succeeding generations, I have been impressed with the recurrence of qualities of temperatment, character and social behavior as well as structural features and qualities of milk production. It can scarcely be contended that these differences in character and social behavior that appear in some lines generation after generation are due to differences in environment or opportunity since all animals run in the same pastures and receive essentially the same treatment. It is well recognized by cattlemen that different breeds of cattle (Jersey, Hereford, Angus, e.g.) have personality traits just as they have physical traits and physiological traits.

You may not have had an intimate acquaintance with cattle, but many of you have observed dogs and cats. You may know the nervousness of the Pekingese and the terriers, the stolid qualities of the St. Bernard, the aloofness of the police dogs, the alert intelligence and affection of the Cocker Spaniel. You know also the inherent qualities of cleanliness of the cat and the greed and dirtiness of the hog. Could there be any question in your mind that these are heritable qualities and not the result of environment or educational opportunity? You can teach things to cows and dogs and cats and hogs, but the fundamental racial and individual qualities are there in the fertilized eggs from which they came. The leopard cannot change his spots, nor can the Ethiopian change his skin or his genetic constiution.

In formulating our social policies for humanity, we cannot afford to make the mistake of assuming that humans have any less definitely heritable individual and racial qualities than lower animals have. The influence of heredity may be less clear-cut in the case of individuals in the heterogeneous assemblage of interbreeding individuals that make up the human population than it is in pure breeds of dogs and cattle. The hereditary base is still there, however, and it is inexorable in its influence on the future of men and of races.

This power of heredity in humans is most clearly and precisely demonstrated in studies of *one-egg twins.* The physical likeness of individuals within pairs of one-egg twins is common knowledge. The deep-seated nature of the similarities is not so generally appreciated. It is of great significance that numerous studies and reports establish a high degree of concordance within such pairs of twins in the occurrence of anomalies; the development of tumors; the incidence of disease; the similarities in *electrocardiograms* and *electroencephalograms,* which are highly individual records of the fundamental behavior of heart and brain; and similarities in physiological behavior. These similarities cannot in any large degree be ascribed to similarities in environment because they occur in one-egg twins separated at birth and raised in different environments. Furthermore, it is known that two-egg twins raised together grow steadily more unlike in spite of the similarities of environment, while one-egg twins raised apart remain closely similar.

Psychological and intelligence tests of twins, within pairs of one-egg twins, show a high degree of concordance from the upper levels of intelligence down to the grossly mentally deficient. It has been obobserved from these studies that mental ability appears to be inherited to about the same extent as physical traits. Statistical analyses have been made of data obtained from a large number of twins, including fifty pairs of two-egg twins reared together, fifty pairs of one-egg twins reared together, and twenty pairs of one-egg twins reared apart. These analyses lead to the conclusion that physical characters and mental ability are more influenced by heredity than they are by environment; that motor activity and emotional balance are more influenced by environment than are physical characteristics and mental ability; and that environment plays a marked role in determining the results obtained from educational performance tests.

Does heredity have anything to do with moral qualities and character? I know of studies of criminality in 151 pairs of twins, one or both of whom had criminal careers. The concordance, including similarities in types of crimes committed and age of commission, was much higher among one-egg twins than among two-egg twins. That the similarities in criminal histories in one-egg twins is due to hereditary composition

is indicated by the fact that there was no greater resemblance in criminal careers among those who remained in the same community than among those who were geographically separated at the time they began their criminal careers and by the fact that the ratio of concordance to discordance in criminal careers is nearly four times as high among one-egg twins as among two-egg twins.

What does all this material about twins have to do with the race problem? I cite this evidence not to deny the importance of environment and education in developing our innate genetic qualities, but to show the fallacy of the conception that all men are born equal biologically and to show the fallacy in the doctrine that all that is needed to bring about universal equality in merit and achievement is to provide equally beneficient environment for all.

The public is being bombarded more or less persistently with the suggestion and the positive statement that the races are all equal and that the only real difference between the white man and the Negro is the color of their skin. As pointed out a few minutes ago, we become aware, when we recall our ordinary personal observations concerning breeds of dogs and cattle, that physiological and personality traits, as well as anatomical features, appear to be associated with different breeds or races. The general consistency in nature would lead us to suppose that the same situation occurs in the human species. But let us examine the evidence and the opinions of critical observers. Ales Hrdlicka (1941), the distinguished anthropologist of the United States National Museum, has this to say:

> "Races, therefore, are not and cannot be identical, and this applies more or less to all their qualities, physical, physiological and intellectual." P.167.

> "The Australian—or Australo-Tasmanian—is a remnant of a once much larger stock of old, doubtless, paleolithic, derivation. It is in anachronism, does not fit well modern humanity . . ." P. 178.

Of the Negroid stem he says: ". . . . the Bushmen, of probably two varieties and the Hottentots, are related, degenerate and petering-out old strains; the Negroes proper, a relatively late development, are represented by a number of varieties, such as the Zulu-Kaffirs, the Nilotics, and probably also the Senegalese, and others as yet not well determined." Pp. 184-185.

The statement on the Negro in the Encyclopaedia Britannica lists a number of the physical charactristics of the race. Also, Wingate Todd, the British-born and reared Professor of Anatomy and Directortor of the Haman Museum of Western Reserve University, and perhaps our leading student of anthropometry, points out some of the anatomical features of the Negro race. I'll not bore you with the tech-

nical details. Those interested can find them in Professor Todd's paper in the report of the National Research Council on the Conference on Racial Differences.

When competent observers look sharply enough, racial differences are found to exhibit themselves in many ways other than normal anatomical features. Raymond Pearl (1928, p. 22), Professor at Hopkins School of Public Health, and perhaps our leading student of vital statistics, states that "there are distinct differences between racial groups in this country relative to the incidence of certain diseases." For insance, he points out, on the basis of extensive studies, that cancer is lower in the colored man than in the white and that there are racial features in the details of distribution of cancers in the body.

As we justified in considering that races differ fundamentally in other ways than in color, normal anatomy, and pathology? Are they to be looked upon as different, but *equal in ability and achievement?*

Recently I heard a preacher state in a sermon that "science" has proved that the races are equal. Science has proved no such thing. Pretty much all of the evidence gathered, as well as our common experience, indicates the opposite, on the basis of our ordinary standards. I am not sure, however, that science can either prove or disprove that the white man is either superior or inferior or equal to the Negro. Questions of definitions and standards would first have to be settled.

It seems fairly evident to me, however, on the basis of the standards of our "white civilization" that the Negro race is inferior to the white race in capacity to develop and maintain a civilization. Let's look at the evidence. In a recent article, obviously pro-Negro in tone and intent, Professor McCormick (1945) of the University of Wisconsin states: "The best tests that have been devised by psychologists to date fail to show that the Negro measures up to the white on the average in mental performance; but they do show beyond question that some Negroes are more intelligent than many whites." Again, Franz Boas (1940), whose general bias is towards minimizing the significance of race, states: "There have been many comparative tests of intelligence of individuals of various European types and of Europeans and Negroes. North Europeans tested in our country were found as a whole decidedly superior to south Europeans; Europeans as a whole, to Negroes."

According to Professor Bonger (1943) of the Netherlands, the U. S. Army tests show that the level of intelligence of the Negro is roughly 25 per cent lower than that of the whites. The author seems prejudiced against the reality of racial differences in intelligence, and after making explanations for the data, says: ". . . One still gets the impression—although without complete certainty—that the inherent

intelligence of the Negro is less than that of the white man. Serious, unprejudiced writers such as Hankins, Dowd, Viteles, Garth and Peters come to this conclusion." P. 51.

In a book, *Temperament and Race* (1926), by S. D. Porteus and Marjorie E. Babcock, Director of Research and Psychologists at the Vineland, New Jersey, school for the feebleminded, the authors present some interesting and significant data. For example, they record the average brain weight of various races of man. The Caucasian stands at the top with an average brain weight of 1,335 grammes, and the Australian aboriginal at the bottom with 1,185 grammes. Next to the Australian aboriginal is the Negro with 1,244 grammes. I am not yet convinced myself that brain weight is a really significant factor in intelligence; but Porteus and Babcock state: "As far as our observations go, the order of brain weights of these races would be the same order as regards educational and general aptitudes" (p. 146); and they point out that studies made on the brain capacity of the feebleminded show that there does exist in general a close connection between brain size and inelligence. (P. 148.) On page 206, they state: "For such a race as the Negro, it can be accepted without question that there is a greater proportion at any given (social) level of inferior attainments than there is of whites." After citing various tests, they say on page 207: "These studies show that the Negro actually belongs, as far as all-round ability goes, to an inferior race." They also point out that comparison of the white draftees with the colored as regards performance in the Army tests, showed that the median score of the colored was more than 2½ years below the median score of the whites.

Admitting the imperfections in any and all tests and testers, there is no escaping the fact that there is a more impressive body of evidence that cries out to us—Stop, Look, and Beware, before encouraging a policy of race amalgamation.

Is there any difference between Negro and whites in social behavior? Anyone who reads the newspapers regularly is likely to be impressed by the large number of cases in which Negroes are reported as involved in crimes. Is this merely an impression growing out of *prejudice,* or is it founded on truth? Let us look at the record. There is a little book called *Race and Crime* written by W. A. Bonger, eminent criminologist of the Netherlands, and before his recnt deadth, Professor in the University of Amsterdam. In his book Professor Bonger gives data taken from the United States criminal statistics regarding relative prevalence of crime among different elements of the population. He states: "The criminality among Negroes as shown here (the U. S. Cenus of 1910) is considerably higher than that of the whites."

"The most recent data on the United States, dealing with the first three quarters of 1938, give, in general, a confirmation of the above. There were arrested, per 100,000 of population over the age of 15: 164 whites born out of the United States, 444 whites born in the United States, and 1,175 Negroes." That this is not due to *Southern* prejudice is indicaed by this statement: "In conclusion, it must be remarked that the criminality of Negroes in the northern states is considerably higher than in the southern states, actually three to one." (P. 44.) Professor Bonger was an eminent exponent of the philosophy that crime is a social and not a biological phenomenon, and his philosophy led him to try to explain away any hereditary significance and to attribute the difference in criminality between races to social and economic factors. His facts are more important than his opinions, however.

I believe that it is certainly true that social and economic factors are important in the genesis of criminality; but the facts that I have previously referred to relative to concordance in criminal careers among members of pairs of one-egg twins show that the biological basis is not to be disregarded.

The historical inferiority of the Negro, so far as civilization and cultural attainments are concerned, is worth recalling, although it is well known. It is true that the "race-levellers" explain this away on the grounds of unfavorable environment or isolation or lack of opportunity, just as they attempt to explain away all other evidence that does not support their thesis; but one cannot brush aside the fact that never throughout their history in Africa did the Negroes anywhere, so far as I have been able to learn, develop any state of culture approaching a cilivization; nor has the Liberian experiment shown much capacity for autonomous civilization; and nowhere throughout the world where there is a high concentration of Negro population, neither in the rural south, nor in the cities of the north, nor in South American countries, nor in the West Indies, nor in the islands of the Pacific, have they as racial groups developed beyond a low state of civilization or shown any capacity or zeal for culture and civilization. It is more than unintelligent; it is hazardous for us to brush aside all of this evidence and yield to the advice of those who would promote policies that would lead to racial amalgamation. There is enough stupidity, indolence, slovenliness and criminality already in the white race without the absorption of 13,000,000 Negroes in whom these qualities appear to be present in still higher degree.

Even if we were to discount entirely the evidence indicating racial inferiority of the Negro, evidence for the unwisdom of Negro-white hybridization is still impressive. The late Dr. Charles R. Stockard

(1941), Professor of Anatomy at Cornell, and one time President of the American Association of Anatomists, carried out extensive observations on the effects of cross-breeding various types of dogs. In addition to the caretakers on the dog farm, Dr. Stockard had quite a staff of collaborating scientists to sudy and analyze the data from the standpoint of anatomy, physiology, psychology and endocrinology. In his book reporting results and conclusions, he made a few comments regarding the significance of this study to human problems. He states:

> "The influence for better or worse of one strange gene in the constitution of higher mammals and of man himself should give a thoughtful person adequate reason for concern regarding racial hybridization. . . ." (P. 122.)

In connection with a discussion of incompatible structural disharmonies, he says:

> "There is little doubt that these disharmonies can be registerd among those ills resulting from type and racial hybridization." (P. 358.)

On page 491 he says that "None of the results from the Boston terrier-Dachshund cross offer encouragement to the indifferent attitude frequently expressed towards crossing and hybridizing the various human stocks."

On pages 37-38 he says: "Mongrelization among widely different human stocks has very probably caused the degradation and even the elimination of certain human groups; the extinction of several ancient stocks has followed very closely the extensive absorption of alien slaves. If one considers the histories of some of the South European and Asia-Minor countries from a strictly biological and genetic point of view, a very definite correlation between the amalgamation of the whites and the negroid slaves and the loss of intellectual and social power in the population will be found. The so-called dark ages followed a brilliant antiquity just after the completion of such mongrel amalgamation. . . ."

Since we cannot consider the Negro to be genetically acceptable, what should be our attitude and policy towards him? Although I am firmly convinced that it is of fundamental importance that we shall maintain racial separateness in the social sphere, I believe also that Negroes should be treated with courtesy, consideration and generosity, and I deplore injustice and unkindness. Although we cannot afford to take the chance of having him destroy our race and our civilization, we should allow him every reasonable opportunity to develop his race and his culture.

In the early part of this century we had a great governor in this state, who had, and still has, the reputation of being a statesman with great zeal for the general good. Forty-five years ago that governor, Charles Brantley Aycock, in an address delivered to North Carolina Negroes at the State Fair, had this to say:

> "No thoughful, conservative, and upright Southerner has for your race aught but the kindest feelings, and we are willing and anxious to see you grow into the highest citizenship of which you are capable, and we are willing to give our energies and best thought to aid you. . . . But to do this, it is absolutely necessary that each race should remain distinct and have a society of its own. Inside of your own race, you can grow as large and broad and high as God permits, with the aid, the sympathy, and the encouragement of your white neighbors. If you can equal the white race in achievement, in scholarship, in literature, in art, in industry, in commerce, you will find no generous-minded white man who will stand in your way; but all of them in the South will insist that you accomplish this high end without social intermingling. This is well for you, and it is well for us; it is necessary for the peace of our section."

Inherent in that statement is the basis for a race policy that would protect the integrity of both races, and a more truly Christian policy than one that denies the existence of racial differences. A so-called Christian policy that is based on the assertion of falsehood or a denial of the truth requires re-examination.

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ROBERT R. JACKSON SR
128 RAWSON. ST, S.W.
Atlanta Georgia
CYpress 6949

MAR 8 1955

March, 7. 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director Southern Regional
Council.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta Ga.

Dr Mitchell

As you know we the people of Georgia Did in Nov. 1954 Voted against The Mixing of The races here and Blue was not Born Washed Unless God Born wash adam and Eve, and I do not think he did.

Sincerely Your
Robert R. Jackson Sr
128 Rawson St. S.W.

SEP 26 1955

Changing Patterns

IN THE NEW SOUTH

Changes not always progress - surely not in this case

~~A unique record of the growth of democracy in the South in the last decade, from the pages of the Southern~~ Regional Council's pub~~lication NEW SOUTH.~~

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I'd a bridge between Heaven & Hell

The churches have made the biggest mistake in their history and no good will come of it - only Chaos

I believe social association in school or anywhere is contrary to God's will & this putting yourself in God's place

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18

Miss Dorothy Pearson
4953 Cote Brilliante
St Louis, Missouri

[redacted]

Why erase my name? — because I am afraid of the negro — and his organized Klan — against an unorganized white majority

(Paid Advertisement)

FUND FOR REPUBLIC— "A GOOD INVESTMENT—" FOR WHAT?

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
Monday, Oct. 17, 1955

Ford Funds To Strengthen School Work

Regional Council Given $150,000 for Southern Project

ATLANTA, Oct. 16 (AP). — The Southern Regional Council announced today that it has received a new grant of $150,000 from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic to strengthen its educational work in 12 Southern states . . .

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THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — A State-wide group organized last July, the council is made up of professional, business and industrial participants representing both races and the three major religious faiths. It is one of 12 organized in Southern States as affiliates of the Southern Regional Council, and is financed by funds raised by the council and matched with funds from the Ford Foundation.

The following appeared in The New York Journal-American November 7, 1955

Name 21 Pro-Reds on Board of Dixie Race Study Council

By Leon Racht and Jeffrey Roche

The board of directors of a Southern organization granted $240,000 by the controversial Fund for the Republic includes 21 members with past pro-Communist affiliations, a survey revealed today.

Investigation of the background of the Southern Regional Council also revealed that 13 of these supported the now-defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare,* cited as an arm of the Communist Party by two Congressional committees.

***Frank P. Graham, former President of UNC, who is speaking in Norfolk today was a former Honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.**

HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA

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Out of 14 members of the Coun-

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

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Besides these commie-fronters who boss the Council, the partial records of other board members follow:

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Benjamin L. Mays: has long list of affiliations with organizations cited by Attorney General and House Un-American Activities Committee.

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Organized by the Ford Foundation but now enjoying an independent status, the Fund for the Republic has a $15 million endowment. It has a board of directors composed of eminent citizens . . .

The Following Appeared In The Richmond News-Leader October 26, 1955:

Dean Resigns Fund Group Post

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 (AP) —Arthur H. Dean, former United States ambassador to Korea, said today he has resigned as a director of the Fund for the Republic for "policy reasons."

Asked if this meant he was quitting because of the organization's policies, Dean said, "yes." He declined to go into details.

The fund, an independent foundation set up to promote the principles of the Constitution, Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence, has been accused by some groups of left-wing activities.

Dean, a corporation lawyer and head of the United Nations truce team that negotiated the peace terms in Korea, said he resigned September 27 as a member of the fund's 16-member board of directors.

The Following Appeared In The Journal and Guide Nov. 5, 1955:

For Legal Defense Fund

Fund for the Republic Gives NAACP $50,000

NEW YORK — A $50,000 grant was made to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., by the Fund for the Republic, Thurgood Marshall, Director-Counsel of Legal Defense, announced Monday.

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Out of 14 members of the Council's executive committee, four were found to have supported pro-Communist enterprises in one form or another. They are:

George S. Mitchell, executive director: sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress, cited subersive by the Attorney General.

Rufus E. Clement, chairman: sponsor of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, one of the oldest subversive organizations in the United States. In addition, Clement has been a member of many other Communist fronts.

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

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Herbert Davidson: sent greetings to Mother Bloor (Communist heroine) Celebration Committee.

J. M. Ellison: signed statement for National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions according to Daily Mirror, June 29, 1951. Organization is on Attorney General's subversive list.

Albert D'Orlando: signed Amicus Curiae on behalf of the Rev. John Howard Mellish when latter was before Supreme Court fighting his ouster from a Brooklyn church for alleged pro-Communist activities.

Charles G. Gomillion: On advisory board and secretary of Southern Negro Youth Congress on Attorney General's subversive list.

Charles S. Johnson: sponsor of of American Committee for Foreign Born. Has other affiliations in same direction.

Ralph O'Hara Lanier: also on board of Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Benjamin L. Mays: has long list of affiliations with organizations cited by Attorney General and House Un-American Activities Committee.

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Those who were members of the openly pro-Communist Southern Conference for Human Welfare include Atwood, Christopher, Clary, Clement, Davidson, Johnson, Mitchell, Trenholm, Wilkins, Gomillion, Mays and Ellison.

Disclosure of the Southern Regional Council's heavily pro-Communist tinge is the latest blow at leftwing activities of the Fund for the Republic.

Earlier, the Fund came under strong anti-Communist attack for its allegedly slanted bibliography on communism in the United States; its employment of Earl Browder, former secretary of the American Communist Party, as a "paid informant"; and employment of Amos Landman as publicity man, three weeks after he took the 5th Amendment when asked if he ever was a Communist.

Editorial Page

THE NEWS and COURIER

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

Charleston, S. C., Friday, October 28, 1955

Do-Gooders Stirring Bloodshed

In the 1850s, before the Civil War, Northern do-gooders gave money to stir racial strife in the South. John Brown's murderous raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., for example, was financed by supposedly responsible people. Among the notable contributors was Gov. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Later he was chief justice of the United States.

Brown bought guns and pikes to arm a slave rebellion. His men seized a federal arsenal. The bewildered Negroes didn't rebel. But Brown's fanatics did some shooting anyway. Their first victim was a free Negro. He failed to halt on orders and stopped a bullet.

Wendell Phillips, New England orator, declared the State of Virginia a pirate and called John Brown a lord high admiral commissioned to sink every pirate. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet and philosopher, compared the "glorious" scaffold on which John Brown was hanged to the cross at Calvary. The governor of Virginia announced that any further invasions from other states would be met with armed reprisals. Meanwhile—it was 1859—federal troops kept order in "Bloody Kansas."

Today Northern do-gooders again are pouring money into organizations to goad the South. One of these is the **Fund for the Republic.** It has just donated an additional $150,000 to the **Southern Regional Council,** which is **dedicated to break down separation of the races in the South.** It is time that donors of money take responsibility for their beneficiaries. Money is power.

While slavery and secession no longer are issues, violence can take many forms. Already such incidents as the kidnaping of the Till boy in Mississippi are being blown up to inflame the public.

In Chicago a Negro policeman last week beat a 72-year-old man to death on the street. In Brooklyn, a judge sentenced three Negro members of a teenage gang to prison when they pleaded guilty to killing a rival youth. Meanwhile, another juvenile gang death was reported in the neighborhood as the toll of violence mounts.

Usually the race angle is omitted in the Northern press on crime news in its own backyards. Race is played up whenever a victim is a Negro in the South. Both white and colored Southerners know the tension is reduced and peace promoted by separation of the races. An unbiased review of the facts, both past and present, proves this contention.

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The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
Saturday, Nov. 12, 1955

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

1 file Ku Klux

11/4/55

HCF:

What is this, Ku Klux?

GM

"The Red Hens Are Now Coming Home To Roost!"

☆

The Pittsburgh Courier, negro newspaper of Oct. 29, 1955, front-pages a "rumor that won't die", — (and no wonder.) They say 'authentic sources' tell them that a group of entirely big name Whites met recently in secret midnight to 5 a.m., session, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. There they formed a "Retribution-Fund-Group, and put up $100,000., as just a beginning, To REVIEW Southern Courts' decisions in cases involving Whites vs. Negroes. "The Group" will then hold "trials in absentia" and reach its own verdicts and mete out its own justice to the

White Southerners who offend the "Group's" idea. The informants insisted to the Pittsburgh Courier (Negro newspaper) that in order to have its own judgments carried out, the Secret-Retribution-Fund Group had already made contact with an "internationally-known Underworld Organization" who will be given a year to execute an order from the Secret Group". The paper says further:

EDITOR'S NOTE: Courier editors have been "sitting" on top of this daring revelation for over a month. The story, if true, has so many startling ramifications that we employed every check source posible, in an effort to unearth all the facts. Frankly, there are still some answers we have not yet been able to obtain. We are convinced, however, beyond a shadow of a doubt that something big, dramatic and maybe dangerous is brewing. Our investigations are continuing.

☆

☆ Eugene Cook's charge that NAACP is more interested in subversion than in Negroes seems plenty-right with Pittsburgh Courier, 10/29/55

* * *

DANGEROUS strategy developing in Dixie is Georgia accusation that NAACP is "subversive." Plan is to point out number of officials with Red-front connections. Here the association is vulnerable on the record. We warned the boys years ago to get clean but they didn't. Now we'll see.

* * *

Archbishop Joseph Francis

George S. Schuyler — a Negro Editor of Pittsburgh Courier, Negro newspaper — of same date, — tells below how Reds and Race-Mixing Renegade-Whites recruited so many Negroes to their side — while we slept! :

★ The Ford-Financed Groups of Race-Mixers Know all about it!

AT A TIME when opportunities for Negroes in public service are greater than ever, it is unfortunate that so many individuals who are qualified and otherwise acceptable are security risks.

The extent of gullibility of colored "intellectuals" during the heyday of "joining" in the thirties and forties seems to have been even greater than among whites.

Just the other day a cynical Negro journalist observed that there are few whose records are not vulnerable.

Indeed, this is posing quite a problem to politicians desirous of wooing the Negro vote but anxious not to "cut a hog" by naming some Negro who might cause the party embarrassment.

I alluded to this penchant for joining Communist fronts and enterprises in my piece, "Negroes Reject Communism," in the American Mercury for June, 1939.

And since then I have dwelt upon it on several occasions, much to the annoyance of sable fellow-travelers, but to no avail.

* * *

IN THE PAST month three of our well-known leaders have been subjected to the usual security check prior to appointment for high positions. When questioned about each, I gave them a good bill of health and brushed off the fact that, according to my records, they were slightly tainted by the odor of the Kremlin.

My position was that they had probably been opportunistic, naive or ignorant (even though graduates of some of our finest universities and presumably intelligent and well-informed).

What was my surprise to learn that Uncle Sam had ten times more on them than I knew about.

They had either been cheek-by-jowl with the Workers Alliance, the National Negro Congress, Southern Negro Youth Congress, United Negro and Allied Veterans, Young Communist League, American Negro Labor Congress, Civil Rights Congress, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Lawyers Guild, Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, International Labor Defense or had sponsored and attended dinners for George Dimitrov or Ferdinand Smith.

* * *

They had consistently lent their names to what they must have known were leftist efforts. Too bad!

THE RED hens are now coming home to roost.

While most of these people are or were Democrats, a surprising number are listed as Republicans, so-called, like the three leaders mentioned above.

It must be making things tough for Val Washington and Max Rabb when culling the list of eligibles.

More ominously, the regular Democrat bosses, no longer burdened by the Americans for Democratic (demagogic!) Action and the rest of the New-Fair Deal collectivist fringe, are eyeing prospective Negro local and state appointees more closely.

One veteran fellow-traveler, a long inhabitant of the public trough, was recently painfully rebuffed for reappointment.

Such fellows are not kidding when they wax hysterical over the "climate of fear." They've got a right to sing the blues!

Well, I warned all these chaps to get clean. So now I can only say "I told you so."

Next Page Please

☆ But the Baltimore Negro Newspaper, "AFRO-AMERICAN", —and others it mentions in its Editorial shown below,— are impatient at the non-delivery of "Total-Equality"!

The Right To Happiness

The Supreme Court is being asked to review a case which could upset the laws in 28 states forbidding interracial marriages.

The case, originating in Virginia, involves a Chinese and his white wife. The wife was granted an annulment of their marriage on the grounds it violated state law.

The husband appealed, but the Virginia Supreme Court turned him down.

Marriage, it held, is not a constitutionally guaranteed right, but a "social and domestic" privilege which the state has the right to grant or withhold.

Four organizations—the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the Association on American Indian Affairs and the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers—are urging the nation's highest court to pass on this odd decision.

We hope it will.

If the 14th Amendment protects the right of an individual to attend public schools, to serve on juries and to buy and sell property without state-imposed segregation, it also protects his right to marry the person of his choice, without regard to race.

It is self evident that the right to marry is basic to the broader and inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is difficult for us to see how in light of its other opinions in this area, the Supreme Court could decide otherwise.

☆

Please pass this folder along to your pastor

RECEIVED MAR 7 1956

Woodbury Georgia.
March 7. 1956.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Atlanta, Ga.
Dear Dr. Mitchell

I read in yesterdays journal. "C of C Heads Asked to Aid Racial Peace" I am not only disturbed, but I believe about 90% of white people of South is disturbed as never before in our day, and cant understand why some of the leading Preachers continue to give aid and comfort to the NAACP. of New York & Chicago.

You know that most all Southern Governors and legislators is doing all they can to by-pass the political decision of Supreme Court, would we want to force our daughters to go sit beside a negr boy all day? just picture a thing like that. Isn't social segregation the basic law of peaceful society? Wouldn't intergration of public schools deny parents their freedom to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. (Eph. 6:4).

Isn't the law of nature a God given law? That gives us the right to choose our associates, at the same time reject those that dont suit our nature, I believe any man made law that conflicts with Gods law is wrong.

I dont believe mixted schools will work, nor mixted churches, shouldn't be encouraged.

Yours truly,
W. W. Bowden

Houston,Texas,Sept. 17, 1956

In re Negro Question -
Segregation vs. Desegregation

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
c/ Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta,Ga.

Sir:

You are all "wet" in a quotation in the A P from Washington that:"The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings". Too bad any findings, even if true, should not have been published, as further fomenting trouble in the South with negroes. But, I think you are wrong in saying segregation cannot work; it has worked for all these years up until recently, when probably the Communists started the big mess we are in,and which may head to bloodshed, as you know a lot of southerns are never going to submit to mixing with negroes; a he man had rather be dead than to live without benefits of state right, self preservation,etc. You see, the world existed, reliable scients say, two million years ahead of the written Bible or written law; self preservation and personal liberty existed from the beginning and it should not be surrendered now. God knew what He was doing when he made a negro, though many people do not believe so.

I write every one (even preachers, women,school boards, Appellate and supreme court judges,and have written the U S Sup.Court) that <u>any person</u> (and I can prove this easily) that advocates desegregation is lower down than a damned snake,skunk, rat or piss-ant, as none of those things associate with other breeds,and neither do fowls,birds and fishes,and so why should a man be lower down than they. It only means millions of mullatoes by the movement now,which was never intended. You will soon see the K K K raise up by say 20,000,000,which will be much stronger than our army,navy or air force; when the taxpayers have no rights, through the law failing (and it has failed through our packed U S Sup.Court,the judges of which don't seem to know what they are doing and don' care--neither does Ike care) then they are entitled to anything that may redress their wrongs;,and I will join them any day in doing it. This country isn't going to hell,it is already there. We don't have any men from our local precincts to our heads of departments in Wash., who have brains, red blood, nerves, back bone,etc., and who sit down to urinate. Am about 72 and never dreamed I'd live in such hell of a country.

Yours truly,

Robt. F. Farmer

Mgr Vigilant Voters
(#61162)

Sponsoring Dixie Rope & Gun Klan (61163) for "rats".

ROBERT F. FARMER
SHORTHAND REPORTER
4145 GLENBROOK COURT
HOUSTON 17, TEXAS
PHONES MI-6807 OR BL-5496

P S This is too hot for you to at empt to answer; the old devil cannot answer the truth (neither can our Income Tax Department). You may turn this ov-r to the F B I or any one; the F B I knows my viewpoint, thoroughly.

Crackpot file

Portland Maine
June 23rd 57

Of all the mean, miserable, hateful creatures on earth is one who turns against his own kind—
You say you are a Conformist how do you show it?
You were born and reared in the South but you are not one of them
I should say you are a "New Dealer". And too young to cast an intelligent Vote.
I am a Northerner, my sympathies are with the South. The North has not treated them justly.
Had Lincoln lived, he would have sent every Negro back to Africa where he belongs. The Negro has

had wonderful opportunities
but - yet he is not satisfied: he
wants to marry white women and
try to shed his skin -
Go back boy and stand by your
own kind - fight the unfair
propaganda that is trying to
vilify your land -
If you lose your white (I am
assuming you are white) skin
you can never get it back,
Black, never rubs off.
It is sickening to think our government
would permit our little children
to sit in the same schools,
our country for the past twenty years
has been shamefully handled -
We have broken Gods law. He intended
the African to be black and us to be
white, Help keep it that way -
Just a good old American Citizen

Columbus, Ga.
July 5th 1957

Harold C. Fleming:-
Director of the interracial Southern regional Council.

I never heard of you, until I read about you in paper a few days ago, and am sorry I ever heard of such a scalawag at all. you are a traitor and a disgrace to the South. Am sorry you were not left in Okinawa when you went over there. We certainly dont want you and your kind in the South. Now the head of this Koinonia Farm near Americus, both of you should be run out of the South, the sooner the better, we certainly dont want you. I dont suppose any of your folks if they are inclined as you are — dashed themselves to pieces in Civil war and were no followers of that greatest of all generals Robt. E. Lee. I am not going to sign my name, but I would be glad to tell you to your face what I say here, and more besides.

A segregationalist — "Ora & Sempre"

I knew about a negro, than it is now. I'm sorry for you to know

Crackpots

RECEIVED JUL 12 1957

Columbus Ga.
July 11th 1957

Harold C. Fleming:—

Retired Gen Mark W. Clark (retired) president of Citadel at Charleston S.C. comments on the negro soldier in quite different to yours. He doesn't think much of them. "The brass above" that you referred to who wouldn't give your "men" (niggers) a decent book knew what they were doing. They were given far better accommodation than they were accustomed. They knew too when they took the ammunition from them and gave to white soldiers it would be used to advantage. When I think of our Senators there in Washington fighting with their backs to the wall trying to uphold the sacred traditions of the South, and you and this other skunk Clarence Jordan Koinonia Farms stabbing them in the back. If everyone thought as I do you would not remain in Georgia until the sun went down. We dont need you.

XXXX

Crackpots

The Cox newspapers and a Community Chest committee have whitewashed the Atlanta Urban League of charges that it is saturated with NAACP notions and supports integration. But heaps uv Georgians still rate all branches uv the League in the same bracket with the so-called Southern Regional Council—an outfit that gets handouts from the Fund for the Republic. Recently the *AP's* Bem Price, who must be a super-duper "librel," called Council director Harold Fleming "an advocate of the moderate approach to the South's ancient racial problem"—and promptly got his hand called hard by Charleston's wideawake *News & Courier*. "Mr. Fleming and the Southern Regional Council," said the *N. & C.*, "are moderate only if one believes the NAACP is also moderate. The objectives of SRC and NAACP are the same—an end to separate public schools in the South."

Cited by the *N. & C.* was a revelation by a national American Legion publication that 25 former and present SRC directors were actively identified with the defunct and discredited "Southern Conference for Human Welfare," a communist-front outfit that touched off the race-mixin vendetta in the South. "This important information," the noted South Carolina paper pointed out, "was not in Bem Price's article."

One thing that multiplies our Southern problems is that we have so many fuzzy-brained nest-foulers in our own midst. They are a tiny minority, but they are bee-busy.

Columbus Ga.
July 15th 1957.

Har

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that you are a traitor to the white people of the good state of Georgia, the only state in the union, which has always upheld the Democrat party and its traditions. In your narration of the treatment of these negro soldiers, on transport, how keenly they felt the treatment accorded them when I am sure the environments of most of them, were they never knew what a sanitary toilet was. Their treatment regardless of what it was was better than what they were accustomed. Talk about loyalty if things were reversed, and the negro was in the drivers seat, they would not stop short of slavery for white. You know nothing about a negro. I do and you can never make a convert out of me. "The Brass" knew what they were doing when they took the ammunition from them and gave to white soldiers. XXX

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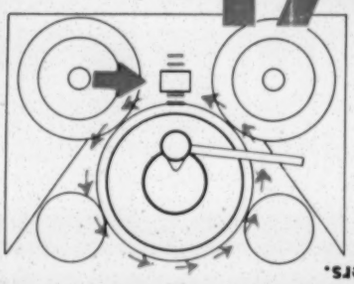

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tampers on the underside of the fo
do this job.

Crackpots

Columbus Ga.
July 15th 1957.

Harold Fleming:

you are not worth the time it takes to write this letter, but I have such a contempt for a white man born and raised in Georgia, doing the dirty work you are doing. I have more respect for the negro you so dearly love that you are a traitor to the white people of the good State of Georgia, the only state in the union, which has always upheld the Democrat party and its traditions. In your narration of the treatment of these negro soldiers, on transport, how keenly they felt the treatment accorded them when I am sure the environments of most of them, were they never knew what a sanitary toilet was. Their treatment regardless of what it was was better than what they were accustomed. Talk about loyalty if things were reversed, and the negro was in the drivers seat, they would not stop short of slavery for white. you know nothing about a negro. I do and you can never make a convert out of me. "The Brass" knew what they were doing when they took the ammunition from them and gave to white soldiers. XXX

Crackpots

RECEIVED SEP 12 1957

Why don't you party leaders do something to help these poor mexican comrads?

~~BIRMINGHAM NEWS~~

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Texas School And The Races

9-6-57

In perusing tonight's paper, I find the following statement:

"The wide stretches of Texas offer a contrast. Eastward, the big cities of Houston, Fort Worth and Dallas continue to maintain segregated schools; in the West and South, schools are fully or partly integrated. In San Antonio, integration began three years ago."

This, and similarly worded statements, would lead one to assume that integration had made great headway in at least half of the state of Texas. Actually, nothing could be further from the truth.

The racial problem in South and West Texas is not, and never has been, a Negro minority. Negroes in much of the area are notable only by their absence. Many school districts have supported three schools: White, Mexican and Negro—with only a handful of pupils in the Negro school. For instance, when the schools in the little South Texas town where my parents live were integrated recently, there were only three Negro pupils involved.

On the other hand, the vastly overwhelming minority (and, in some places, majority) group is Latin American. San Antonio, my home town, maintains a Mexican high school, Sidney Lanier. While a few Mexicans are scattered among the other schools, they remain, for the most part, a group unto themselves as far as the rest of the student body is concerned. In smaller towns, the racial line is even more sharply drawn. Mexicans attend their own schools, do not mix socially with "whites," seldom intermarry (the whites who cross the line are socially defunct), and are not permitted in "nice" hotels, motels, cafes, etc. (Sound familiar?)

In short, Texas is no different from the rest of the South. In North, East and Central Texas, where there is a heavy concentration of Negroes, the feeling is precisely the same as it is right here in Alabama.

In the rest of the state there aren't enough Negroes to matter one way or the other. That is what is so ludicrous about the proponents of integration using Texas as an example of progress toward achieving their ends.

Incidentally, mention integration to the people of Southwestern Texas on the only basis on which it could possibly be applied to them—integration with the Mexicans—and there wouldn't be another Civil War, but another Texas Revolution.

MRS. D. F. JOHNSON, JR.,
P. O. Box 286, Auburn, Ala.

Elizabethtown, North Carolina
Nov. 18, 1957

New South
Atlanta Ga.

To The Editor/

Dear Sir:

You are here-by requested to remove the name of Mrs. W.H. Stanley, Elizabethtown, North Carolina from your mailing list.

We do not know how the above name came to be in your file, but we are not interested in any publication you publish or will publish in the future. Any future mail received from you will be refused.

Yours truly,
W.H. Stanley
W.H. Stanley

Done — 11/20/57

231 St. Paul Place
Baltimore 2, Maryland

The Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission
Archives Building, Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The 17th of May, 1959 marks the Fifth Year since the so-called Segregation Decision by the Supreme Court, and one of the Press Associations says that "Segregationists" labeled that day 'Black Monday'. Others call it the 'Second Emancipation', and thus this integration movement is associated with Lincoln, and implies that Lincoln would be for this integration program, which I dispute. The Emancipation Proclamation itself was not general, but covered only the actual war area, a war measure only.

Lincoln worked on three hypotheses, namely: (1) In Holy Writ it is said that a House Divided against itself cannot stand, and (2) he said that the country could not exist half slave and half free, that it would have to be all one or the other, and (3) he was, himself, working on the last item when he was in the White House, namely, that the country could not live in peace half Black and half White, and therefore, he was hoping to arrange for either a repatriation or a colonization in Central or the edge of South America. As to the third item, see the Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Vol. I, page 150 et seq: Summer 1862, I quote a couple of items therefrom to support my statement:

(1) "The President was earnest in the matter of wishing to send the negroes out of the country." Lincoln did not wish to leave us this legacy of trouble. Defense of Race and hatred are not synonymous.

(2) "Thought it essential to provide asylum for a race which we emancipated but which could never be recognized or admitted to be our equals."

The Great Emancipator had previously made the following declarations in a Speech at Ottawa, Illinois, in the Douglas-Lincoln Debates, on August 21, 1858: "I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality."

When a Delegation of Negro Preachers, et al, called upon him on August 14, 1862, he, inter alia, stated that: "You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, I think. Your race suffers very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated."

In a speech at Springfield, on December 12, 1857, re amalgamation, he said that: "A separation of the races is the only perfect prevention of amalgamation, but as an immediate separation is impossible, then the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together."

Prof. Allan Nevins, Professor of American History at Columbia University and author, tells us in the U. S. News and World Rep., Nov. 14, 1958, page 72, that amalgamation will be the result, as things are now going: "As a historian, I do not for a moment believe that, in our mighty American river of many nationalities, two currents can flow side by side down the centuries without ultimately becoming one", and he says that "any sociologist could cite a dozen reasons why it is inevitable", and that he "could cite a dozen analogies from history to prove that such a process is inexorable, irresistable."

Thomas Jefferson says, "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free, nor is it less certain that these two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government."

Many quotations sustaining the above expressions could be supplied, and I do not like to see Lincoln and Jefferson misunderstood and libeled as they have been down through the years, and are now at least inferentially libeled, and such people become Judas Goats by associating them with the current integration movement.

Yours sincerely,
Geo. Washington Williams

BALTIMORE, MD.
APR 5
6-PM
1960

Harold C Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Ga.

G W Williams
231 St Paul Place
~~Balto~~ (?) Md.
Balto.

crackpot

Washington DC.
5-26-60

Dear Mr Harold Fleming —
Your comments on the negro following of the Asian Ghandi — that "Fakir in Diapers" as Winston Churchill called him! this cowardly behavior on the part of negro students who a decade or so ago were picking cotton — now — at white man's expense — attending college!! Gratitude? they know not the word — Americans

Washington D.C.
6-12-60
Southern Regional Council
negro

We agree American colleges have made very little impression on the negro sit down! they now are believers of the Asian Ghandi — known for his cowardly technique of just folding his arms and sitting it out — never had the courage of a white man to stand up and see it out decently —

freed the African slaves, civilized [?] educated (?) them and as a final made them American citizens — not Americans — so they now turn against U.S. via the NAACP — that Trojan Horse in our midst — Urban League — Jewish Congress now we have the cowardly "Sit-Down" item: (and some Americans are with the Negros vs U.S.)

So these college negros — with no show of American self respect or racial pride just "Sit-Down" on White man's premises and "quietly" demand to dine with people who prefer their own race & people; Why do negros feel so inferior when among their own race? No other race on earth ever feels so — Could it be they feel inferior because they are so? And does sitting next to White charge them

ALIAS
MARGARET LUNG

WEATHER

Mostly fair and mild in north Georgia Monday through Tuesday. Partly cloudy and warm south Georgia, with widely scattered late afternoon thundershowers Monday in extreme south portions. National summary on Page 33.

Vol. LXXIX, No. 117 Tel. JA. 2-5050

United Press International Photo

AXIS SALLY—Alderson, W.Va., July 10—Mildred E. Gillars, better known to World War II GI's as Axis Sally, prepares to depart Monday from Alderson federal penitentiary for women, where she served a 12-year term for treason. Her wartime radio broadcasts were notorious.

9/19/60

File - Crackpots
H.

BASIL MADDY
2812 EAST 23RD STREET
OAKLAND 1, CALIFORNIA

September 15th, 1960

Dear Hon. Harold C. Fleming:-

your letter to the Progressive indicates that you are an intellectualist who would have knowledge precede action.

Events, lately, have made this leaflet more urgent than in 1958.

Americans must surely want to escape the coils of the boa-constrictor Church.

America's World Policy has been run all too much by Jesuit conspirators fathered by Georgetown University.

Yours Sincerely
Basil Maddy

CONTROL OF THE NEWS IN 1958 AMERICA

By BASIL MADDY

"To be sane in a world of lunatics is itself a sort of madness."—Jean Jacques Rousseau and St. Pierre.

The control of the news in America today is something terrific. It is criminal, lecherous, treacherous, and traitorous.

On July 3, 1955, "A witch was burned in a little Mexican town 85 miles from Alpine, Texas." Blanche Lee Puccinelli comments: "Take particular notice that the unfortunate woman had NO Civil Law Trial. She was accused, tried, and convicted — condemned to death at the stake by the local paranoic priest."

Did the leading papers and radio-spielers (owned and controlled by conspirators against Truth and Social Progress) tell you about this event, or play it up like they did Cardinals Mindzenty, Stepniac or Tiso (to whitewash them of Nazi War Crimes committed when they thought Hitler had won the war)?

No, indeed!

For the same reason you did not find the press and radio playing up the murder of the Rev. Norman Dobbs, a Canadian missionary in a mountain village in Brazil by natives who had been aroused to such activity by Roman priests.

For the same reason, you did not see played up similar crimes against Protestants in Colombia, Ecuador, and Yucatan.

For the same reason Franco's labelling Protestants "Reds" and having them shot was kept out of the news when the American thing to do was to help the Loyalists against Franco.

Fifteen years later the censors prevented Sidney Howard from using the word Fascism in the movie, "It Can't Happen Here." Also, a Radio reporter in San Francisco was not allowed to read to his audience a letter from a Spanish prison.

The skimpy Press and Radio reports lately (mid-1958) about Arturovic's being threatened with deportation to Yugo Slavia to answer for his mass murders in CROATIA have been very careful not to mention the real nature of those crimes because they were committed trying to convert the Greek Orthodox Christians to Roman Catholicism under the Hitler occupation. Arturovic entered the United States on a faked Irish passport several years ago. His case makes clear the influence of the Catholic lobby in Washington, D.C. For further information write to Yugo-Slav Embassy.

The boa-constrictor Church of Rome and monopoly Capital of America are working together to stop Social Progress. They are like the Holy Alliance of Monarchists and Church conspirators in the 1820's (who were trying to stop "the Godless Free Masons and LEVELLERS" of America and France from spreading Democracy). Their aim is to stop the "Godless Reds" from bringing the benefits of Social Progress to the peoples of the world. Actually, their purpose is to make themselves eternal on earth. They have succeeded in surrounding the American people with an Iron Curtain of Lies.

This leaflet is an attempt to blast some holes through that Iron Curtain of Lies.

Perhaps, the top ranking crime of Wall Street is its control of the news and means of mass communication through the purchasing power (or starvation menace) used to make tens of thousands of would-be writers and spielers become literary prostitutes. They abnegate their own intelligence and morality just to get to write in large publications or to yell over the broadcasting stations whatever is asked of them by our new feudal masters.

Just before that war criminal, Chiang-kai-Shek, was thrown out of China (with a few hundred millions of American dollars stashed away in American banks, which he had stolen) reporters were sent to China and Russia to see and report the progress being made. When they came back, writing the facts as they had gathered them, the PRESS OWNERS threw their articles into the waste basket and said IN EFFECT: "We do not want this damned Commie stuff. You must write lies against Russia and China or lose your jobs." Most of those manly reporters sat down and wrote what their masters demanded. They have been

hammering their lies into people's brains every minute for many years; and because such lies are against peace and against the true Americanism of Jefferson and Lincoln, they should be tried as War Criminals and Traitors to the foundation and purpose of America.

Often, the OWNERS of the means of mass communication are shady people who went into that business to get power by conspiracy against human intelligence by the falsification of knowledge.

There is a reason why so many in New Orleans thought selections from the American Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence were Communist propaganda. Specifically, there were 111 out of 112 in a quiz at Madison, Wisconsin.

Lately, Senator Hennings' report from Washington, D.C., made note of the vast number of people who have the authority to classify documents as secret; "and as the result of this blanket issuance of 'top secret' stamps, there are enough classified documents and records to fill a file drawer over five hundred miles long."

Compare that statement with the following of Thomas Jefferson and you will see what I mean: "It is error alone which needs the support of government (p. 675, Padover's Complete Jefferson).

As samples of treachery and treason here are six:

(1)—In 1952, Harry S. Truman "suppressed publication of a Federal Trade Commission Report on a giant international oil cartel because he thought it might adversely affect foreign relations." What all other peoples knew, Americans (inflated by TV, Radio and the prostitute writings of the monopoly press) must NOT be allowed to learn. They have needed that knowledge badly to appraise the "brink of war" measures of Dulles, Nixon and Ike ever since.

(2)—The conspiracy of Dr. Edward Teller (the Hungarian), Admiral Lewis Strauss, and John Foster Dulles to flimflam the public about how far away an atomic blast can be detected. A cipher was dropped off the 2300 miles distance in which a small atomic explosion WAS DETECTED on the morning of September 19, 1957, so that it would read 230 miles instead of the 2300 miles. The purpose of that swindle was to prove that Russia could sneak atomic blasts; and must not be trusted in an agreement; and that we must not stop testing hydrogen bombs.

(3)—In the news from Washington the last week of June, 1958 (about the investigation of Goldfine's gifts to promote influence) mention was made many times of "a House Rule requiring advanced determination in a closed session whether anyone is likely to be defamed or degraded by a witness before allowing him to take the stand." That certainly means to try the witness SECRETLY to prevent him from telling the truth PUBLICLY.

Since Washington, D.C., has become a psychological suburb of Georgetown University, the control of NEWS has brought many people to the point where it makes them angry to hear the words of Thomas Jefferson, as above. In too many places it has become a stigma to be known as "standing for Human Rights."

(4)—In 1954, the Rev. C. P. Bradley wrote, in United People, "Yes, fellas, they know quite well who started the war in Korea. Every leading statesman in the world knows that Uncle Sam and Syngman Rhee started the War."

For years, thousands of intellectual prostitutes have yelled their lies every minute on the Radio, in the pulpit, and in the un-free Press of America, about who started the War. But in time, the people saw that members of the China Lobby could not have cleaned up thirty million dollars on the soy bean market if they had not had the inside information that Syngman Rhee and his Wall Street sponsors were to start the Korean War. After the War, Ben C. Limb, Syngman Rhee's Ambassador, in a public speech, asked, "Why did the U.S.A. and South Korea start the War if they were not going to unify Korea?"

(5)—The way people who have been in China are taken in hand and brainwashed by Security Police "before they are allowed to see their relatives and certainly before they meet the press. If they produce some tale of 'atrocity' they get the green light to fame and fortune. Otherwise, they land in mental hospitals, or get investigated by a Congressional Committee." (Words of Anna Louise Strong).

(6)—Swindling, l y i n g advertising (paid for out of your dollars) put in public places to propagandise for Wall Street's rule. Here are two samples

which I saw yesterday in a Key System bus of Hoaxland, Moronia:

"YOUR SHIELD OF FREEDOM — NATO." When NATO was hatched, General Wainwright (hero of Bataan) remarked, "The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a straight invitatoin to another war." Everything since connected with the NATO has proven the truth of General Wainwright's prediction.

The other lying advertisement showed the picture of a man behind a barb-wire enclosure with the words, "HE KNOWS FREEDOM—DO YOU?" "SEND YOUR TRUTH DOLLARS TO CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM." (Why do they not show the picture of a negro or a poor white boy being beaten to death in an All-American turpentine camp in Dixie?)

Take note: The criminal control of the news is OLDER than the Cold War, World War II, or even World War I. These wars were brought about by the control of the news as explained in 1947 by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, thus:

"The right of free expression has lost its earlier reality . . . The owners and managers of the press determine which persons, which facts, which versions of the facts, and which ideas shall reach the public." (p. 16)

Nobody got into prison for publishing and promoting the lies and slanted news, in support of the Wall Street investments in the Allied cause, to get us into World War I, but long inhuman sentences were given to small fry for telling the truth."

When Woodrow Wilson sent General Graves' army into Siberia, a little 17-year old Russian girl (who weighed less than a hundred pounds) was given a fifteen year sentence for giving out a few protest leaflets. Her name was Mary Stimer.

Tom Watson of Georgia, a Senator in Congress, wrote a pamphlet exposing Woodrow Wilson. Dave Blodgett, a boy of twenty, was given twenty years in Leavenworth for distributing a few copies of Senator Watson's pamphlet in Iowa. Blodgett was tried before a Catholic judge.

Of course the imprisonment of Eugene Debs is the classical example of how the 21,000 new millionaires (made by World War I) tried to keep themselves from being exposed.

As W. Lloyd Clark, a pamphleteer, remarked: "A white slaver in America gets one year; and a little girl of brains and ability who is working for a principle vital to the preservation of civil and religious liberty, gets fifteen years."

The big moneyed traitors to America (Herbert Clark Hoover leading) were bent on sending Allied and American troops into Russia in 1919 to restore the Romanoffs and the parasitic class which had just been overthrown. HERE IS THE TAP-ROOT of the Hate-Russia swindle which has been augmented and compounded by the controlled news until now, forty years later, we keep thirty-five hydrogen bombs in the air at all times (as of early 1958) making us as much the aggressors as Nuremberg war-criminals.

The Hoover - Churchill gang were thwarted in 1919, as follows: The British troops mutinied in Archangel; the French fleet mutinied in the Black Sea; and rumors were abroad that American forces in Siberia were mutinying. Whereupon they did as bad a war-crime as within them lay by diverting American Red Cross food supplies from starving people over to the White Russian Romanoff Armies, causing millions to die of famine.

Meanwhile, and ever since, the criminal press has kept its sheets headlined about "Bolshevik Atrocities," when, in fact, it was the White Russian Romanoff armies which were committing those crimes and not the Bolsheviks. General Graves' book, AMERICA'S SIBERIAN ADVENTURE, says so, and more, thus: "Semeonoff and Kalmikoff soldiers were roaming the country like wild animals, killing and robbing the people."

"There were horrible murders committed, but they were NOT committed by the Bolsheviks as the world believes. I am well on the side of safety when I say that the ANTI-BOLSHEVIKS killed one hundred people in Eastern Siberia to every one killed by the Bolsheviks."

Just as the White Russians (Romanoffs) were traitors to the Russian people so were their American promoters traitors to the American people. General Graves' book adequately proves this in several places.

The American traitor press published both the Romanoff and Japanese lies about General Graves, but would not print General Graves' side.

The control of the news in America by

conspirators was of menacing proportions by the time of World War I. It was greatly reinforced in the field of education by the Power Trust, prostituting professors and re-writing text books during the criminal administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. For further information see the Confessions of the Power Trust (Investigations of Congressional Committee, 1927). Also, see Carl D. Thompson's THE CONFESSIONS OF THE POWER TRUST.

How to teach the historical facts of Social Progress without being put to death by the Tory-Traitors in power is THE problem FACING professors. If a teacher cannot teach both sides of a controversial issue and have the pupils read and investigate biography, history, travel and the social sciences, he is not therefore free to teach the truth; but is free only to teach the pay-triotic lies which the Wall Street Imperialists and Catholic Actionists want him to teach. To attempt to teach the truths upon which this nation was founded is a guarantee of starvation or worse for a teacher.

The case of the Oil Interests controlling the public schools of Texas was illustrated when a textbook was forbidden because it pointed to public schools, highways, postoffices, social security, and welfare as proof that America has SOME Communism even now.

Wall Street in bed with "The Harlot on the Seven Hills" has produced an awful bastard progeny. There are many in your neighborhood, Mr. Reader. They put up a howl about America's spending something for education; but you will never hear them howling about her spending several times as much for booze and cigarettes, and twenty times as much to blackmail the world with the Hydrogen Bomb.

One hopeful turn of events in 1958 is that some capitalists are fighting the still larger ones. I have in hand a sort of round table letter, or circular, which the Zenith Radio Corporation of Chicago sent to some newspaper publishers. It says: "There are about 1800 daily newspapers, about 7000 weeklies, and many magazines of national circulation . . . " "But now the TV networks, supported entirely by advertisers, have developed a dangerously powerful position" (are displacing the newspapers). "Unfortunately, this vast power is wholly concentrated in the hands of two or three men heading the networks in New York . . . The net result is that two men controlling NBC and CBS have absolute power over what can be seen and heard in tens of millions of homes because of the absolute power of coercion wielded by CBS and NBC."

"One of the two men decided to use this power to kill off the limited test of subscription TV that had been authorized by the Federal Communications Commission . . . within a few days the members of Congress were flooded with hundreds of thousands of letters opposing subscription TV . . . They started the campaign of January 13th with a tremendous banquet for members of Congress and other important people, and seated affiliate executives beside Congressmen to lobby against subscription TV. Then, they sent affiliates home with instructions to go on the air with their TV stations and conduct concentrated propaganda campaigns." . . . "It took a decision by just one man to flood Congress with mail on one side of a controversial subject."

The way these new despots and thought-censors spat upon the Bill of Rights and destroyed eighteen writers, press agents, stage managers, musicians, conductors and song writers FOR STANDING ON THEIR AMERICAN RIGHTS before the House Un-American Committee in New York this June, 1958, proves them to be new Gods (beyond human understanding) bent upon establishing their Kingdom of EVIL upon earth.

Our boys are in Formosa now to start World War III with both sides equipped with Atomic weapons, because "The Eisenhower Doctrine" is treason to the foundation and purpose of America. It says: "All you old parasitic classes, criminal rulers, tyrants, and George-the-Thirds in the world of 1958, be of good cheer, for Ike Eisehower proposes to use Atomic weapons to destroy those impoverished peoples who would subvert your regimes."

★

For further details write to

BASIL MADDY

2812 East 23rd Street

OAKLAND 1, CALIFORNIA

Reprints, articles from:
American Mercury, P.O. Box 1086.
Wichita, Kansas

Citizens
Stop the Free Delivery of Communist Propaganda - Nov. 1961
Since the Kennedy Administration order of March 17, Communist propaganda is rapidly flooding this country

Mental Health and W.H.O. - March 1960
As promoted by the UN - Chisholm crowd, denies God, ridicules the Bible and its teachings, advocates promiscuous sexual behavior and perversion, ~~as the national concept~~ and loyalty. This program is anti-Christian

The Fight For Your Child's Mind - Nov. 1957

Red Hare in The Columbia Blue - April 1958

UNESCO - communist trap for our Youth - July 1958

The Conspiracy Against America - May 1960

Expel the Outlaw, Russia - July 1955

Americans, Speak Out! - Jan 1960

Check pts

Report L-29
December 4, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(In Report L-8 of this series, issued August 10, 1959, there was reproduced a statement on the subject of race and intelligence, prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists. The Southern Regional Council believes that the statement now reproduced below ought to be made available to a wide audience. The statement includes a resolution passed at the recent annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania during the week of November 13, 1961.)

Dear Miss Gai Lorem: Your Propaganda Not Needed or Wanted Here

Association re-affirms its position on race.

At the meeting of the Council of the Association, which included nearly all of the professional Fellows of the Association in attendance at the meeting, the following resolution was adopted unanimously by a vote of 192 to 0:

> "The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

The statement was interpreted by those present as a strong reaffirmation of positions which have been taken on the subject of race differences by qualified scientific societies for many years. In introducing the resolution to the Council, President Gordon R. Willey of Harvard University (Boston papers) stated that "the concern which I wish to lay before you is I think a grave one--one worthy of careful thought and strategic action. It arises from recent press statements

and certain publications on race and racial differences as a basis for social and political action. Many of you have seen such statements. Some of you have called these to our attention. The Board deliberated on this matter which concerns use of the name 'anthropology' and 'anthropological science' in a way we believe to be false and misrepresentative of our profession by persons who are not recognized by the American Anthropological Association as professional anthropologists." The statement on the racial issue concluded with this warning by Dr. Willey: "Clearly we do not consider this statement as the only thing we as anthropologists can and should do in this matter, but we look upon it as a basic statement of position and a resource which our officers and all of us may draw upon in the future. For be assured that the several items in the press and elsewhere which have come to your attention...are but the beginning. We must be prepared to persevere in what we believe to be the truth."

Regional Council Flock: PG 8/30/61

World Communism is the integration through propaganda and force of all peoples and all governments of all the earth --into mass man under Godless and absolute one-worldism.

Integration of the races in America through propaganda and force is a clear demonstration of Communist take-over through internal subversion.

You have won another battle, but we have just begun to fight.

Anti-Communist

File - Crackpot

TA

Anita de Lemos
311 EAST 50TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
EL 5-6862

air Mail
Sept. 23. 1961

Leslie W. Dumbas
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dumbas,

we have heard a lot about you, and the very fine work you are doing. Therfor I write to you, awfully impressed about your activities, with the hope, that you will be of assistance to us.

We are during a short time the distributor of a natianally wide advertised product. Sales are terrific all over the country, with the help of TV shows. We would like to open up new territory, and need man, who want to make money in a big way. We have a product, what is used by man, women and children and has proven in the short time that it is on the market a great financial potential who are handling it. If you could get us acquainted with agressive executive type men or women, capable of building and training a large salesforce, we are greatly indebted to you.

An investment for the first merchandise has to be made, but we would help an excellent person with all details of starting this business at once. Investment would be for the first stock only, so that sales can be made. High commission are calculated. And it could be started on a part or full time basis.

I thank you very much for your kind attention, and when I shall come in the near future in to Georgia, it will be my pleasure meeting you personally.

Sincerely yours,

Anita de Lemos

Anita de Lemos

10/12/61

Creep Stumblebum Maggie
and Fellow-Travelers

Dear Buzzards:

Congratulations on the failure of your block-busting efforts in Cascade Heights, and all future failures to destroy the man in mankind.

An American & Enemy

This is a republic,
not a democracy --
Let's keep it that way!

ATLANTA
OCT 12
5 PM
1961

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

100

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
(The International Communist Conspiracy)
Southern Regional Cell
Room 201
5 Forsyth St. Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Washington DC
11-13-62

Mr. L. V. Dunbar —
Dear Sir —
You are 100% correct about the terrific turmoil caused by the efforts of the WXPCI and greedy politicians to foist negroes on Americans. — There will always be — in the North, South East & West White people of courage who prefer their own race — and manly enough to speak out for their own race
— thinking Americans

THE LIBRARY
George Peabody College for Teachers
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

December 23, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Yesterday's mail brought the letter from Mr. Shapiro of the Anti-Defamation League, and a copy of it, I believe, was sent to you. I am very pleased that you turned this information over to Mr. Shapiro's organization, and it is good to have their reply in our files. As I have indicated in my letter to Mr. Shapiro, it is difficult for me to believe that anyone could express such intense dislike for their fellow man.

I am convinced that the Southern Regional Council serves a most useful purpose, and it is the reason that I so willingly pay my membership dues each year.

Sincerely yours,

J. Isaac Copeland

J. Isaac Copeland
Librarian and Associate
Professor of History

JIC:asd

enclosure

THE LIBRARY
George Peabody College for Teachers
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

December 23, 1961

Mr. Richard M. Shapiro, Associate Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

Let me thank you for your letter of December 18. It is good to have information in hand on such people as Lambert and Patricia Schuyler, though it is still hard for me to believe that such persons actually exist.

In passing let me say how greatly I am impressed by the work of your organization and its constant and successful efforts to stay informed about the extremists element in our country. In so doing you are rendering a real service to all of us. Please be assured that whenever samples of "hate literature" cross my desk you will be immediately informed.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

JIC

J. Isaac Copeland
Librarian and Associate
Professor of History

JIC:asd

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

COPY

Crackpots

November 22, 1961

Mr. J. Isaac Copeland
Librarian and Associate
Professor of History
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Copeland:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for the "hate" literature which you sent us.

It is of interest and of value for us to have this kind of material and to know to whom it is being sent. We will share this information with other agencies who should have it.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mm
(Signed in the absence of PA)

cc: ADL - Mr. Shapiro

THE LIBRARY
George Peabody College for Teachers
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

November 15, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In yesterday's mail I received a copy of the enclosed literature mailed to me from The Truth Seeker Company, Inc. Such literature disgusts me. I have no idea how my name was included on their mailing list, but in any event, I am passing their literature on to you for your information and advice. Perhaps you have already seen it and perhaps you know something about The Truth Seekers, but this is my first encounter with the organization. As a member of the Southern Regional Council, I should like to know what course of action I should follow when receiving such hate literature. The South does not need this type of literature, and I have little time for those in our nation who seek to put one group, or race, against another.

Sincerely yours,

J. Isaac Copeland

J. Isaac Copeland
Librarian and Associate
Professor of History

JIC:asd

enclosure

Route 2 Box 17
Inman, S.C.
12-27-62

To Southern Regional Council:
The New organization which have
definate decide to Coordinate it work
with your Council and we will be
a part of the Southern Regional Council
my six point program
1 Coordination, (2) Fact-Finding, (3) Joint
Action, (4) Common, Service, (5) mutual
understanding, Quality of Service, discipline

Qualification:
I have asked for leadership Training
Courses on the job training, Correspondent
Courses, please see how much
material you have on hand and send
us some and we will pay you
for it on installment plan. I will
like to get my office started by the
last of January 1963, Thanks

PA

Route 2 Box 17
Inman, S.C.
2-10-63

Dear Sir:

Recently, I wrote to the Southern Regional Council about the establishment of an Public Relation Commission, as manager of the organization, I was able to talk to someone that have great experience on this type of work and what it mean to the State of South Carolina,

I The Public Relation Commission is made up of a Committee or Committees that are kind and understatement, helpful and considerate group, Render aid, assistance; understanding and patience, willingness to to help and comfort great value, in the hour of need, kindness and consideration.

II The Public Relation Commission The Public Relation Committee, will take interviews, discussion, action of every citizens and members who are involved in the community problems that come up for consideration

Since there are the high class citizens middle class, and the poor, we will

have to carry the program so that all three Classes will be of value, for every meeting will be one of the best one.

The first step of my program is to organize on facts not how we feel that why I said Fact-Finding, 2 Coordination 3 Joint Action, (4) Common Service, (5) Understanding and I am sure that we want go wrong.

The Public Relation Committee said that they think it is time for us to negotiate for we have been on this thing for a year or so and nothing have been done. and we must go to work at once or closed down, we must have understanding with the Southern Regional Council if our headquarter will be with them, we must know if they will give us direct information, cooperation to build a better community, State,

I think the public Relation today is an outstanding example. we must be responsible for our financial control we must progress, we must have a Government Agency to work with us in order to restore true democracy upon the founder of this Country

The reason why the Committee are pleading so hard is that we don't want another decade we have been through three (3) and we don't want another one. And with the Co-operation of your Committee this problem will be solved.

Ton one Question ask was will the Southern Regional Council help us in building a better Community? Protection, support, material, Answered questions for us on Community problems, that we need help on? Visit some of our meetings in person,? Send speakers to our meetings for example we will like to open the public Relation to the public the first monday in March will you send us some one on that ~~night~~ Night? will the support be in helping us to get the agency at once, opportunities for the Negroes, All of this is to be done without hate or Violation of the law.

will you give us lectures on how to conduct Classes, I Public Relations leadership Training? Correspondent Course Courses that is most help ful to the negroes, It was voted that these Classes be held three night per week for 16 weeks and they will be sent to you for promotion, failure, progress, Qualification for better jobs, leadership: if courses have to be taken over they will have to pay extra to do so, for every 16 weeks we have to have new ones to take courses.

These Courses will be given with experience leaders, we have three ladies that have finished College and is wanting a job in this services.

Thanks

Sincerely yours
Jonathan Mabry

Crack pot file

PA

Route 2 Box 17
Inman, S.C.
3-18-63

"Human Relation Commission;"
At the Annual meeting of the Public Relation Committee March 10, 1963 it was Changed to the "National Human Relation Commission
The manager and Committee investigated and told of the service it could render
" We find that more and more people are finding out about what the Commission can do and what an asset it is up to the people in the community district
Important part of the services to these local communities by the Commission, the main purpose and objectives is to promote the growth and development of human spirit to help educate adults, youth and young people to bring about the realization of the responsibility
The National Human Relation Commission aimed at showing economically underdevelopment

how to help themselves. The National Human Relation will deal with how persons living in underdeveloped areas can improved themselves economically and socially."

A man or women must meet the requirements for qualification when acquired the education necessary to hold a continuing certificate job. The local boards or private employers may require additional education in order to meet minimum requirements for qualification

The National Human Relation Commission will give course of study that will lead to qualify in new trade, change of duties with the same employer. The establishment relationship between education and present duties. This Class will be held on Monday and Friday for 16 weeks until every person have completed then it will start over again.

A course designed to better cope with the changing problems facing the local level. Promotional problems involved in the Community

State Nation.

Cause cover an analysis and study of the Community district forms for survey planning, financing

The National Human Relation Commission will have Democrats and Republican Candidates to speak to them two times per year within it is election year or not to represent their views on National issues and tradition

To carry out this program we must have the support of the Southern Regional Council and all expenses will be sent to you on installment plans rather than paying cash with each order we must have books for these courses, materials, as we understand that our services with the Council will be around $3,500 per year expenses 100.00 traveling from there to so. And it will cost $1,500 for local office materials for our local Headquarter total expenses $5,100.00, That is what we were told but by now it may be a little more, but you see and understand my request now.

I will like to start these

Classes by June 10, 1963 and
in order to do so we must have
books, and material on the Courses
that I mention
effective date for full action
and business of the National
Human Relation Commission April
20, 1963, we must have your
approval and support, or we will
be delay for 12 more months
Thank Very much

Jonathan Maloy
Development manager and Supervisory

Crackpots

Atlanta, Georgia
December 2, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
Dear Sir:

If this is a "FREE" country, WHY should persons who have invested their own money, be FORCED to hire, serve, etc., ANY individual they do not want? Concerns that want to do that, have the right, there is no objection, but others who do not, should not be MADE to do so.

Another thing, fifty years ago, the majority of the people in the south had practically nothing, and very few had any education. That includes whites as well as negroes. The whites have worked and built up what they have. Now it seems, with no work or experience, the negroes want to come in and "take over".

They now have members with educations and money. If they want fine hotels, restaurants, etc., let them build and operate them and hire and serve whom they please.

You are trying to take away one group's rights and give to another.

Yourstruly,
O.B. Greene

Washington D.C.
12/30/63

Southern Regional Council
Sirs —

It seems
passing strange to read
of the continual Guerrilla
War being waged by the
negro preacher, one
M. L. King against
Americans — especially those
Americans in the South, who,
(most natural) prefer their
own peace = Also the
so called "Non-Violent"
technique is an Asian
item — cowardly —
used by no white people in all history

. . . .

Americans freed the
African slaves at
great cost in Blood
and material — more
in defeat in patitude
in all History — they
wage a Back-stabbing
War on White people!
Never, in all History
has one race sought
to foist itself on the
Host race — even
NAZI-CURE Etc —

Thinking Americans

"Cr" Crackpot file

P. O. Box 6505
Station G
Atlanta, Georgia

April 20, 1965.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
1529 Berkely Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am a Negro physician and surgeon and I hope to move my office from New York City to Atlanta during the early spring of this year.

A friend of mine called my attention to your article in the April 12, 1965, Atlanta Constitution. I feel that it will be to my personal interest to locate in a nice, all white neighborhood. For that reason I shall thank you to advise me of the possibility of buying a nice house near you. Do you know of such property for sale?

I shall thank you for your personal cooperation.

Very respectfully,

J B Steinbeck

J. B. Steinbeck, M. D.

JBS/hgj

File Crackpots

St. Petersburg, Florida,
June 6, 1966

Rec'd 6/8/66

Sam Adams,
Southern Reg. Council,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Nigger:

I see where Hampton Jr. College got real hard up for a commencement speaker.

They must have been desperate.

Yours very truly,
Mrs. Fred Abeln
Mrs. C. Tomlinson

The Clarion

Covering the

CROSS-ROADS

with JAN

Jimmy Ward

3-20-68

Three seamen from the Jackson area aboard the USS Carrier Iwo Jima off the coast of Vietnam are members of a special alert team created recently aboard the giant vessel. According to the ship's publication, the men were chosen of the best qualified personnel "whose past performance has demonstrated maturity, dependability, resourcefulness and the all-American patriotism that mixes well to form the Iwo Jima sailor." The men are Seaman Charles W. Gibson, Seaman Walter Cox, both of Jackson, and Seaman George Murphy of Ridgeland. This is the type young man who forms the backbone of the United States fighting forces and they have no truck with the yellow-bellied stripe of draft dodger and bearded punks who get too much publicity.

* * *

Talking about the war in Vietnam, defeatists frequently say "peace" when they really mean "surrender". The difference be-

ROADS

with
Jimmy Ward

3-20-68

Three seamen from the Jackson area aboard the USS Carrier Iwo Jima off the coast of Vietnam are members of a special alert team created recently aboard the giant vessel. According to the ship's publication, the men were chosen of the best qualified personnel "whose past performance has demonstrated maturity, dependability, resourcefulness and the all-American patriotism that mixes well to form the Iwo Jima sailor." The men are Seaman Charles W. Gibson, Seaman Walter Cox, both of Jackson, and Seaman George Murphy of Ridgeland. This is the type young man who forms the backbone of the United States fighting forces and they have no truck with the yellow-bellied stripe of draft dodger and bearded punks who get too much publicity.

* * *

Talking about the war in Vietnam, defeatists frequently say "peace" when they really mean "surrender". The difference between the two terms is four letters and life or death for millions of people.

* * *

Well, the Southern Regional Council based over in Atlanta has issued another press release. This time the agitating, race-mixing outfit that has always had high praise for the Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee of Stokely Carmichael fame, the Communistic W. E. DuBois Club and an ardent lover of Dr. Martin Luther Cong attacks the prison systems of Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana.

The Southern Regional Council which was once cited by a State of Florida investigating committee as a promoter of "dissention, agitation and turmoil" claims the state penitentiary at Parchman is an operation of "punishment for profit," although the prison annually costs money to operate.

The Southern Regional Council masquerades as a social research outfit, but the theme song is always the same—and it would be interesting to know its full financial operation.

It is nothing new for the state of Mississippi to receive unsolicited advice from radical outfits such as the Southern Regional Council. However, a more factual report would probably be obtained if a prisoner from Parchman were to strike a bee-line for Atlanta and write a report on the SRC.

Needless to say the state penitentiary at Parchman has been written up repeatedly for years for its reforms in law enforcement journals and respected publications. The Southern Regional Council's utterance is just another putt-putt from the left cylinder of another outfit financed by the Fund For The Republic. Accomplishment for humanity—zero.

Jimmy Ward

3-20-68

Three seamen from the Jackson area aboard the USS Carrier Iwo Jima off the coast of Vietnam are members of a special alert team created recently aboard the giant vessel. According to the ship's publication, the men were chosen of the best qualified personnel "whose past performance has demonstrated maturity, dependability, resourcefulness and the all-American patriotism that mixes well to form the Iwo Jima sailor." The men are Seaman Charles W. Gibson, Seaman Walter Cox, both of Jackson, and Seaman George Murphy of Ridgeland. This is the type young man who forms the backbone of the United States fighting forces and they have no truck with the yellow-bellied stripe of draft dodger and bearded punks who get too much publicity.

* * *

thu april 9 1968

Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St NW
Atlanta Ga 30303

Mind your
business

yours truly
Maurice Epstein

Received
april 11, 1968

A. R. K. JERIC
EXPORT IMPORT
340, Fifth Avenue
New York 1. U.S.A.

Received Apr. 12, 1968

9th of April, 1968

Executive Council, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5, Forsyth Street, NW., Atlanta, Ga, 300308

Gentlemen: I read with interest your statement in the N.Y.Times

You are wrong. No one in America owes anything to anybody, if we are free citizens. But we are no more free, because of statism introduced in America by changing the original constitution by giving the power to the horde of bureacrats to regulate our way of life. Only by accepting the ideal capitalism we can go back on the right track. Otherwise, as the trend is now, may be abt, one million black people in America will be the slavedrivers of us others, including other 19 million black good people, in the service of the future ONE-MAN-OWNER-OF-LIFE-PROPERTY-AND-SOUL of all of us, exactly like in the presentday Cuba, Titolandia etc.

(If there would be no maximum wage law all people could be employed in an ideal capitalist society. Half statism half private enterprise must destroy personal freedom and make us all slaves).

If you do not understand this I am very sorry for you. You may understand only then when the commissars will take over, and I believe this will be in so distant future. I am warning you because it happened to me in Yugoslavia, and Americans are humans like everywhere else.....

If you want a lecture let me know and let me have the expenses. I used to be chief of economic information service in the communist government of Titolandia, thus I know what I am talking about.

Very truly yours,

"I got my job through the *New York Times*."

NATIONAL REVIEW MAY 7, 1960

Anti-Communist International

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New York, N. Y. 10017

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A. R. K. JERIC, Treasurer
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Haviv SCHIEBER, Gen'l. Sec.

Address by Mr A,R.K. Jeric to the audience of the 49th Anniversary Celebration of the Proclamation of Byelorussian Independence on March 19, 1967 at Biltmore Hotel in New York City.

My dear Byelorussian friends, ladies and gentlemen:

Is is a special honor to me to have been invited to address you. To tell you frankly, I do not know much about your beloved Byelorussian country. But, I can tell you that I know exactly what are your worries, your languishings and your handicaps to free your country from serfdom. Like in the Byelorussian country, the same kind of regime oppresses my land, which is now Titoland - in full meaning of the word.

After I left it, in one of my writings published in 1950 in London (by the way you may get a reprint from the Anti-Communist International) I pointed out that the so called Russian revolution was saved by the British working class "Hands-off-Russia" action in the same way as Britain and the United States saved the so called Yugoslav revolution. And what is it what they saved? Based on my own experience - and I know what I am talking about - every communist regime is, in practice, nothing else but a one-man-monopoly-ownership-of-life-and-property. I challenge anyone who can prove the contrary. Such regimes of slavery never existed in the known history.

We must search for the reasons why these two cradles of human freedom - Britain and the United States of America - applied such "moral double bookkeeping" (President Johnson used these words for his Vietnam policy critics)? Why by the end of the Second World War they established this costly balance of terror instead of peace in freedom, and why they - even after 50 breaches out of 52 treaties and agreements continue to beef-up these monsters of bankrupt slaveries.

To answer these questions I consecrated 20 years to dig out the dirt - not as a scholar but as a common man - as a krestianin who lost the freedom in his country. I dare to give a reply - a very sad fact .....

First in the British, then successively in the American craddle of freedom the Marxist cockoos put their eggs, with the purpose to make them immune to resist slavery until their freedoms can be burried. In America they did it via England, what looked to me like a revenge for Lexington and Bunker Hill of 1776.

It would be useless to cry for bankrupt England.

But America, the last bastion of human freedom, is at stake. The American Constitution - as the Honorable Hamilton Fish recently pointed out to be "the greatest Charter ever devised by the mind of Man" - was conceived by its Founding Fathers as a panzer - as a straightjacket impenetrable by mischiefs - in order to safeguard the freedom of Man - the greatest wonder God has created on this earth. America was conceived to be a Republic, not a Democracy. This implies the right of every citizen to do whatever he pleases, unless his actions harm the other fellow. The Ten Commandments remained his duties. The Government is not here to steal the money from the frugals in order to give it to the lazy. Under God, even the most awkward citizen knows better what is good for him and his posterity than any bureaucrat can even guess. Only these principles made this country great. But .....

Under various pretexts - as I said before - precisely the Constitution was amended by a couple of cockoo eggs. It would take longer time to go into details. They follow us all like shadows. These cockoo eggs continue to hatch Marxist eggheads, whereas their boss in Moscow waits for the moment when the hatch will be strong enough to legalize the merger of the American shaken freedom into world wide slavery. Unfortunately the rich-fathers'-boys are pushing in that direction. For us from Communist countries this is nothing new. They disinherit themselves of the source of the American liberties and exchange it for the perilous antitraditional collective mentality.

Nevertheless, in America we have still the Bill of Rights and the ballot, which will and must reverse the trend of no-win-wars, adoration of the by the communists conceived United Nations Charter and the beefing-up of anti-human, anti-freedom institutions here and of such regimes abroad.

The much propagandized successes of the bankrupt communist bureaucracies can be example only to insane and to crooks. Let us organize to cure them. Besides destroying communism by replacing it with democratic institutions, this is a modest task of the Anti-Communist International, in whose name I am addressing you. Thank you.

Special Supplement

For Clients, From the Editors of

January 8, 1968

Babson's Washington Forecast Letter

AMERICA BLACKMAILED

HEADLINE 1972 — The following news story may hit the headlines some summer day in 1972:

"The President late yesterday afternoon signed into law the so-called Equal Property Act (H.R. 2216), following the capitulation of both House and Senate before the threats of an angry mob of proponents, estimated by District police officials at upwards of 600,000 persons, which had besieged the Capitol for over 3 days, holding Congress virtually hostage . . . pending a vote on the bill.

"As word of the 'surrender' by Congress was passed thru the crowd, its leaders called for a march on the White House. Within twenty minutes, the partisans began gathering before the Executive Mansion and, shortly before 4 p.m., leveled the iron fence and were milling around the lawn of the President's residence and office. The throng became increasingly unruly as no word of presidential action on the legislation was forthcoming from Administration aides, and, at about 4:45 p.m. militant leaders shouted instructions to burn the White House. Within minutes after these orders were issued — and as torches were being carried toward the East Wing of the White House — Presidential Press Secretary Elbert Williams appeared at the main entrance to the Executive Offices and announced that the President had signed the bill into law.

"A tremendous roar of approval arose, and a partisan band struck up the triumphant People's Power theme song, 'March of the Masses.' Following the signing of the bill, the mob separated into apparently planned 'recrimination squads' and systematically sacked, burned, and looted a 12-block area of downtown Washington as District police and a scattering of military units looked on helplessly. Late last night, Metropolitan Police Chief Tweedy estimated total damage at over $300 million.

"The Equal Property Act completely discards the constitutional concept of private property and sets up a system for the transfer of all private property to all Americans on a so-called equal-share basis. Authority to administer the Act is vested in a Commission in which majority control is to be held by representatives of the poor, the underprivileged, the unemployed, and minority groups which have suffered past discrimination.

"Washington officials see little chance of the Act's being overturned by the Supreme Court in view of threats by People's Power leaders to paralyze all major cities in event of an adverse ruling. The high court is expected to be further guided by the fact that overwhelming People's Power forces earlier this month succeeded in dissolving both the Democratic and Republican national conventions . . . leaving the Power candidate, Arthur Danrig, as the only name on the ballot in November's national election."

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Address inquiries to BUSINESS STATISTICS CORPORATION, Drawer G, Babson Park, Mass. 02157.

THE ROAD WE TRAVEL — Sounds preposterous? We'd like to think so.

But . . . as a matter of cold, hard fact, this nation — the land of the free — is moving relentlessly toward such a fate . . . as government by law gradually submits to the blackmailers of America.

Today's blackmailers operate under the phony slogan of the "right to dissent." They have distorted and magnified the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and right of peaceable assembly into a license for intimidation, sedition, riot, and anarchy.

Under this false banner, they have blocked the traffic and commerce of American cities, shut down the operation of government offices, destroyed private and public property, disrupted our educational procedures, interfered with our selective service system, obstructed inductions into our armed forces, provided aid and comfort to the enemy, desecrated our country's flag, and vandalized hundreds of communities thruout the nation.

Our government of laws, our government of constitutional processes, has begun to crumble before a tide of lawlessness which has not only been condoned but even encouraged by many government leaders.

Instead of firmly supporting the enforcement of law and order on the local level, federal officials and other national leaders gave aid and encouragement to the law breakers . . . on the basis that civil disobedience is justified when the violators are acting in a "good" cause.

BREAK IN THE DIKE — This was the great breakthru in the dike of law and order.

For almost two centuries, we had been taught — and we believed fervently — that the law must be respected, whether we felt it to be a good or a bad law.

All of us know the nagging discomfort of living under laws that are inequitable. In such cases, we may exercise our constitutional rights to bring about a change . . . but we do it by lawful process.

Under provisions of the Constitution, the full power of the United States government should have been placed squarely behind local authorities in the breaking up of the very first sit-in in America.

True, it was peaceable assembly . . . but it clearly interfered with the rights of others to carry on their normal activities under the protection of the law.

But . . . prominent national politicians, blinded to legal justice by the possibility of making political hay, placed themselves on the side of anarchy.

We all remember the statement of the late Adlai Stevenson . . . that he would consider it an honor to go to jail for such civil disobedience. His remarks were echoed by hundreds of others . . . and mob power in America was born.

AS YE SOW — The Watts riots in California served as Lesson No. 1 in large-scale blackmail. This outbreak of mass crime was not punished. It was rewarded with countless millions of federal dollars poured into the area in the hope that the rioters would "cool it."

After that demonstration of largess, can you blame the Negroes of Detroit, Newark, Milwaukee, Chicago, and scores of other American cities for wanting to get in on the action?

The amazing thing is this: Not only have government officials condoned such lawlessness . . . government employes have played a major role in fomenting many

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of the disorders . . . under the guise of helping the oppressed. Anti-poverty employes in Newark organized and publicized the police-brutality mass rally which led to the catastrophic riot in that city. A Newark anti-poverty official, Willie Wright, urged Negroes to arm themselves against "honkie cops." The agency's accountant, Charles McCray, was arrested for taking part in the shooting during the riot . . . but officials refused even to suspend him from his job.

The situation has been the same in countless communities all over the nation. Sargent Shriver's anti-poverty agency admits that there are convicted criminals on the agency's payroll . . . and that many of them have been given jobs counseling youngsters.

Many of the black-power movement's most militant activists — including riot-inciter H. Rap Brown — have been on the government's payroll . . . often as $50-per-day consultants.

It's widely said that the government is motivated by a desire to placate the troublemakers.

Actually, the reverse situation prevails. The trouble makers are blackmailing our government . . . successfully and repeatedly. They seek money . . . and power. They're getting both.

BLUEPRINT FOR CHAOS — Communists are prominent in nearly all the organizations which are fomenting this anarchy in the U.S. They have been welcomed with open arms into the National Conference For New Politics, a group whose Chicago convention was keynoted by Martin Luther King. One of the leaders of the conference happily commented that Communists would provide leadership for the group.

Bettina Aptheker, an admitted Communist, continues to hold a top position in the peace and draft-resistance movements.

Stokely Carmichael has returned from his Red tour to lead his followers toward "the destruction of the American government."

And dozens of others — with countless citations for Communist connections — hold prominent positions in scores of violent "dissent" organizations in this country.

One of these is the Revolutionary Action Movement which has documented its plans for the revolutionary end of the American way of life. RAM says its followers will "strike by night and spare none" . . . that it will foment "mass riots, blocking of traffic, burning of buildings . . . street fighting."

The planners call for "sabotage in the cities — knocking out electric power first, then transportation — and guerrilla warfare . . ."

The blueprint for chaos goes on and on — in great detail — reminding one of Adolf Hitler's brazen revelations in Mein Kampf.

In this atmosphere in which lawlessness and intimidation are tolerated — even rewarded — it is understandable that the crime rate has soared.

THE HARVEST — The FBI reports that the incidence of major crime in the United States is rising at an annual rate of 16% . . . far above the rate of growth in our population.

If the uptrend which has persisted thru 1967 is projected to include 1968, more than 4½ million major crimes will be committed this year. Based on our population

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of a little over 200 million, this means that you will have one chance in 47 of being murdered, maimed, or robbed in the next 12 months!

More and more, criminals are being coddled by our courts . . . and treated as the unfortunate victims of poor social environment. Punishment is out; gentle rehabilitation is in. Yet, a recent FBI study showed that 57% of offenders released on parole in 1963 were rearrested within 2½ years . . . and that 83% of those acquitted or dismissed in 1963 were rearrested within the same 30-month period.

POLICE HANDCUFFED — The Supreme Court has seriously impaired the efficiency of law enforcement agencies by restrictions on investigative procedures and techniques . . . and has so hogtied the police in searches and interrogations that thousands of hardened criminals are yearly set free to prey again on the public.

The sharp uptrend in acquittals, suspended sentences, and refusals to prosecute — particularly in juvenile and minority-group cases — has influenced police officers in hundreds of communities to blind their eyes to gross law violations. Because of this frustration, police morale today is at an all-time low.

The problem was well summed up by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, who wrote in the April 1967 issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin: "Morality, integrity, law and order, and other cherished principles of our great heritage are battling for survival in many communities today. They are under constant attack from degrading and corrupting influences which, if not halted, will sweep away every vestige of decency and order remaining in our society."

WHOM WE INDICT — Whom are we to indict for sparking this chaos in America? Are the prime defendants the Stokely Carmichaels, the H. Rap Browns, the hippies, the draft-card burners, the peaceniks, the juvenile delinquents, the rabble rousers, the Commies who have gained respectability as "honest dissenters"? Certainly, most of these could be brought before the bar of justice to answer charges of law violations . . . and they should be.

However, there is a stronger, truer bill of indictment which may be drawn against those who have invited the bloody blackmail of America by permitting, even encouraging, mounting civil disobedience. We speak of men such as the late Adlai Stevenson, Bobby Kennedy, Nicholas Katzenbach, Earl Warren . . . Senators Ribicoff, Javits, Clark, and Case . . . and yes, even Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon B. Johnson. These men of power, prestige, and great influence in the political structure of America have permitted the concept of "freedom of speech" to be expanded to include subversion, intimidation, sedition, and incitement to riot; they have condoned the distortion of "academic freedom" to encompass the adulteration of young minds with Communist doctrine and the disintegration of a well-disciplined educational system; they have allowed "freedom of assembly" to mushroom into disruption of peaceful activity, mob rule, riot, and insurrection.

Unless those in authority in the United States can be influenced to abandon the suicidal course on which they have embarked — or unless they can be replaced by men who will — we cannot hope to restore in our nation the kind of domestic peace and order which has made our many generations proud to be Americans . . . living in a land of freedom, security, opportunity, and justice under law.

The crisis we now face is the most serious, the most dangerous, in the history of our country. Each of us must diligently employ our influence and our effort — in speech, letters, and at the ballot box — to help set straight the way.

Babson's

P. O. BOX 66
LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y. 11105

Executive Council
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5, Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta,G a, 30308

Many Banks will al

Hebrew
Epiphany Lu-
in West Hemp-
al other school dis-
to hold memorial
and then close early.
roup of students from
ni University are plan-
to march from the cam-
at noon tomorrow to the
ter of Garden City.
The Long Island Association

Suffolk

Special to The New York Times

RIVERHEAD, L. I., April 8—After lengthy indecision, the Suffolk Board of Supervisors agreed late today to permit county workers to take time off tomorrow in honor of Dr. King.

Earlier in the day, some board members had questioned

Whites Told to Stop Lectures to Blacks On Being Nonviolent

The Southern Regional Council called on white Americans yesterday to stop lecturing black Americans against violating the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolent philosophy.

"Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment," the council said in a statement issued by its executive committee in Atlanta.

"Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need."

The council is a nonprofit organization of white and Negro Southerners founded in 1944 for "the achievement of equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Stating that Dr. King's assassination "once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society," the council asserted that this was not the time for "bitter and unrestrained recriminations."

It said that "the pangs of conscience white America feels in his [Dr. King's] death give all Americans the chance—and perhaps the last chance—to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity."

"If America cannot produce leadership toward the socie that Dr. King saw in his d for America," the st said, "then Americ ished."

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CURRENT

Received April 10, 1968

Mr. Smith was taken Guard
today but had not been Youngstown
d early today.

False Rumors Start Riot

After Mrs. Smith was killed
umors spread that a frightened Side
policeman had shot a Negro
woman. These rumors set off
fire bombings, window-breaking
es, ing and looting. Guardsmen
nge lice sought to make arrests.
tect they were surrounded by more
ccess who threatened them.

There was no immediate count of a 6 P.M.
of the number of persons arrestedmostly
rested during the rioting, but reported in
the police were pressed at East Side and
times to muster enough patrol Side of the city.
wagons to haul those arrested in small stores where window
to the central police station. were smashed in rock-throwing
incidents.

The police said Noel Wright, Guardsmen assisted the po-
the University of Cincinnati lice in setting up a cordon of
graduate student, was in his the South Side and East Side.
auto with his wife in suburban The Mahoning River—splitting
Mount Auburn. A group of the Southwest Side from the
Negro teen-agers blocked their main business district, provided
path and dragged both Mr. and a natural barrier for the police
Mrs. Wright into the street. to guard. Officers posted at the
Mr. Wright was stabbed once six bridges crossing the river
in the chest and was dead on in the downtown area made
arrival at Christ Hospital. Mrs. many of the curfew arrests.
Wright was beaten by three Patrolman William Grady,
Negro girls, but not seriously shot in the abdomen, was re-
injured. She was treated at the ported in fair condition follow-
same hospital and released. ing surgery at South Side Hos-
In downtown Cincinnati, a pital. Lieut. Robert Pavelko,
man identified as James Strunk

Protest Dr. King

Times

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STRIKE BACK AT
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Executive Committee
Atlanta
Georgia

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A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 6, 1968

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

This is not the time for bitter and unrestrained recriminations against the society which killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but rather the time for all of us to pay heed at last to all that has already been said to the conscience of the nation in the grim, ghastly past — at the murders of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, of the four little children in a Birmingham Sunday School, and so many others.

This is the time for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the non-violent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.

The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done throughout his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance — and perhaps the last chance — to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

(*denotes Executive Committee)

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Little Rock, Arkansas

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Southern Interstate Nuclear Board
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. T. Franklin Williams
Physician
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mrs. Lawrence Coe
Memphis, Tennessee

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook*
Professor of Political Science
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mr. Martin L. Harvey
Dean of Student Affairs
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mrs. Julien J. Hohenberg
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Paul Johnston
Attorney
Birmingham, Alabama

Editor, *The Daily Times*
Gainesville, Georgia

Mr. George Owens
President
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Mr. Robert J. Palmer
Sumter, South Carolina

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. Mary Sand
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. Jane Schutt
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. John Siegenthaler
Editor
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
President
Vermont American Corporation
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. J. F. Tillman
Lewisburg, Tennessee

Mr. John H. Wheeler*
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Little Rock, Arkansas

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler*
Physician
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dr. Bell I. Wiley
Professor of History
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Josephine Wright
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. B. Franklin Williams*
Dean of the University College
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Marion A. Wright*
Attorney
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Mr. Jack Young
Attorney
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Thomas E. Young, Jr.
Attorney
Little Rock, Arkansas

LIFE FELLOWS

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Trinity, North Carolina

Mr. Hodding Carter
Publisher
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

The Rev. Theodore E. Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
Miami, Florida

Dr. Frank P. Graham
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. Paul E. Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. W. D. Weatherford
Black Mountain,
North Carolina

Mr. Leonard Haas
Attorney
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Educator & Newspaper Columnist
Richmond, Virginia

The Rev. Edward A. Dowell
First Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Francis Pickens Miller
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
President Emeritus
Lexington Theological Seminary
Lexington, Kentucky

Mrs. David Terry
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Carter G. Wesley
Publisher
Houston Informer
Houston, Texas

Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

File "Crackpots on Death of Dr. King"

Cr. ref Dr. King Jr

See also Crackpots file

April 15, 1968

Mr. Edward Krim
Federal Bureau of Investigation
275 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Krim:

Enclosed are the several communications resulting from our ad in the New York Times of Tuesday, April 9. If in time you find you have no further use for them, we would appreciate having them returned. If you find you would like to keep them, you may do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

I read in the papers that Rev. Abernathy said the poor people would dump their rats and cockroaches on the white house lawn. Everyone can't afford to go to Wash. D.C. but everyone can get to the nearest mailbox.

I dumped in a rubber mouse with the message: Attention Uncle Sham! We don't believe your fables about keeping a commitment to the people of Vietnam. We know, better than anyone else, that you don't keep your commitment to us.

1968 Crackpots file

3-13-69

Southern Regional Council 1944
Communist no. 30303: 100 affiliate organization
Dir Paul Anthony.

Dear Sir,
As of this date, The united States Federal Government is asking you to relinquish your Communist society numbers.
These numbers are never to be used again.

Signed Hazel Mann

①

SEP 8 1970

2035 15th Ave. So.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

The Southern Regional Conferences & Council
c/o Post-office & Telephone Directory
Atlanta, Georgia

Dearest Personnel:

I am a former member of the Alabama Council of Human Relations in Auburn, Alabama. I decided to write a little Brief Resume' of situations as I see them on Racial Affairs, as I see its millions and millions of things you Civil-Righters are overlooking, and do not see. I will write you ~~a few lines~~ a 15 page letter later on Racial Affairs as I see them and the millions of things Southern Negroes are cheated and swindled out of, and they have it Sublimed, as if its all White when its supposed to be Negroid. Yes Psychology is a confusing thing.

The Brief Resume' of my expression now is as follows:

I. To many, To many, To many To many, To many, To many Ole low-down, ole-low-down low-down, low-down, low-down dirty, dirty, dirty, dirty Ole Pole Cat Smelling, ole Pole Cat Smelling, Ole Pole-Cat Smelling Southern, Southern Southern, Southern White People Jews, are gaining are gaining great, great Wealth, Real-Estate and Power ~~of this~~ (by the millions & millions and billions & billions) ~~on~~ on this Negro-Civil-Rights Platform as a Stepping Stone and ~~are~~ they are not giving Negroes anything, anything In Return. They are going to take this Whole, Whole Country back to total, total Racial Slavery and Racial Poverty exactly as they did in the Days of Reconstruction, and they are

(3)

Supported by:
(A) A Great, Great, Deal of Negro Figureheads.
(B) Northern Finance Firms
(C) The Federal Government.

Please, Please look into this Situation, and Analyze it Deductively and Inductively and Take Direct actions on it.

Respectfully Yours
Joseph W. Fendell, B.S., M.S.

Crackpot File

53 Grove St. #3
Boston, Ma. 02114
January 7, 1971

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Editor
South Today
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Cleghorn:

For years I have been telling my northern friends that the range of racial attitudes in the North is no different from that anywhere in the South. It's very difficult for them to believe this fact, however.

I found a vivid illustration of this point yesterday when I picked up the December edition of the South Today from the mail on my doorstep. The following was written in pencil in the space around my address: "I shot a nigger in Roxbury. Rather than integrate I'll shoot more and my friends are all like me. I want to raise an army to kill all of them and the whites that hang with them." I am enclosing a photocopy of this for your information.

I have admired the work of the Southern Regional Council for many years. I wish there were a similar organization in the North with your courage and commitment. I don't think there is.

Sincerely,

Ann S. Coles

Ann S. Coles

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is education editor of
URNAL.

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is no violence and upheaval.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 108

ATLANTA GA.

I SHOT A NIGGER THAN
BOYBUFFY. RATHER THAN
INTEGRATE I'LL AND
SHOOT MORE
MY TRIENDSALL ARE BOSTON RNS.
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I WANT TO
ADVISE ON
ARMY TO
ALL OF THEM
AND THE WAY, YES THAT
HANG WITH THEM
ONE.

file with Crockpot Urs of King's death

In answer to your article "Respond with Dignity to Citizens Acting with Dignity",

Memphis was a good city until the outside, trained revolutionaries came to town — We are exposing all of you outsiders including the SRC, its Human Relations Councils

WHAT AND WHO IS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ?
and WHO is Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the
Tennessee Council on Human Relations?????

A. The following is testimony given under oath at Hearings of General Legislative Investigating Committee - State of Mississippi 1962 Regular Session. Manning Johnson and Dr. J. B. Matthews testifying on the Southern Regional Council.

TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON: 10 years in the Communist Conspiracy in the Southeast - rejected Communism and began testifying in behalf of the United States of America.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-3 be made a part of the record of this committee (see page 152)

MANNING JOHNSON: I would like also- to save a little time - to introduce that article from the Daily Worker of March 9,1955,pg.4, which contains the names of the leaders of the Southern Regional Council, and I would like to say that the Southern Regional Council was formed by this fellow Jackson who was a member of the Communist Party. I would like to say it wouldn't have been as successful as it was if it were not for the fact that the little church office building presided over by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church allowed them to have headquarters there at 63 Auburn Avenue.

QUESTION: Did I understand you to say that Jackson was the founder of the Southern Regional Council?

ANSWER: That's correct, according to the Daily Worker.

QUESTION: And they have offices - where did you say?

ANSWER: In a little church office building presided over by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church.

QUESTION: That's in Atlanta, Georgia. Is that correct?

ANSWER: That is correct.

Note: The above testimony can be found on page 73 - Hearings of General Legislative Committee - State of Mississippi, 1962 Regular Session.

Note: According to FBI file # 85-441A - James E. Jackson, Jr. Southern Regional Director Communist Party USA and wanted for Conspiracy to Advocate the Violent Overthrow of the Government.

B. TESTIMONY OF DR. J. B. MATTHEWS: (a foremost anti-Communist) page 18 Hearings of General Legislative Investigating Committee State of Mississippi 1962 Regular Session.

DR. MATTHEWS: Now, these three organizations which I have referred to, namely, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare were characterized by interlocking personnel. I will read you the names of the individuals who were in the top bracket among officials in the Southern Regional Council and have also been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and or the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Now, you may ask yourselves the question, how do these individuals manage to get into all of these organizations? Will W. Alexander, Rufus Atwood, Mrs. Daisy Bates, Mr. F. Woods Beckman, President A.D.Beittel, Rabbi Stanley Brau, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mrs. Myra J. Bryant, Louis E. Burnham, Mr. Hodding Carter, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, James McBride Dabbs, Frank Daniels, A.W.Dent, Albert D'Orlando, T.H. Easom, J. M. Ellison, Clark Foreman, Charles Gomillion, S.L. Greene, C.H. Hamlin, Gordon B. Hancock, H. C. Trenholm, Don West, Aubrey W. Williams and Marion A. Wright.

I have named individuals who were on the Board of Directors at one time or another of the Southern Regional Council and also were affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and/or the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

(end of Dr. Matthews testimony)

C. Southern Regional Council is the recipient of Ford, Fund for the Republic grants of $497,000.00. Fund for the Republic grants began with the Ford Motor Company. Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of 12 statewide Councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States. Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of space in a building owned by a huge church. The leadership of few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

Distributed by EPOC (Enlighten People on Communism)

Free Crackpot

NEVER

John J. Synon

Indeed I am fed up:

I am dog tired of these insidious sneak thieves and their off-key versions of communism:

I am dog tired of being imposed upon because I am a white man – a Southern white man;

I am fed up with working for strangers. I am fed up with generation upon generation of reliefers – foreign and domestic – living on the product of my sweat, my taxes, and with being repaid for my largess in venom and hate.

I am dog tired of cynical, addle-headed legal opinions handed down by a fellow-travelling Supreme Court, a court neither competent nor morally honest.

I am dog tired of preachers, priests, and rabbis who turn their backs on God Almighty to forage in sociological fields and who talk to me of the hereafter in terms of Karl Marx. I tell them, now, I want back the old-time religion.

I am dog tired of seeing innocent children driven from pillar to post for the political aggrandizement of debased politicians.

I am dog tired of the unctuous tones of cynical TV newscasters, and of ideologues who pose as reporters while spewing distorted versions of my people.

In short, I am dog tired of those who would malign traditional America – the South. And because I am, I mean to fight. And so long as I fight – we fight – they cannot win.

And fight we shall.

We shall never, never, never quit!

AUDITORIU

ASHEVILLE, N.C.—Fire has destroyed an audiovisual cen and auditorium at the North Carolina Evaluation Center near Swannanoa. All that remained of the building was its founda- is

Negroes to Be More Mil Study in Atlanta Reports

By HENRY P. LEIFERMANN
By United Press International

The first major study of Negro teen-agers in 27 years indicates the new generation has a deep mistrust of whites and will be more militant in their demands than current Black Power advocates, the Southern Regional Council (SRC) reported Friday.

The study was conducted among 688 students in five all-Negro high schools in Atlanta, and the responses were analyzed by sociologists from Emory University, Atlanta University, city school officials and SRC researchers.

Only a slight majority of those questioned felt that nonviolence was the best approach to civil rights advances, the study showed, leading SRC to comment:

"It seems unlikely that the next generation of Negro teen-agers will favor moderate means to gain equality."

THE SRC REPORT, entitled "Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis," was the first such undertaking since a similar study was made in 1940 by the American Council on Education.

SRC attached national implications to the report and recommended a "national undertaking" to study the nation's Negro youth.

It predicted that "confusion and transition" will move tomorrow's Negro teen-agers to more forceful means in obtaining their goals.

Other conclusions:

ABOUT 45 per cent of those questioned do not feel whites usually can be trusted.

ABOUT half opposed Negroes fighting in Vietnam.

ONLY 51 per cent agreed with the statement that "nonviolence is always the best approach" for Negroes to use in obtaining their goals.

THE MAJORITY of those questioned were between the ages of 14 and 18 and were in grades nine through 12. Eight per cent were natives of Atlanta, and 42 per cent were living in "abnormal" family situations, mostly with only a mother.

A MAIN THEME that emerged from the study was dissatisfaction with basic city services, including recreational facilities, police protection, garbage collection and the condition of sidewalk, streets and sewers in Negro sections.

Such dissatisfacion the study said "bodes ill for the future," and noted that these same conditions appeared to be basic causes of most urban riots in recent years.

About 21 per cent, SRC said, advocated carrying guns, and [illegible] dem- [illegible]

At the same time, the report showed, most students "are not strong believers in Black Power, nor do they think the situation would be improved if Negroes were more separated from whites.

About 53 per cent agreed with the statement: "If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots.

"Similar conclusions were reached in a number of other American cities," the report said.

Bullet Misses Deliveryman After Holdup

A robber shot at a deliveryman for a pharmacy when he ignored the bandit's warning not to look back as he drove away in a truck Friday night, Atlanta police said.

The bullet from the robber's pistol struck the truck body, missing Arthur Lee Wright, 21, Detectives O. L. Adams and J. F. Paschall said.

Mr. Wright told detectives th returned to his truck a delivery in La Fran

Respect of Law Must Return, Talmadge Says

MILLEN, Ga. (AP)—As the new year approached, Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., said the greatest blessing that could befall the American people in 1968 would be the healing of the wounds of civil strife and the return of respect for law and order.

Referring to racial strife, he said "dissension, disorder and demonstration have become th order of the day."

"Reasonable people and abiding citizens cannot this to continue," he said.

Sen. Talmadge m marks in a speech nual meeting County Chamb

"There is m done," he sai lip service the law, their le by de an the

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NEW SOUTH published quarterly

How do you expect us to forget that the Southern Regional Council was supported by the CIA?

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IS the ROOT-CAUSE of the Civil (Rights) War 1861 - 1865 and the present attempt at "colored" - bastardization of our WHITE Race with "negro" - integration!

THAT PART which says: "We (?) hold these truths (lie) to be self-evident (lie) that all men are created equal (the big lie)."

GOD'S WORD says: Genesis 9:24-27 READ IT!

The Declaration of Independence further says: "But when a long train of abuses (Civil War, Supreme Courts "negro" - equal and "negro" - integration (intermarriage) decisions and Civil Rights War (1958-1960) and usurpations . . . it is their right . . . duty to throw off such Government . . ." for and by White people ONLY! A Government of, by and for White people.

The Declaration of Independence is a lie against the Word of God and against the WHITE race, for the ONLY EVIDENCE IS GOD'S WORD that all men in their own and separate race were created equal!

Thomas Jefferson was not even an Anointed preacher, let alone God, but the people believd him, instead of God!

SOUTH CAROLINA'S Governor Wm. H. Gist, 1858-1860 whose mansion still stands near Union, South Carolina said "If Abraham Lincoln is elected, South Carolina would secede---" WE did and TODAY for July 4, 1959 on, WE celebrate WHITE SUPREMACY and our Independence against Federal "negro"-equality and against Federal "negro"-integration (inter-marriage)!

The U. S. Government up until 1954 outgrew and became the most powerful nation on earth under GOD in "negro"---UNequality and Indians Reservated!

Abraham Lincoln whose mistaken assumption that Free White men were "half"-free and "half"-slave with negroism sodomic-slaves caused the murder of 10,000's of our white brethren north and south, against GOD'S WORD.

Most all Holy Bibles have the Ancient map of the descendents of Ham, "negroes" into Africa (and from there brought into America.)

Here WE HONOUR Our GOD for HIS Supreme White Race Creation, and Praise His Great Name JESUS, the Christ.

Ignorance of God's Word excuseth no man! Contempt of WHITE people is disasterous, but Contempt of God's Word is death, hell and the Second Death. Rev. 20:12.

The 666 of Rev. 13 is a number symbolizing DEATH, for the "mark" of any "B-E-A-S-T" or BEAST-MAN is Death: 6-Born in death (sin). 60-Standing Threat of Murder. Power of man's government. Heb. 2:14 "---him that HAD the power of death, that is the devil."

600---Worship of the dead: History books, Tombstones, Mounments, Unveilings. Idolatry!

This leaflet has been sent to many U. S. Senators, Congressmen, State Governors, Judges, Attorney-Generals, Colleges, Seminaries, Religious Headquarters, Newspapers, TV and Radio.

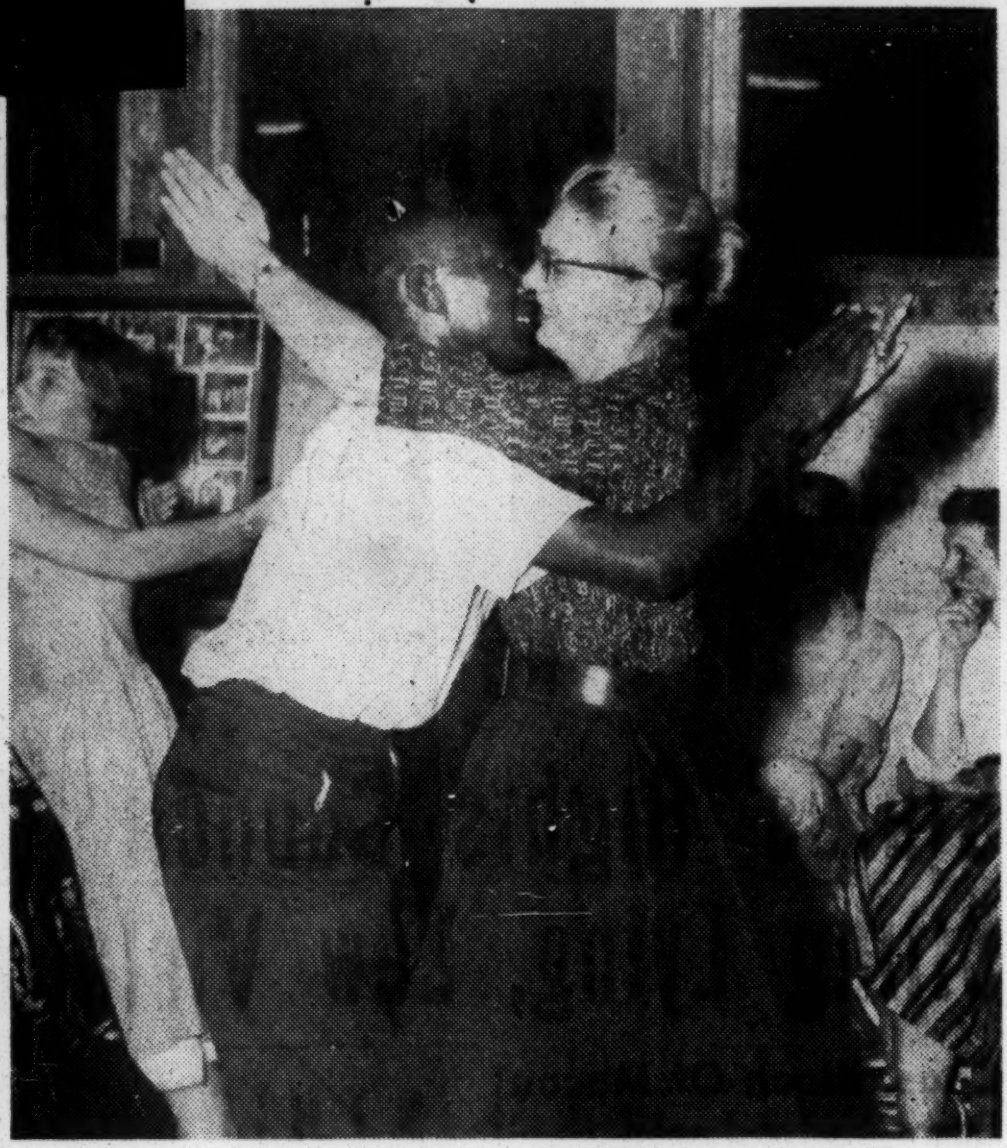
I CHALLENGE ANY white Non-Repenting "negro"-integrator, man or woman for discussion before the public, to prove that they are against God's Word and against their own White Race. Each side speaking alternately equal lengths of time, using their best representatives and advertising the date and discussion at least 30 days ahead.

R. Victor Brannon

Sincerely in God's Grace
R. VICTOR BRANNON "63"
Chappells, SOUTH CAROLINA

Crackpots

I see you had a representative at this meeting at this smelly school, where he sat down with a representative of the Daily Worker and a motley crowd of Communists and communist-fronters. Seemed to be in congenial company.



The above picture was made at the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, over the Labor Day week-end.

A high-level conference was held at this school for four days in which was mixed most of the Negroes who have produced the racial strife and tensions in the South, along with a bunch of pinks, punks and Communists.

This is what they plan for your children.

What the Bible says about Segregation!

FLORIDA STATES RIGHTS, INC.
J. H. KEATHLEY, Pres.
4250 N. W. 22nd AVENUE
NE 4-4431 MIAMI 42, FLA. NE 5-2336

Mechanically recorded sermon by
GEORGE E. ZIEMER, Pastor
Preached to an overflow crowd at the
Bible Baptist Church, Miami, Fla., July 25, 1954

Mr. Fleming, If you have any decency left in you,
READ and try to COMPREHEND This!
Katherine Haskell

Now before you might come to any kind of a conclusion on this particular matter about how I feel, please listen until we get to the end of the message. I might say something that you don't like. You might not agree with me. I might not agree with you, but certainly we all ought to try to find out what the Bible says. Don't you believe that? (Amens). You know, I am just old-fashioned enough to believe that what the Bible says is so. Someone said, "Why you can not believe in the Virgin Birth of Jesus Christ, can you?" I said, "Certainly I do." (Amens). God's word says so. If I didn't it would relegate Jesus Christ to a position that he would not have my admiration, making him a liar because he claimed to be the Only Begotten Son of God. Therefore, I believe in the Virgin Birth of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Someone said, "You don't believe in the story about Jonah and the whale, do you?" I am like the old country preacher who said that if he heard that Jonah swallowed the whale, he would believe it if it was in the Bible. But I am glad that this Bible is a practical book. I go to it for guidance.

Now the Supreme Court of the United States of America has decided that segregation should no longer be accepted by our schools. There should be schools for colored and whites together. It declared that separate schools are unconstitutional. I tried to find something in the Bible that spoke about a black man. We know about Simon the Cyrene that carried the cross of Christ. We know that we should not be prejudiced, that everyone of them has a soul and that we should carry the gospel to the ends of the earth, and some day up yonder in heaven, it says, Some from every tribe and nation shall be there, and they shall sing the song of Moses and the lamb, and be gathered around the throne. (Rev. 5:9).

There are several different approaches that we could take to this subject, but we want to find out only what the Bible says. Certainly every clear-thinking citizen of the United States of America where this problem has arisen, believes that each one, each individual should have equal opportunities. We believe that, and we are going to call your attention to

a verse of scripture. If you have your Bibles, open them please, to the 17th Chapter of Acts and you will find that Paul was standing on Mars Hill in Athens and he said, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things, ye are too superstitious. Wherein, I passed by and beheld your devotions and found this inscription on your altar "TO THE UNKNOWN GOD". He whom ye therefore ignorantly worship declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is the Lord of Heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing that he giveth to all life and breath and all things and hath made of one (now the word blood is not in the original manuscript) and hath made of one all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us, for in him we live and move and have our being, as certain also of your own poets have said, 'for we are also his offspring.' Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone or any graven image of man's device, and the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth **all** men to repent, because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance to all men in that he hath raised him from the dead, and when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked and others said, "We will hear the again of this matter.

We have a terrific problem that is facing us at this time. I received a questionnaire from Don Larson, sent out at the request of Ervin, and in this questionnaire, (you probably saw it in the Daily News) the question was asked "Has your denomination taken a stand on segregation? If so, what is it?" No stand has been taken as far as I know. "Do you talk about race problems from the pulpit?" I don't need to

answer that. "If the law requires Florida to have mixed schools soon, what would you tell your congregation is the right thing to do?" I believe that if the law requires us to have mixed schools, we are going to have so much trouble here that what God has laid on our hearts, on our minds, in the past, will come to pass more quickly and that is a crying need in the United States of America for Christian Day Schools (Amens) with a Christian emphasis; one where you can send your children and not be afraid that they will be subject to ridicule if they don't want to dance and take part in all these things that are worldly and sinful, and I believe that God is raising up Christian testimonies. I am for the Miami Christian Day School down yonder, and you-all can get applications for it, and we are going to have one here, the Lord willing, we are going to have it, not this year, but next year. (Amens).

Equal Opportunities.

What about this problem about the negro? First of all, I believe in equal opportunities. Listen to this. In Verse 30, it says "But now commandeth ALL MEN everywhere to repent." I am glad that God is no respector of persons. Listen to me. God does not look upon a person's skin to see whether it is black, yellow, red or white. He loves that man's soul, and there will be a lot of black men up yonder in heaven. There will be a lot of white men in hell. I know some of the finest Christians in the world that have skin that is black. I am not an advocate of that which I heard one time, saying that a colored man has no soul. I think that is foolish. God's word says in the 26th verse of the 17th Chapter of the Book of Acts "That he hath made of one ("blood" has been inserted) he hath made of one, all nations; made of Adam, all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and THE BOUNDS OF THEIR HABITATION". What about segregation? Where did segregation originate? Let us turn back here to the 4th Chapter of the Book of Genesis, and Verse 15. "And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him." It

was a visible mark that Cain had, a mark that was set upon him. We would like to call your attention to the 9th Chapter. We must lay this scriptural foundation, the 9th Chapter of the Book of Genesis, Verse 24, "And Noah awoke from his wine (now he sinned), and knew not what his younger son had done unto him. And he said Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren, and he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." Did God intend that we should swallow this propaganda that is being promulgated today by certain societies, and especially the National Council of Churches? I tell you he did not intend that we should believe in it. God never said that there would be ONE WORLD, that there would be ONE CHURCH, that there would be ONE RACE until the Lord Jesus Christ comes back again, and then there will be ONE CHURCH, ONE FOLD, ONE SHEPHERD, and we will all be like the Lord Jesus when we see him. No more racial distinction—Racial distinction shall disappear when we see the Lord Jesus Christ, for God's word says "Beloved now are we, the sons of God, and it does not appear what we shall be, but we know when we shall see him we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." (I John 3:2). Until that time we are in the world that is governed by various societies and various races. We find that a problem was created when our forefathers brought the colored race here to the United States of America. What was God's original plan for it? Listen, as we look at this. We find in the 26th Verse of the 17th Chapter of the Books of Acts that God **established the bounds of their habitation.**. What does that sound like to you? It sounds to me like he meant the colored to be a certain place and he meant us to be a certain place. He meant the white race to be a certain place, and the yellow race to be a certain place and he established the bounds of their habitation. We are only paying for the sin that took place back in the days when slaves were brought in by the Dutch. We are paying for that today. There is a problem. We must

face it. What are we going to do about it? The same God that said that he wanted to give ALL MEN, EVERYWHERE a chance to repent; the same God who said he sent his son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life; (John 3:16) the same God that said that he wanted to give assurance to all men (Acts 16: Verse 32); also said that he established THE BOUNDS OF THEIR HABITATION (bounds of the races of the world). You might not agree with me, but you are not agreeing with the word of God.

Now, let's look over here and see where separation (or segregation) started with regard to the children of Israel. God called out A MAN, (we take up in our Sunday school lessons the Bible, we do not have a quarterly). We just take a chapter. We have the 12th Chapter of the Book of Genesis today. Next Sunday it will be the 13th Chapter). Here we see "The Lord God said unto Abraham, get thee out of thy country and out of thy father's house unto a land that I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shall be a blessing, and I will bless them that bless thee and curse him that curseth thee, and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed. (Gen. 12:1-3). So it was that God called **a man** after men had decided, that they would GET TOGETHER. You read the 11th Chapter of the Book of Genesis, and you will find that the world was all of one language and one speech, and they said, "Come now, let us build us a tower, let us make us a name that will reach up into heaven." This is the same thing that people are saying today. Let US do this with OUR program, let US make US a name, let US build US a great edifice, let US reach up into heaven, and God looked down upon them and he confused their tongues, (Gen. 11:1-7). In Genesis 12, God said "Come over here Abraham. I am going to make YOUR name great." That's the way God works. I don't care how many man-made schemes or how many amalgamations, conventions and conferences and presbyteries, and one thing or other man might think up, God uses MEN and God calls MEN today to herald his Good News

of Salvation. Here we see that Abraham was called out. "I want to make of YOU a great nation, I want to bless him that blesseth thee, and curse them that curseth thee, and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." (Gen. 12.)

Segregation Settles Disputes

Well, we find that many times the Bible by segregation has settled disputes. Let's turn over here to the 13th Chapter of the Book of Genesis. We will read a story about Abraham and Lot; both had a large number of cattle. Abraham said, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, is not the whole land before thee? Separate (segregate) thyself, I pray thee from me, if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then will I go to the left." And so it was that they SEPARATED and God blessed them. I have had some well-meaning people ask me just this week "Don't you think it is terrible there are SO MANY DIFFERENT CHURCHES? Don't you think that we all ought to get together and forget our differences?

Get Together — Forget Differences?

Brother, sister, if we all get together and forget our differences, we would HAVE NOTHING LEFT. We can not get together with people who deny the BLOOD of the Lord Jesus Christ to take away sin. We can not get together with people who deny the precious VIRGIN BIRTH of the Lord Jesus Christ, if we are going to earnestly contend for the faith that was once delivered to the saints. We can not get together with people who deny the DEITY of the Lord Jesus Christ and relegate him to A son OF God, instead of THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD. God's word upholds segregation.

You say, well look, that's natural for you. You are from Georgia. No, I just went through there slowly. I am from Minnesota, but I want you to know that I am from **southern** Minnesota. (Laughter). I believe that we ought to take a safe, sane, scriptural approach to the problem that is all around us. I shall not defy my country, United States of America, but I am glad that the United States of America allows us to have free-

dom of thought and allows us to have Christian schools if we want them, and to set up our own rules and regulations. Maybe it is God's way of saying to his people that they are to be a separated, (segregated) people from the world. It might make us realize that. God's word says, "Come out from among them and be ye separate," saith the Lord, "Touch not the unclean things and I will receive you." Why are not more people trusting Christ as Savior? Thank God, we have seen them trust the Lord as their Savior here every week in this church. Why are not more people trusting Jesus Christ as their Savior? I will tell you why. Too many Christians **look** like the world, **act** like the world, **talk** like the world and **smell** like the world! Say amen, you know it hurts, brother. Now that's the truth. Don't you think that God's people ought to uphold some pretty high standards? You say "Oh, Brother Ziemer, don't preach that way. After all, you have made enough people mad already. I am just sick and tired of listening to **programs** on the radio trying **to protect minority groups** that are being used all over by Communists to promote their evil ends. Let me say this, and don't judge me about my feelings when I say it. I have preached for colored folks. They like to hear me preach. Some of them come up and tell me that I preach almost as good as their colored preachers. (Laughter). Don't misunderstand me when I tell you that one of the programs of the Communist party is to see to it that the United States of America, if possible, has a mixture of races, so that the standard will be lowered. I have been up in the North, and I have never seen a white man walking with a colored woman down the street. I have seen plenty of white women walking around with colored men. I feel that men will take this message that I am delivering today, and I feel that if you women love your men, you will take it too. (Amens) You talk about people that are spreading hate about the negro. We don't think we have hatred for the negro. We believe that they ought to have equal opportunities for education. We believe that they have not been treated in some places like they should have been treated, but we believe also that

the hatred is on the other side. I have picked up little magazines that are edited by the colored and the hatred is there when talking about the whites. This is being used by communists. We believe sincerely that America and the **states will work out this problem,** and we believe it ought to be **left in the hands** of the **individual states** to work it out. We have not had trouble down here. Where do you find they have had trouble? In Washington, D. C. and Detroit (and other northern cities). We have not had a lot of trouble here. We would like to see some well-meaning people just let us alone and let us settle our own problems. Irregardless of that, I want to call your attention to something that I believe in my heart is God's way, and if I make anybody angry, it will be because of the fact that you are prejudiced, because this is God's word. In the 33rd Chapter of the Book of Exodus, we read "For wherein shall it be known here that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? is it not in that thou goest with us? so shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth." So it was that the children of Israel practiced segregation.

I call your attention to Leviticus, the 20th Chapter, Verse 24, "And I have said unto you, ye shall inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess it, a land that floweth with milk and honey, and I am the Lord your God which have **separated** you from other people." God knew what should be done.

MARRIAGE PROBLEM

I was talking to a lady here just the other day. She attended our church. I asked her this question, "Would you want your son to marry a colored woman?" She said, "I would not care. It would be just fine with me." Even when I tried to show her in the word of God that it is unscriptural, she still would not accept it, because she had that in her mind. In the 9th Chapter of Ezra, Verse 12 it says, "Give not **your daughters** unto **their sons,** neither take **their daughters** unto **your sons,** nor seek their peace or their wealth forever that ye may be strong, and eat

the good of the land, and leave it for an inheritance for your children forever." In Ezra, the 10th Chapter, Verse 10, "Ezra the priest says, "Ye have transgressed and have taken **strange wives** to increase the trespass of Israel." So this is what God's word says in the Old Testament, along with a number of other verses about segregation.

Segregation In the New Testament

Now in conclusion of my message, let us see what God's word says about **segregation** in the New Testament. We mentioned before that you, as a child of God, a born again person, you are to be separated or segregated from the world. We mentioned that a Christian is supposed to be separate in all things. I don't mean that he can't have fun. I was out once with a Holiness preacher (I love him, I am not making fun of him when I say this) we were having such a big time, he said, "It must be a sin it is so much fun." (laughter). I tell you that God does not want his people to be long-faced. We ought to be the most happy people on the face of the earth. I can sing, "I'm Glad I'm a Christian". Now it says here in the 15th Chapter of the Book of John, if the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, (the world system), the world would love his own, but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." (John 15:18-19).

Today It's Popular To Get Everybody To Speak Well of You.

I heard a rather insipid radio program. I have made remarks about it, and I know that Noel Smith in the Baptist Bible Tribune had something to say about a television program that he heard called "The Pastor's Study." The phone rings ding-a-ling and the pastor answers it. Somebody asks a question, "What about having music in the church?" I don't think there is anything wrong with it but of course **there is a difference of opinion.** You understand that, don't you? Then a big broad smile, you know, and he goes

on again. Somebody asks him about the virgin birth and he said, "Well, I believe in the virgin birth, but of course, there are those that do not believe with me. **There is a difference** of opinion, of course, you know that, don't you? The big broad smile, ding-a-ling! Hello, Pastor's study. Sounds so sweet, so insipidly sweet, you know. Noel Smith said he ought to drink a pint of vinegar for breakfast and a pint of vinegar for lunch and a half gallon for supper and get up and preach the judgment of God (laughter). I tell you there is too much of this mollicoddling today. We ought to warn men to flee from the wrath that is to come for there is a **God** that sits up yonder according to the verses that we have read in the 17th Chapter of the Book of Acts, who **shall judge the world** and, brother, sister, one day, you are going to have to stand before the Lord Jesus Christ and it won't make any difference whether your skin is black or white or red or yellow! It will make a lot of difference if your heart is black or white. I am glad that the blood of Jesus Christ, God's son, will cleanse us from all sin, and I am glad that God, one day is going to wipe out this segregation business. I am in favor of letting Him do it. (Amens). What about it, Christians? God's word says, "Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed," be not moulded as jello in a mold to this world. You have seen these little molds for jello you can make almost anything out of them; they squeeze in the jello, you know, and it forms right around the mold. So it is with the majority of the people today, and some Christians are molded to the world. Their habits are of the world. They **look** like the world, they **act** like the world, they **talk** like the world and they **smell** like the world! God said "Be ye not **conformed** to this world but be ye **transformed** by the renewing of your mind that you may prove what is good and acceptable and perfect will of God." (Rom. 12:2). Moses believed that he ought to be segregated or separated by faith. "Moses, when he became of years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing to rather suffer the afflictions of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." (Heb. 11:24). Brother, I believe that we

ought to take that down deep in our hearts as Christians. God's word says in 1st John, 2nd Chapter, Verse 15 through 17. I want you to listen to this. "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life is not of the Father, but is of the world, and the world passes away and the lusts thereof but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever." Separate yourself from the world. Your spiritual prosperity and posterity will abide.

I John 5:21 warns us, "Keep yourself from idols."—Oh, but you say, "I'm not an idol worshipper"—Brother, listen, anything that you put above God—your home, your family, your pleasure—any thing that you put above God is an idol—leave it. Segregate yourself. God will bless you.

The Unequal Yoke

Now turn to II Cor. 6:14-18. "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers"—Segregate—A Christian young man has no business marrying an unsaved girl. A young lady who is a Christian has no business marrying an unsaved man (Amens). Unequal yokes in business bring disaster. Now what are we supposed to do?

SEGREGATE—COME OUT—CLEAN OUT—all the way—and praise God it says—I (God himself) will RECEIVE you. "And will be a FATHER unto you"—all the privileges of sonship and HEIRSHIP will be ours "And ye shall be my sons and daughters saith the Lord Almighty"—Hallelujah! Let's let go and let GOD have HIS WAY.—

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Washington D.C.

Southern Regional Council -

Sirs -

It is the NAACP who has caused racial violence in the South and everywhere else where negroes are propagandized that it is their "Right" to intrude on white people; No one has a Right to invade other citizens' areas and no other race on earth But the negro is so unhappy among his own race - so he says!:

The most unAmerican unfair and fantastic

.T.

opinion was handed down
by a politically pressured
Court — the NAACP with
help of Socialists, Reds,
Jews and "Liberals" — so
liberal with other peoples'
rights — have brain-
washed the public — some
of it — that negroes
are something special —
should have special liberty
to intrude on Americans
in Schools, churches, Re-
creation, housing, Etc Etc —
that American citizens in
their own Country have no
right to live among ~~[illegible]~~
our Race!! Fantastic!!

seen from June 15 to 23 at the Coliseum.

Box 837, Billings, Montana

KOREANS ARE WHITE *by* W. Mitkewich

Both Biblical Jews and Arabs Are White. What Is White? White People With Black Skin. Greek Origin of Koreans. Spirit of Socrates and Plato in Korea. A Nation of Athletes. Korean Music, Singing, Painting, Architecture. The Korean Mind. 44 PAGES. ILLUSTRATED BY THE AUTHOR. SIX PHOTOGRAPHS. POSTPAID FOR $2.00.

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As Manager of the "Public Relation Commission Committee, the New organization for the Negro division of South Carolina, I welcome to the people of this District a new south, and democracy for all concerns.

These meeting and the organation is founded upon Independent people and better ways of doing things for the betterment, Interest, and good of all the citizens

Now the first year of my term as manager has come to a closed, I want to say that I have enjoyed serving you, although mistakes have been made we have profited by them, and as we continue to grow, no doubt more mistakes will be made, that will serve us well.

I know now that the Public Relation Commission is a fine organization and we have a fine group of people in our work, and if we continue to work together we can accomplished a great deal to provide this we all need to look back to see what working together really mean working together can accomplished.

Look at the Independent program and increased in membership, That all the proof we need of what we can do when we set out to do something together and join hands together to get the job done.

The public Relation Commission will Coordinate with Kentucky, Deleware, West Virgenia

Independent group: program 19-63 - 19-65

We are approaching the Campaign drive and as we see it there are three things remain to do "Registering the non-register "2 getting the remainder of the Valuntary Dollars money to the Southern Regional Council office immediately

"We are seriously in need of additional Valuntary dallor if we are to succeed so I don't want it to be said that we was the one failed to meet its quata.

"The Contributions include these three I.C.F. Individual contribution funds for Education. V.R.F. - Voter Registration Fund donations to Campaign, National Senior citizen - minorities Registration Freedom of press, newspaper radio. J.V. A party Candidate to Come to us once a year and keep us informed on one from both party.

program

Independent group

The time has come that we work as a group of people for the opportunities and the assignment that we have been and ask to do.

I will put and see that all demonstration among the negroes be hampered and peace and prosperity be restored; This you all sit-in and freedom riders will be hamper and violation of the law, we must work together for the good of all concern, and make interview, reports, suggestion idea and opinion about the problems and situation as we see it, in order to have a better state, we must have better citizens, I will see to it that a youth commission among the negroes be established by the last of August, so on this program let us not ask people to do for you what you should do yourself

I will have every quarter one public Relation conference for all delegates of each community in the district to come together and make pledge, reports, suggestion planning, reccommodation action the only way is the ~~at~~ right way to do thing

Sincerely yours
Jonathan Maley

I've never served with a better group of men and women than those of our Commission, The Southern Regional Council ~~have~~ One not to be forgotten either, for we could not have done without them, we must keep in mind that we have a long way to go yet, but we are on our way. By all working together, we can, and will make the public Relation Commission what we want it to be.

The public Relation Committee or Commission will be operated by the Negroes division working together seperately, we will work with the people of our race for the betterment, and interest of all Concern in doing so will solved many problems we will ward as a district and make annual reports to the headquarters

The program calls for public Relation training, Leadership, skill and ect

As you know that no organization is able to solved all problems no matter how hard it try, but what ever the assignment that have been given to us we will carry that mission out. The public Relation will this year luncheon Campaign drive

to raised money for its services
we are to raised an estimate of $10,000
for our service and if we are to build
a better Community, better opportunities
for negroes, unemployment better activities,
sports, arts, adults Education, youth
program, the White public Relation
said that they will join ~~us~~ in
raising the money

I will like to ~~thank~~ all of you
for the cooperation given to me in
the struggle of organizing this
Commission and the Southern Regional
Council will give you service from
here on out, and we must pay them
from our Conference, meetings, pledges

The Chairman said that one way to raised this money will be as he put it not I luncheon meetings (2) dutcher suppers, (3) local Communities Contests, banquets,

To solved most of the National problems among the negroes for the term of office it will take $10,098.00 and out of that $3,000 for us to Carry on with in order to get things done we must pay for it and if we raised more than the amount it will be Carry on the next year budget

To build a better South and a better State we must work hard, plan and sacrifice

We do feel that it is best for us to work as a district and the president and manager do the best they could by having public Relation Conference, reviews interviews, hearing, Fact-Finding for each district doesn't have the same problems, when all district come together we will be able to make friends, meet old one and make success.

I told the members on the last meeting if I didn't hear from you I was going to give up the Commission for good.

The mayor of the Town said that if you give us six copies of this speech printed, he will give us full support, one goes to him, one to Chairman or to President, Committee Chairman, (4) for round table discussion

we do not have a printing machine at the present time.

Thanks

Jonathan Maberry

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. - Atlanta 3, Georgia

Acts 5:29

Dear Christian men + women,

God does not force or coerce the free wills of His creatures God is no tyrant
Be it written, to live as freemen but do not use your liberty as a cloak for malice?

To maintain the American way of life and pass it intact to succeeding generations is the responsibility of every true American.

Freedom has never been given to men or nations, it had to be won, and it has to be kept by constant faithfulness. Do you believe in this freedom and in this country? If you do you will never side with wrong and cruelty. You will fight, if necessary, to keep this country, your country, the United States of America - strong + free - from D.A.R. Manual for citizenship - 1945 Edition

Our safety, our liberty, depends upon preserving the Constitution of the United States, as our fathers made it, inviolate. The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress + courts, not to overthrow the Constitution but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution — Abraham Lincoln

The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of government power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the process of death because a concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties — Woodrow Wilson

William Penn said: "Men must be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants!"
Edmund Burke said: "All that is necessary for triumph of evil is that good men will do nothing." Tyrannical behavior is a violation of the Fifth Commandment.

In 1958 the American Bar Assn warned: "The greatest asset the Communists have at the present time is not the hydrogen bomb, certainly not Soviet satellites but world ignorance of their tactics, strategy, and objectives."

Patriotism means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand only by the President. It is unpatriotic not to oppose him to the exact extent that by inefficiency or achievement he fails in his duty to stand by the country — Theodore Roosevelt
from Congressional Record Vol. LXXVII pp (1539-40)

Lunacharsky, the Commissar of public education, publicly declared at Moscow: "We hate Christianity and Christians even the best of them must be looked upon as our worst enemies. We must learn to hate, and it is only then that we shall conquer the world."

Human beings have the right to defend themselves against unjust aggression and oppression

Americans are staunch defenders of freedom - true?

Constitutional Govt. is designed to serve the people not dictate or oppress them again?
With the Evil, satanic use of listening devices which type methods of control

Why should good, honest American citizens obey orders contrary to right reason? Accurate information, knowledge, truth, facts are necessary before citizens are able to render wise decisions and take right action, agree?

from American Mercury - April 1958 - McAlen, Texas - Red Hues in the Columbia Blue

At a faculty meeting, Columbia professors, by a vote of 40 to 22, placed themselves on record as opposing Congressional investigations of educational institutions. Under the impulsion of Dr. Franz Boas, anthropologist, almost single-handedly, revolutionized national thinking on the controversial subject of race. It was obvious that a thesis so pleasing to the Soviet propagandists + non-Western races would have an erosive effect upon our basic American racial concepts. Appropriately, there has always been an unconcealed affinity of Boas' anthropologists for social and communist causes. Boas himself, after a lifetime of pretended non-partisanship went overboard for the communist line during the war. He signed the famous March 5, 1941, statement defending the Communist Party. L.C. Dunn, who on Boas' death, succeeding him as the most strident propagandist for his doctrines, has written booklets under the UNESCO imprimatur which, financed by U.S. Taxpayers, have had widest distribution. The anthropological faculty at Columbia has plugged directly into the communist strategy of dividing the American people by creating racial antagonisms in our national politics. Columbia has Arthur Sulzberger, the man of money who is always consulted on major university policy. The Columbia influences which are now working - usually blindly in the interest of World Communism are more indirect. They operate on the levels of foreign policy pontifications which further communist warped ends. They speak misleadingly in the name of world peace for policies which discourage + have the effect of confusing American resistance to the communist advance.

Then reality, fact, truth is the origin, source of forced racial integration come from a Communist, dedicated to the destruction of our free American way of life - Communism is a satanic scourge - then forced racial integration is from a satanic source devised to weaken resistance of white, Christian women in associating with those who are dangerous to soul + body, salvation, human happiness, health, peace of mind - for the unholy, criminal intent to rock: Sexual License: Key Soviet Strategy - Readers Digest Mag. - March 1955 (this strategy produces insane moral conditions in society) READ: PROV. 14:34, ROMANS 8:8, TOB. 12:10

Then this forced racial integration was devised with future intent to corrupt the morals of white, Christian women - Communism attacks Christian Faith + morals READ: 1 COR 15:33 1 PETER 5:8

REMEMBER: We are products of our environments and creatures of habit (conditioning process of racial integration?)

Is it true there are unjust laws? Some devised by evil cruel tyrants for base, unholy intent?

Is anyone required or obliged to obey evil orders READ: ECCL 15:21 why should people obey orders contrary to right reason?

How then could forced racial integration have been from a true, patriotic American, just, source?

Communism is intrinsically wrong and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever — Pope Pious XI

to why should American Govt officials elected + appointed to public office for the purpose of upholding the Constitution + representing the American people promote, force upon others, champion the cause of Communist devised forced racial integration? What sense for Americans to aid + abet the enemies of America! Is this a right example for American leaders to set for nations of the free world? Are than guilty ignorant of facts, be deceived or traitors to the American people?

from American Mercury - Jan 1960 - Americans, Speak Out!

The Dept of Health, Education + Welfare employs fully one-third of the top echelon of the international

conspirators in this country. This is not to imply, he said, that one-third of the people in the Dept are communists. On the contrary, Washington, sheerness estimate 75 to 80 per cent of the responsible officers are conspirators. The point is that of the whole top echelon of internationalists one-third have chosen to place themselves in that one-dept.

From American Mercury - March 1960 Mental Health - W.H.O.
Modern psychiatry - mental health are promoted by the UN-Chisholm crowd, denies God, ridicules the Bible, & its teachings advocate promiscuous sexual behavior - perversion in the name of health & attacks national sovereignty & loyalty. This program is anti-Christian READ: Pros. 14:34

Sin is the worst evil, the source of all other misery in this world. How could sin the worst evil be good for anyone? The false & lying teachers of carnal, sensual, agnostic (devils) doctrines can only teach people how to be enemies of their own souls READ: Tob. 12:10, miserable & displeasing to God - READ: Romans 8:8 freely expressing the loathsome lusts of the flesh - carnal knowledge on how to defile holy temples of God - the bodies of Christian women.

Questions: Why should the American people pay communists employed in the U.S. Govt. wages to destroy our free American way of life, subvert Christian morals, & try to enslave free people? Why couldn't every U.S. Govt. employee be a loyal, trustworthy American upholding the Constitution? This is necessary before people can expect good government designed to serve them!

This writer does not know if the present owners of American Mercury - it McCallen, Isaac have continued to publish reprints, I am working a list of some - if possible to obtain them could be re-printed in different areas in America & distributed - The Zionists control the presses in America - truth is suppressed, news articles slanted. This writer is interested in the fight for freedom cause not playing politics etc etc!

1) The Fight For Your Child's Mind - Nov. 1957
(about brain-picking children in schools)
2) Government Shadow on Education - June 1956
3) Is There Free Speech? - June 1960
(covering Zionist control of the presses)
4) How TV Molds Your Mind - April 1954
5) UNESCO - Communism Trap For Our Youth - July 1958
6) Communism and the Colleges - May 1953
7) The Conspiracy Against America - May 1960
8) Expel, The Cutlers, Russia! - July 1955

From Reader Digest Mag.
Social Science: Key Soviet Strategy - March 1955

Who else is listening? Sept. 1955
Reprints of this informative article are available for distribution at the following price:
100 - 14.00
200 - 15.00
500 - 18.00
1,000 - 22.00 plus shipping charges.
Possibly that many good, moral, Christian women have been corrupted & mind beaten of the evil, devilish use of electronic eavesdropping, wiretaps! Police departments & telephone co. wolves may be guilty!

I believe every white, Christian family in the South & Southeast & whole area of America possible be put to get information to these dangers, threats, conspiracies to their free way of life guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.A. Copies or the enclosed literature could be reprinted on local presses & distributed!

This writer resides on Dewitt St, Syracuse, NY
I write this so no one can lie about who wrote mailed this literature!

Yours truly,
Frank W. F.W.R.

LWD ✓

for the crackpot file, but thought you might want to see it first.

MC ✓ JRAC ✓

TW ✓ Great stuff!

MJ - file

file → Crackpot file

Mr Flemming,

I ask you as a supporter of the Equal Rights for the Negro.

What did Kennedy, our Late assasinated President, prove on his So journ or Visit (at Government Expense?) to Ireland. Do you Mr Flemming go to your Country of Orgin to prove that you are an American.

Or was he just proving that before he was an American, First and Foremost and above all he was Irish. Do you have to be Irish First and then American. Or is the Negro - Negro. First and lastly American.

Mr. Flemming, I would not hesitate to push this Matter to my fullest Extent, Fullermore; I

go a step further and
exert great political pressure
and Energy on Mrs. Chase
Smith of Maine, Here you
have a loose link and Cox
afford you one if not Two
in Congress, Maybe Mississippi
and again in New York.

The Hand that
Time Cannot Equal

Negro supremacy
Assistion of the president
He would removed you guess.
Immorality!

虎と牛の首振

This 'Title 4' law
sounds. to me 'Fasistic'
and inhumane and in
years to come - this
intergration idea will
cause our nation to
disintergrate — you wont
even know who you

or your children are
getting married to.
Also some people
find it physically and
psychologically repul-
sive to have a clos-
assosiation with negro
in a social contact
What about these people

Why do only colored people have rights.
I have had a few colored friends — of my own choosing — not forced on me by a law.

Mrs. M. Kozoll

Moulding of a tiger and an ox both made of Japanese paper, which are found all through the country

my brother Clay City, Ind.
to something
but I am
nothing. 2-12-'70
Southern Regional
Council - I would
like to know, if you
are the Southern Leader-
ship Conference, whose
head is preacher Ralph
Abernathy? I seem
to answer to Psalm 18-43
colored race, head.
My brother, and other
members of my family
regent, my heritage
O Almighty Himself,
here, in His word,
plainer of Jars prefer
to the blockage of my
bedroom door, as there
was no storm door
put on it, from Tough
Hewre, Hahite Roofing
and siding. The lock
are one side, 2 chains
Sister in Christ - Pipe

I must turn myself into state machine washburn, here, in this state

B. Pipes
114 N Washington
Clay City, Ind. 47841

Southern Regional Council
9 Forsyth St. North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Exec. Dir. Leslie W. Dunbar

Crockpots

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Excerpts from "The South and Her Problems," a speech made at the Dallas, Texas State Fair on October 26, 1887 by Henry W. Grady, outstanding Southern journalist on the editorial staff of the Atlanta Constitution, 1879-1889.

"Those who would put the negro race in supremacy would work against infallible decree, for the white race can never submit to its domination, because the white race is the superior race. But the supremacy of the white race of the South must be maintained forever, and the domination of the negro race resisted at all points and at all hazards---because the white race is the superior race. This is the declaration of no new truth. It has abided forever in the marrow of our bones, and shall run forever with the blood that feeds Anglo-Saxon hearts . . . . .

The races and tribes of earth are of Divine origin. Behind the laws of man and the decrees of war, stands the law of God. What God hath separated let no man join together. The Indian, the Malay, the Negro, the Caucasian, these types stand as markers of God's will. Let not man tinker with the work of the Almighty . . . . .

It is a race issue. Let us come to this point, and stand here. Here the air is pure and the light is clear, and here honor and peace abide. Juggling and evasion deceives not a man. Compromise and subservience has carried not a point. There is not a white man North or South who does not feel it stir in the gray matter of his brain and throb in his heart. Not a negro who does not feel its power. It is not a sectional issue. It speaks in Ohio, and in Georgia. It speaks wherever the Anglo-Saxon touches an alien race . . . . .

The Anglo-Saxon blood has dominated always and everywhere. It fed Alfred when he wrote the charter of English liberty; it gathered about Hampden as he stood beneath the oak; it thundered in Cromwell's veins as he fought his king; it humbled Napoleon at Waterloo; it has touched the desert and jungle with undying glory; it carried the drumbeat of England around the world and spread on every continent the gospel of liberty and of God: it established this republic, carved it from the wilderness, conquered it from the Indians, wrested it from England, and at last, stilling its own tumult, consecrated it forever as the home of the Anglo-Saxon, and the theater of his transcending achievement. Never one foot of it can be surrendered while that blood lives in American veins, and feeds American hearts, to the domination of an alien and inferior race."

Henry W. Grady, His Life, Writings and Speeches, ed. by Joel Chandler Harris.
p. 100-102

all of This Came about after Communist decided To use The Negro as a Tool - we had wonderful relations before The Poor will always be with us - I am not rich! The best answer is free Surgical sterilization - When it be offered to The Poor - Abortions No. sterilization yes

He Heard Dixie's Heartbeat In Poverty, Hunger, Illness

If you are truly interested in their plight you will work for sterilization - I know many who want it but don't have money

CHARLOTTE (AP) — He listened to the heartbeat of the South a few years ago and thought it wasn't so good. So Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte took on another patient—Dixie.

Wheeler keeps popping up in places you wouldn't expect to find a soft-spoken Southern doctor with a heavy patient load—on television network documentaries and before congressional investigating committees on hunger and poverty in the South.

His most recent appearance was last week as the opening witness before the U.S. Senate subcommittee on Migratory Labor.

Wheeler, 50, is president of the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta, Ga., based human rights organization. Since 1967 he has made half a dozen or so trips into poverty pockets from Texas to the mountains of his native North Carolina.

His congressional testimony in 1967 on poverty and hunger brought down the wrath of Mississippi's two U. S. senators, Democrats John Eastland and John Stennis.

Stennis called the testimony "gross libel and slander." Eastland called it "totally untrue" and attributed it to "outside agitating doctors" and "quickie experts on Mississippi health."

Wheeler replied that he was "born and reared and educated in the South. I love the region.

"Throughout these years," he added, "my heart has wept for the South . . ."

As a personality, Wheeler does not come on strong. Many people who meet him find him cold.

Another physician has said of him: "He is not overly warm. Some people find him rather abrupt. He is grave at times. He doesn't joke with his patients. There is no small talk and he is not a hand-holder. But he has a great deal of empathy for patients. He has a deep concern for patients as he does for mankind in general."

But when Wheeler wishes to express himself, he can. Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., gave him an opportunity during congressional hearings to answer charges that he was trying to undermine the South. The doctor scribbled his reply during a lunch break. The reply was set down in the book, "Let Them Eat Promises," by Nick Notz. The doctor said:

"I have watched the Southern Negro and the Southern white walk their separate ways, distrusting each other, separated by false and ridiculous barriers, doomed to a way of life tragically less than they deserve . . .

"Throughout all that dreadful pageant of ignorance and suspicion and mutual distrust, the most distressing figure of all has been the Southern political leader who has exploited all our human weaknesses for his own personal and selfish gains, refusing to grant us the dignity and capability of responding to courageous and noble leadership when all of us had nothing to lose but the misery and the desolations which surrounds all our lives."

Wheeler does not go in for publicity for his exploits, as is probably demonstrated by his wife's discovery one day in rummaging through some of her husband's old belongings.

She found a Purple Heart and a Silver Star, medals won for a dashing rescue of two wounded soldiers when he was a battalion surgeon in World War II.

He had never told his wife about the medals.

Wheeler says he does not know what ignited his interest in social problems. But he does recall a relationship he had as a boy with a Negro in Farmville, where he was born.

"There was a black man named Jim Thigpen," Wheeler said, "who was the janitor in the school where my father's office (as superintendent) was. He had a bike and I had a bike and we used to take long bike hikes on Saturday. We'd take a lunch and spend the day together.

"He was a most unusual man. A black man with a menial job in a tiny Southern town where he endured all the disadvantages and the discrimination and the lack of opportunity and repressions that all black people do. Yet he had a sense of personal worth and dignity and a sense of self that not many people have.

"I really admired him a great deal. I guess I didn't appreciate him as acutely at the time I knew him as I did later when we went back for a visit and found that he had died at home of penumonia without any treatment at all.

"I never really forgot that . . ." . . ."

Goldsboro Regains Telephone Service After Cable Leak

RALEIGH (AP) — Southern Bell Telephone Co. said Tuesday it had restored long-distance service to Goldsboro after a cable failure left the city isolated all day Monday and throughout Monday night.

A spokesman for the company said a cable from Raleigh to Goldsboro developed a leak in a section which lay under about eight feet of water in a swamp off Rock Quarry Road south of Raleigh.

He said workmen had to clear a path into the swamp with a tractor and then build a dam to hold back the water before they could repair the cable.

The cause of the leak in the cable had not been determined, the spokesman said.

Frog & Nightgown
Jazz • Dixieland • Pub
Specializing In Exqui
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TOPLESS ★
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and Wedne
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A battalion-s
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Wing from Lan
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464th Tactical
Pope Air Force

The 12th Air
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ipating in the ex

Dunn You
As Tire Ex

DUNN (AP)—A
Dunn youth was
day when a tractor
inflating blew.

The victim was
Bill Boyette. He wa
into the tire, which
removed from the t
placed on a tire-cha
ratus.

When the
rim of the
the head

GOVERNMENT of the people, by the people and for the people, under honest parliamentary procedure, is the only way to develop people to a higher civilization. A weekly debating club in every town is as important as church! Write to The National Forum, 324 Newbury, Boston.

These Labels are Free.

"Aristocracy", "Nobility", "Citizenry", "Slavory", "Oligarchy", "Usury".

This is the social scale. The percentage of each is subject to changes, according to the character of people. Some of these classes are practically absent in present conditions, to such a point that these are mere decoration to the lower classes. The scale above is from top to bottom.

In present conditions, aristocracy is an ornament for usury, and nobility is an ornament for oligarchy, and citizenry is an ornament for slavory. It can be said that in present conditions, only the bottom half does exist, and that the top half is a decoration only. Few are on the fringe of citizenry.

We have a social system, in which usury, the proper waste that will exist in any social system, is the one ruling the present system. By the process of corruption, oligarchy is created, and, slavory is the result of non-existence of citizenry.

Some believe to be free by acting on the incentive of profit exclusively. Their freedom consists only of chosing their corruptors, but have no freedom as citizens.

This freedom, as citizens, they will only have with the Permanent Plebiscit. This institution will convert slavory into citizenry, and oligarchy into nobility, and [redacted] aristocracy will be a new class, while usury will stay that unavoidable waste at the bottom of the scale. Oligarchy and slavory will become nearly extinct. This is social improvement.

Nations are a necessity for the protection of people, so they will not be victims of the monopoly of usury, which is totalitarian and degrading.

Albert R. Runge, C.C. 138, General Roca, Rio Negro, Argentina.
March 3rd, '1962. The apostrophe for the positive value of all the Time.

EL PLEBISCITO PERMANENTE es una función natural que hay que regularizar para uso de todos.
THE PERMANENT PLEBISCIT is a natural function that must be regulated so all can use it.
DAS PERMANENTE PLEBISZIT ist eine natürliche Wirkungweise die reguliert werden muss zur Benützung aller.

MECANICA COSMICA
COSMIC MECHANICS
KOSMISCHE MECHANIK

ALBERTO R. RUNGE
Casilla Correo 138
General Roca, F.N.G.R.
República Argentina
Argentine Republic
Argentinische Republik

En el año	11961	del Aluvio
In the year	11961	of the Alluvium
Im Jahre	11961	des Alluviums

Soy:

Argentino, de padres Alemanes, dibujante en proyección geométrica, jubilado, soltero, a la edad de 63 años. Hablo: Español, Inglés y Alemán. Mantengo esta propaganda con mi muy modesto peculio.

I am:

Argentine born, of German extract, drafsman, pensioned, single, now 63. I speak: English, German and Spanich. I defray this propaganda from my very meager peculium.

Ich bin:

geborener Argentinier, von Deutschen Eltern, im Alter von 63 Jahren, Zeichner in geometrischer Projektion, ledig, pensioniert, spreche: Spanisch, Deutsch un Englisch. Ich unterhalte diese Propaganda mit meinen sehr bescheidenen Mitteln.

Si se elimina la usura de los gastos públicos, se conseguirán todas las demás mejoras como consecuencia.

If usury is eliminated from public expenses, all other improvements will come as a consequence.

Wenn der Wucher aus den öffentlichen Ausgaben entfernt wird, erreicht man all die übrigen Verbesserungen als Folge.

MILITATE FOR PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING WITH SINCERITY

Necessity and Reasons for the **PERMANENT PLEBISCIT**

For its success, a population must enjoy the natural postulate of tradition, with its racial purity. The totality of the law can never be written. Human Kind is Working Kind. Delinquency is often the result of deficiencies in the social system. Thus, delinquency befalls un-assimilated minorities, if persecuted, not so for their racial particularities, but due to simple delinquency. Insistence on non-assimilation compels them finally to delinquency.

An insistence in non-assimilation which is explained by the fact, that no one will fall into the trap he has set for others. No domesticators will submit to domestication, and no usurer will submit to become a victim of usury. Usury is no profession, no race, and to ideology, etc., but just social waste, fostered by human deficiencies, prolific in heterogeneous populations, of recent immigration, lacking national solidarity and nexus with their country of origin.

People get the government they deserve. If people allow to be exploited, they create social waste in the form of domesticators and usurers. But with social self-control, as the P.P. enables them to, will have legitimate authority established in civic governments, which of necessity must be "dictatorial" towards this social waste.

The P.P. is a revival of what the "Ecclesia" was in ancient Times, long before savagery was an excuse to deprive people of their sovereignity. The cosmopolitan domesticators are now the ones possessed with savagery instead. The P.P. is specially for heterogenous populations, where racial and social questions are crossly missunderstood.

Many people believe, that the only way to provide, is by exploitation, and that thus they must protect themselves with social waste. Thus, fanatism, fatalism and anarchism are spread with cosmopolitan domestication, impairing popular and national solidarity.

From a depressed, humbled and lowered environment, only impertinent exploiters are able to claim, that they are "the chosen ones". And, as an obtrusive enemy, keep people spellbound, near exorcism, obtaining artificial reputation, impairing public health and the peoples wealth.

A direly imperfect system of elections provides just a succession of improvisations, with spectators admiring clowning governments. Which seems purposedly to impair prevailing conditions, where exploiters raise their voice of protest, when an improvement breaks the rule.

Most of parliamentary activity is waste. Economical questions cannot be solved there, since public expenditure requires flexibility, which taxes do not provide. Loans on public expenditure are plain usury, even at a low rate of interest, since governments are unable to profit by these loans.

Despotism is thus practiced by plutocracy, distracting governments by claiming continually liberty, for nobodies benefit, but to allow themselves the insolence to defame populations and their institutions. The P.P. requires autonomous thinking for popular and national benefit, not just as a different feature for domestication and exploitation.

Public matters are in the hands of too few, who maintain their oppression with trickery. Public matters are thus neglected and left without consultation. The blame for this is also on those many, who with nationalism defeated, shun the imperfections of this world, instead of meeting them civically. An attitude by which they compel others to bigotry.

Tolerated trickery is shameful to any honest person. To maintain bigotry, domesticators advise to abolish those commodities they themselves abuse of for usury, concealing their purpose to monopolize all wealth and enslave people. As "protectors of proletarians" they profess to be against "capitalism" concealing usury and accusing the property of innocent people, as the cause of all evil.

Hoping to accomplish what organs of publicity refuse to do, more and fuller information will be supplyed with the encyclopedia of the PP., free, on request.

ALBERTO R. RUNGE, C. C. 138, General Roca, Rio Negro, Argentina,
September 13th, 11961 A.A., Anniversary of the declaration of independence in Buenos Aires, 11816 A.A., after that of July 9th in Tucuman.

MILITATE FOR PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING WITH SINCERITY

From Neglect and Exploitation by Social Waste, to Achievements in the PERMANENT PLEBISCIT there is a feasible way.

Work, now a days, is mostly such as to require attentive effort, rather than muscular exertion. Conditions have changed. A Nation is essentially a working population. Work is no particular habit of any class of population. Bearings and legislation should be accordingly. Racial tradition of the population is to be respected. Eradication of savagery shall be no excuse to pretension of artificial prestige to usury. No social waste is desirable. Public economical problems are of concern to all; not just a matter of "specialists". Corruption is defamatory to National interests.

The possibility of improvement is no utopia. If only the prevailing swindel is omitted, conditions will improve notably already. But beyond the neutral point, improvement possibilities go further, into positive action, unobstructed. The P.P. meets the fact, that prevailing conditions do always change, and are never stagnant. Time is an active element, destructive if unheeded.

Present conditions are unsatisfactory, to get people tired, bound to expect ANY change as desirable. Thus people are robbed of their opportunity to have a saying in this, so as to have the change for an improvement. No alternatives are presented, and no discrimination is allowed.

The P.P. will be as liberal and optional, in its use, as any shop in town. It will not abolish existing institutions nor substitute governments. It is to bring changes about gradually and in a consulted way. In it, votes can also be withdrawn, so the support officers enjoy can be determined, including the Time when they are to be relieved by those who are to succeed them.

To emerge from present, unbalanced conditions, where liberty is almost an exclusivity of social waste, it is necessary to introduce the P.P. as a regular institution to provide liberty, insistently, for legitimate, popular and constructive purposes. Distributive activities are just as important as economical and governmental activities, which should not be left to strangers, to become social waste, spreading corruption.

The P.P. enables people to really practice their right to associate, on their own, free choice, which associations can be either temporary or permanent ones, for any licit purpose. The P.P. will be a complement to: government, parliament, commerce, finance, charity, etc. No sanctuary is necessary, honesty will not be restricted to productive and constructive work, but will also expand to all other activities, so no honest person need be ashamed of a function in them.

Corruption can only be eradicated by better acquaintance with commodities, which cannot be abolished. Money, which is one of them, sepresents power and is like a weapon. Since money is used this way, only by a few, these cause an unbalanced situation, with misapprehended privileges and resulting injustices.

The P.P. will come into existence as a regular institution, if people discontinue to indulge in the misapprehension of trusting their wealth and their resources to strangers, making them to social waste. The P.P. will be an institution, where people will be able to put their wealth and resources to good use, so as not to depend on a fallacious incentive of profit. An institution which impairs no legitimate liberty. Present credit institutions do not meet this purpose, serving precariously, only an emergency.

The P.P. will not be conceded willingly to people. Much attention is absorbed by exiting events, at this Time. The P.P. cannot be introduced with the help of public instruction alone, but will require of the Public Lottery, as a primer.

Hoping to effect with this propaganda, sufficient contacts: better equipped to promote this propaganda, more and fuller information will be afforded with the encyclopedia of the P.P., free, on request.

ALBERTO R. RUNGE,
Casilla Correo 138, General Roca, Rio Negro, Argentine Republic.
September 22nd, 11961, A.A. It is the anniversary of a number of events in Argentine History.

Check pat file

Cox stabled a creep mamma named Maggie

Whose head was most gruesome and shaggy.

She wrote with her nail

And the point of her tail

And her stuff was all red and gaggy.

ATLANTA
NOV 9
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1981
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DEFEAT
MUSCULAR DYST
SUPPORT M

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mamma Creep Margaret Long
Buzzards Roost
Sou. Regional Cell
Room 201
5 Forsyth St. Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Washington DC
1-31-62

Council

Dear Sirs —

we read an account that since the politically pressured Court handed down the most bizarre, Unamerican edict in 1954 — that the shot at the negro has been downgraded, not glorified, as predicted. So — it seems the nine were not so sufficient in judging human nature —

Americans, like all humans prefer their own race — just as negroes prefer their own but seem to want to intrude on whites

[illegible]

[illegible] 9 1-31-62

So Reg. Council
WHA

2.

PLEASE READ AND PASS TO OTHERS!

According to careful estimates based on available evidence, virtually 90 per cent of the Negro people of the United States are of mixed ancestry. About 100,000 persons of Negro ancestry "pass" each year as white.

Many people are not aware of all the intermingling, intermarriage and MISCEGENATION (interbreeding of races) which has gone on between whites and Negroes, especially during slavery, and is still going on today.

Intermarriage between whites and Negroes breeds, or produces beautiful mulatto children and could be a solution of race problems and prejudices.

Many light skinned Negroes, such as Adam Clayton Powell, Frank Yerby, Walter F. White (deceased), have obtained national prominence.

Why then are so many people PREJUDICE?

This has an important bearing on the attitude toward the United States in foreign affairs.

Don't be prejudice - this only hurts progress!! Many Negroes are very outstanding and have made important contributions to national welfare.

Some of these have been:

Ralph J. Bunche
Booker T. Washington
George Washington Carver
Fredrick Douglass
W. E. B. Du Bois
Jackie Robinson
Thurgood Marshall
Mary McLeod Bethune
Marian Anderson
Frank Yerby
Langston Hughes
Walter F. White

THANK YOU - - signed "Uncle Sam"

P.S., Please do your part to lift the restrictions of prejudice and "give equal rights to all."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL still has its offices in The Methodist Church Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, even though Methodist Arthur J. Moore went off the board quietly several years ago, "because they made pronouncements on race matters when I was not present to help formulate them." SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL leaders and staff people organized and/or coordinated 12 southern state COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS with $500,000 given to it by the FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. Mrs. L. C. Bates (Daisy), of Little Rock, is shown as a director of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. Harry Ashmore, of Little Rock, is a director of FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC and was a director when the half million dollars was awarded to SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

Even our liberal-minded Bishop got "fed up" to some extent with your gang. You ought to be run out of our Church building.

The enclosure I am sending you ought to make Southern Methodist church members get together and kick you out of property that they paid for You stink.

If some of your officials married niggers it would probably reduce your enthusiasm for social equality.

Questions Youths in Mutilation of Girl

Policeman stands guard over handcuffed group of young men in Englewood police station as they awaited questioning in the rape and mutilation attack on an 11 year old girl near her home at 6725 S. Sangamon st. Identified in group are Sam Chandler (left) and Elijah Hopkins (behind Chandler).

QUIZ NINE BOYS HELD IN RAPE OF GIRL SCOUT

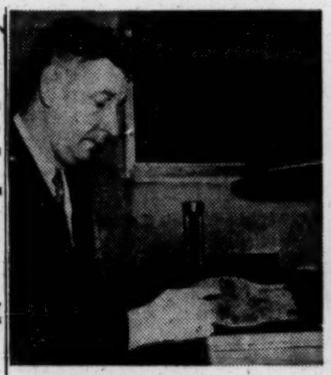
Victim, 11, Too Weak to View Suspects

Nine boys, rounded up in a police search for a gang which seized, stripped, and raped an 11 year old girl near her home on the south side Tuesday night, were questioned yesterday in the state's attorney's sex bureau.

The victim of the attack was reported in fair condition in Englewood hospital, altho still not strong enough to view those seized as suspects. The girl said her attackers were Negroes.

Victim Crawls Home

She told Sgt. Thomas Mulvey of the sex bureau that the gang dragged her into a basement areaway at 6701 Sangamon st., stripped off her Girl Scout uniform, beat and raped her, and slashed her with either a knife or a broken bottle.



Shoes taken from Elijah Hopkins are viewed by Detective William O'Malley before being taken to crime laboratory for examination of possible blood stains.

John Rayford (left) and George Hughes, also in custody for questioning.

She lay helpless in the areaway for half an hour after the attack, weakened from loss of blood, before she was able to crawl to her home a few doors away.

David Stokes, who was held for questioning in the attack.

Police scheduled a lie detector test for one of those held, Elijah Hopkins, 13, of 6511 Sangamon st., who is more than 6 feet tall and weighs 170 pounds. The plan was abandoned, however, when his mother, Ethel, refused to give permission for the test.

Idea for Attack Told

Several others held told police that a short time before the attack Hopkins was urging several companions on the playground of the Kershaw school at 65th st. and Union av. to accompany him to "get" a white girl.

YOUR CHILDREN ARE NEXT -!

Every parent, and particularly every parent who believes in racial "integration", should study the clippings which appear here, for they illustrate a problem which the U.S. Supreme Court has thrust upon millions of white families with its infamous school de-segregation decisions...

The results of the Court's vicious program of compulsory mongrelization are already evident, despite the frantic attempts by the northern commercial press and radio to suppress the facts.

In New York, uniformed policemen have been stationed at integrated schools to protect white children from a Negroidal reign of terror in which white girls have not only been abused and insulted, but have actually been beaten and raped on school premises by Negro "classmates"...

The clipping to the left illustrates the kind of "classmates" YOUR child will be exposed to if large scale "integration" comes to your community.

In Philadelphia, where a gang of Negroes recently raped a 17-year-old white school girl in a South Philadelphia schoolyard, the mass exodus of white families to the suburbs continues. And when Negroes attempted to follow them into the nearby suburb of Levittown, white families rioted...

In Chicago the situation is typified by a recent incident in which a group of Negro students at the Kershaw School decided to "get" a white girl. For their victim they chose an 11-year-old Girl Scout, whom they stripped, beat, raped and slashed viciously with a broken bottle.

(OVER)

In Washington, D.C.'s integrated schools, armed police now patrol the halls to protect white students and teachers from Negro jungle violence. Slashings, knifings, assaults, indecent exposures and sex incidents are so rampant throughout the District's integrated system that white students are virtually deserting the schools en masse. Today, Negroes comprise more than 70% of Washington's student enrollment, whites less than 30%!

AND THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING! To date only a few Northern and border cities have been integrated under the Supreme Court's edict. Slated for eventual "integration" are millions of Negroes in the South, and in many Northern communities as well. It is only a matter of time until every American family will be confronted with the prospect of sending its children into inter-racial schools to be exposed to crime, narcotics, venereal disease and violence through forced association with Negro "classmates". It's already happening in Washington, D.C., in New York, in Chicago -- it will be happening in YOUR schools soon IF the Supreme Court has its way. LET'S FIGHT BACK! LET'S KEEP OUR SCHOOLS WHITE!

REPRINTS: 20 copies for $1.00; 100 copies for $3.00
American Nationalist, Box 301, Inglewood, Calif.

#109

6 Are Jailed For Attacking S. Phila. Girl

Minimum Term Five Years in Schoolyard Crime

Five young men were convicted of attacking a 17-year-old girl yesterday. A sixth had pleaded guilty.

All six were sent to prison for minimum terms ranging from five to seven-and-a-half years. The maximum penalty for each was set at 15 years.

The heaviest minimum jail terms, seven-and-a-half years, were handed out to J

Do you want YOUR children "integrated" with aggressive, dull-witted, over-sized, over-sexed Negroes like these? Then support the efforts of those who are fighting compulsory racial integration by distributing extra copies of this tract!

Jr., 17, of Christian st. near 15th, received a five to 15 years term. He had pleaded guilty to the assault charge.

The jury deliberated from 4.50 to 7.27 P. M. before returning guilty verdicts on the five other youths.

They were convicted on two bills of indictment. One charged rape and aggravated assault and battery. The other was a conspiracy charge.

A third bill charged assault and battery and indecent assault

Long Prison Terms Imposed in Assault on Girl

Recipients of prison sentences for attacking a 17-year-old girl in South Philadelphia are (from left) Ivy Lee Crosland, his cousin Joseph Crosland, Roddy Miller, Jr., Joseph Crosland's brother, Robert, and Donald Johnson, Jr. Also convicted and sent to prison was Leroy Kelly, Jr. (not pictured).

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Racial Opinions of Noted Persons

Lincoln's Remarks on Negroes

In a debate with Douglas in September, 1858, at Charleston, Ill., the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, said:

"I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about, in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes nor qualifying them to hold office.

"I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And, inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

Live Apart From White, Negro Leader Urges

Pittsburgh, Aug. 31 — Elizah Poole, self-styled Negro segregationist, has called for members of his race to live apart from the white man and demanded "justice."

Some 1,000 followers of Poole, also known as Mohammad, cheered at a meeting as their leader and two other speakers called for complete social, economic and political segregation of the Negro.

"If the white man is unwilling to live with us, or doesn't want us to, or is not willing to give us a place in this country where he can live alone, we should leave," said the 61-year-old Georgia-born man. "I am," he continued, "a segregationist. I want the black man to have things of their own — their own homes, their own jobs, their own farms. All I want is justice."

Turning to Christianity, Poole said: "It is the white man's religion offered at the end of a long-handled spoon to keep the black man subjugated."

The followers of Poole call themselves "Moslems", although they have no legitimate connection with orthodox Islam.

Racial Opinions Of Jefferson Repeated

Thomas Jefferson said: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free, nor is it less certain that the two races (white and black), equally free, cannot live in the same government."

He also wrote: "Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them," and if this distinction "is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

Thus spoke Thomas Jefferson, Father of the Democratic party and author of the "Declaration of Independence."

Lincoln and Jefferson both advocated deportation and colonization of the American Negro.

Warning by Burke Has Meaning Today

The Editors: In an admirable letter, Mr. Julius L. DuGive cites as being applicable to the present state of affairs, a passage delivered in the United States Senate, in 1878, by Benjamin H. Hill:

It may not be inappropriate to cite an excerpt from a speech by Edmund Burke, the great British political philosopher. Though these utterances by Burke may be discouraging, they may well be accepted as a challenge.

They challenge us to alert our instinct of political self-preservation, and to arouse every emotion of civic responsibility and political self-respect.

They adjure us to halt the present orgy of judicial debauchery and to save the Constitution from the hands of those men who, having sworn to preserve and uphold the Constitution, are now engaged in the work of its destruction. . . .

(Signed)
M. W. Reynolds

Atlanta

Token Integration Anathema to South

(A Quote)

The Editors: When I read Margaret R. Bridges' letter, recently, I wondered how one could write so many words that say nothing.

She said: "The South has been given a new and urgent mission." That mission, seemingly, is with the Negro. That mission is not new. It has been ours ever since our Northern neighbors brought African slaves (which they did not find profitable) down here and sold them to us.

"We did find them profitable, and in using them to help us, we helped them. We civilized them, and doctored them when they were sick, and taught many of them to read and write. And our relations with them were sensible and friendly, in the great majority of cases. . . .

"What good could it possibly do for whites and the Negroes, to talk together in frankness and patience? Token integregation, as those silly preachers said, means integration just the same. And we of the South do not mean to have that. Integration is the first step toward amalgamation. . . .

"Yes, the South has fulfilled its 'mission' with commonsense, courage, and kindness for 300 years to a race that is in evolution—a race that perhaps God sent us to help.

"In the struggle that is on, the Negro will be the loser. That is inevitable. It is regrettable that his pretended friends have maneuvered him into this position."

(Signed)
Sally F. Parrish

Vidalia

Les:

I hope I'm not overly pessimistic, and I am not being flip. But out of some experience in the past with such letters and such people as write them, I don't think anybody short of a psychiatrist or shock-treatment technician can help the writers of these 2 letters. Some letters, maybe. These-- with no names-- what can you do? I don't think it is possible to reason with them. But I agree with you somebody ought to try to help them. But it ought to be somebody trained.

Patw.

~~Author file~~

File "Crackpots"

Memo from **NOBBIE H. MORGAN**

LWD ✓

Some "Crackpot" letters

that may interest you.

PW – one from Washington,

one from Syracuse. Pa

usual, no name, no

address. How could one

reason with these people

even if he wanted to –

or he should

Who files? → (MMJ) – fee

A Reader's Digest
REPRINT

America, Wake Up!

A wise and loyal friend of the United States warns us: The cold war is *real* war . . . . It is far later than we know . . . . The Communists can win without changing their tactics . . . . We cannot win without changing ours . . . . We must assume the offensive . . . . We dare not stand still . . . . To do so is to continue to lose ground. This is a stern and urgent appeal. It is one that no American can afford to ignore.

By Gen. Carlos P. Romulo

Soviet Communism is on the wildest and most reckless rampage of its ugly career. Primary target—the United States. The American chief of state has been openly insulted, American honor has been trampled and American citizens have been pushed around wherever Communists have power or influence. The Monroe Doctrine, shield of the Western Hemisphere, has been flouted. Communists are taking over in the Caribbean area by infiltration just as decisively as if by armed invasion.

In the face of such menace and humiliation a foreigner in your midst naturally looks for the reaction—an angry ground swell of popular protest. He looks in vain. The American people remain strangely unmoved. Even the cold-blooded murder of U. S. fliers fails to stir them out of complacency.

Such meekness in the greatest and still the strongest nation on earth is puzzling and disheartening to America's friends throughout the world. And there is danger in it. Meekness encourages the aggressor to overplay his hand, bringing closer the very catastrophe it would avert.

I realize that the survival of my

own country, the Philippines, depends on the survival of the United States. Neutralism provides no protection against Communist expansion—as India is now finding out. My country, accordingly, disregards Red intimidation, and the incumbent President of the Philippines, Carlos P. Garcia, has voluntarily invited the United States to establish missile bases on our soil. Therefore, and because of my deep-rooted friendship for your country, I dare to speak out to you without inhibitions. I say:

"America, wake up! Shake off the course of inaction that is giving the forces of evil the right of way in this world! Face up to the blunt fact that you are now engaged in a real war and that it must be fought *and won*. This is the *only* alternative to defeat by default!"

The time for drowsy half-measures has run out. To hope for miracles, such as a change in Kremlin leadership, or friendly negotiations and wise treaties, or a "lessening of tension" is only to fall more inextricably into the Communist trap. Instead, the United States must vigorously provide world leadership. Your firmness, rooted in genuine strength of character, is today the free world's only insurance against the further spread of Soviet tyranny. Your faith that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness has always seemed to the rest of us a national purpose to inspire all mankind and to provide the answer to the pretensions of Red despotism. If now, through apathy or expediency, you waver in your devotion to these ideals of human freedom, a dark age of Communist totalitarianism is certain to engulf the human race.

At its rate of growth since World War II, the universal Communist police state could come into being in our own lifetime. Does this sound like an exaggeration? Well, ancient Romans, too, must have thought the idea of conquest by *their* clamorous barbarians was farfetched. Today, history moves with electronic speed. Processes that in ancient times took centuries to unfold now explode in decades. Who would have thought it possible barely a generation ago, that Communism would soon stand astride two continents, from the Baltic to the Pacific, with extensions of its power in places as far apart as Africa and the Caribbean?

Surely it must be plain to all that Russia is bent on world domination. It must be equally plain that her leaders cannot be trusted. Yet who can doubt that when the Kremlin again decides to adopt a "soft" policy many of us will again be bab-

CARLOS P. ROMULO, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, soldier and statesman, has been the Philippine ambassador to the United States since 1954. Before that he was his country's chief delegate to the United Nations; in 1949 he was elected President of the Fourth General Assembly of the U. N. During World War II he served with Gen. Douglas MacArthur, was several times cited for gallantry in action. His many books include *I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, Crusade in Asia, The United, The Magsaysay Story.*

bling about a "New Look" in Russia, congratulating ourselves on the excellent chances for "peaceful coexistence," and rejoicing in the fond illusion that the "cold war" is about to end?

The sad truth is that the Communists alone control the thermostat of free-world emotions, adjusting it anywhere that suits their needs in the range between glowing optimism and black despair. We ooze happy relief whenever the Kremlin chooses to lower the temperature, and are plunged into worried fear whenever the heat is turned on again. Each change astonishes us anew—and throws us into fresh confusion. We have become tragicomic puppets jerked up or down by strings clenched in Khrushchev's pudgy fists.

While this performance largely immobilizes Western strength, the Communists draw valuable political dividends from the false hopes they induce at calculated intervals. In the period before the Paris summit debacle, for instance, they induced the U. S. government to remove the last wobbly teeth from American broadcasts beamed to the Soviet people, and to ban the word "liberation" as applied to Communist captive nations. The idea was "not to spoil the friendly atmosphere," and "to avoid antagonizing" the Soviet leaders. But apparently no one thought to ask just how you avoid antagonizing a sworn mortal enemy whose sole purpose is to annihilate you utterly!

Regard the fantastic spectacle of Khrushchev's American tour—a propaganda triumph for world Communism and a body blow to anti-Communist forces everywhere—did this not set a world record for futile courting of a despot? The dictator whose whole life has been devoted, and will be devoted, to the destruction of every human right enshrined in the conscience of the free world, was hopefully welcomed as if he were a gentle dove of peace. How gullible can we be?

This grim and fateful comedy will continue until the free world, under forceful and effective American leadership, wakes up to the ruthless reality of the cold war, stops playing a gentlemanly defensive role and starts aggressively to outfight the Communists on their own terms. Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, who has analyzed the Communist concept of "protracted conflict," writes: "For the Communists, there are no different kinds of war, hot or cold. There is only one war—*war to the finish*." In this everlasting war, the Communists use any and every weapon, from propaganda leaflets to military force, from sabotage and murder to smiles and handshakes. And they are *always* on the offensive.

The fact that the free world has always been on the *defensive* accounts for the amazing speed with which the Red enemy has succeeded in enslaving a third of the human race. We have allowed the Communists to take the initiative every-

where, to choose the battlegrounds, the issues, even the weapons at any given time. Free-world counteraction has been constantly improvised under these always unexpected assaults and has therefore been erratic and often panicky. Time after time we resort to a hurried shoring-up of some threatened position which, even if successful, merely retains what we already hold. The shameful idea seems to be that, if we can just barely hang onto what is clearly and rightfully ours, while the Communists scoop up everything else, we will be doing as well as could be expected.

We rush from one crisis to another, each plainly labeled "Made in Soviet Russia." We scramble from one segment of the globe to another, always at times and places of Soviet choosing. When we negotiate, it is invariably about some issue the Communists deliberately create for propaganda purposes and to keep us off balance: the Matsu-Quemoy islands, West Berlin, nuclear tests, disarmament. Never once have we aggressively raised issues to put *them* on the defensive. When will the flabby statesmanship of the Western world come to realize that the cold war is a *real* war and that, as with all wars, we are certain to lose it if we don't take the offensive?

The only explanation for this inaction must be our failure to understand *even now* the nature of the Communist challenge. But surely it should be clear to all that Moscow and Peiping have an inflexible goal —the creation of one Communist world—and a carefully planned strategy for achieving it. They know that they are engaged in a long war. They know that, short of ceasing to be Communists, they cannot settle for anything less than total victory in that war. We, on the other hand, feebly putting up our guard in a series of scattered defensive skirmishes, have no definite goal beyond the hope of a tolerable truce that will allow us to go about our daily affairs without any more annoying interruptions.

The irony of this is that an understanding of the Communist challenge is not hard to obtain, since it has been frankly spelled out by Kremlin leaders from Lenin to Khrushchev. Everything that has taken place in Asia, for instance, conforms to a blueprint drawn up by a Soviet-sponsored Congress of the Peoples of the East held in Baku in September 1920. There the master plan for exploiting colonial tensions and nationalist sentiment was formulated and *published*. But, blind to such repeatedly proclaimed and inflexible Red purposes, the United States and its associates have preferred to treat the conflict as an aberration, a casual misunderstanding that can be adjusted piecemeal by patient bargaining!

Meanwhile, Western leaders keep paying blackmail in concessions and small surrenders. Consider these instances:

The United States rolled out the red carpet for Anastas Mikoyan: a kind of preview of the later Khrushchev visit. Not long before, an American plane had been electronically lured into Soviet Armenia (Mikoyan's native area) and 17 American fliers were lost. The American government had documentary proofs of Soviet guilt, but withheld them until Mikoyan left, in order not to spoil his good-will tour. How much good did it do?

Before the Paris summit meeting was agreed to, there was a Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva. President Eisenhower stated repeatedly that, unless this conference produced concrete results, a summit conference such as Khrushchev was demanding would not take place. The Ministers' Conference accomplished nothing—but the summit meeting was agreed to notwithstanding. Should its failure have been unexpected?

In its anxiety to make the Geneva meeting successful, the United States came close to *de facto* recognition of East Germany (ardently desired by the Kremlin) by agreeing to "observers" from East Germany on a par with those from West Germany. Khrushchev, having artificially created a crisis in West Berlin with his ultimatum, bellowed that the situation in that city was "abnormal." Washington went along with this, using the very same word. The obvious retort should have been that the situation in West Berlin, since it complied with treaty terms, was perfectly normal—that the abnormality was in East Germany, where Soviet domination continued in violation of postwar treaties pledging free elections.

Incorrigibly hopeful despite everything, the United States twice renewed the moratorium on nuclear testing, thus giving the Kremlin exactly what it wanted—a test ban without inspection. Even now there is hesitation about ending the moratorium, though the protracted negotiations have yielded only frustrations for the United States and propaganda victories for the Soviet Union.

The unfortunate truth is that the free-world leaders are dealing with a sinister global conspiracy by international gangsters as if it were an old-style dispute between civilized nations which respect the diplomatic niceties and the sanctity of treaties. We continue to hope for progress in phony "negotiations" which, on the Communists' side, are just a part of the cold war that we are losing piecemeal. And, worst of all, the democratic coalition has been acting in the vain hope of "relieving tensions," stabilizing situations, "keeping the boat from rocking," of "*containing* Communism," instead of striving ultimately to *eliminate* the scourge. Meanwhile, the Red offensive remains intense, planned and persistent.

I have had considerable personal experience with that persistence. When the United Nations was being launched in San Francisco in 1945,

a charming, Spanish-speaking Russian "accidentally" found himself near me each morning at breakfast in the hotel dining room. He used the opportunity to talk about how the United States had "abandoned the Philippines in the war," and wondered aloud how I, as an Asian, could stomach a country that oppresses its racial minorities. Some years later, when I was the Philippine member of the Far Eastern Commission in Washington, a Soviet general on the commission continually sought me out and harangued me on the wickedness of the United States. It was obvious that he had been assigned to indoctrinate and pressure me. Still later, when I was president of the U.N. General Assembly, Andrei Vishinsky had me to dinner three times at the Soviet residence in Glen Cove, Long Island, where he deployed his considerable charm and forensic talent in an attempt to turn me against the West.

In my case, of course, these tactics didn't work. But I knew the same tactics were being employed with regrettable success against other more vulnerable Asians. Thus the Communists carry their ceaseless campaign down to the level of personal contacts, while Americans make no similar efforts. Have you ever heard of high American officials, speaking foreign languages fluently, "working on" pro-Communists or neutralists? As one Asian colleague said to me: "The Americans seem to recall that we exist only when some crisis in Asia very clearly endangers their own interests."

Consider another decisive front in the many-sided Communist offensive—propaganda. When President Eisenhower reached Manila last spring, some two million of my Filipino countrymen converged on the city in a tumultuous demonstration of affection for, and faith in, the United States. In view of the present widespread revolt against colonialism, the spectacle had a special meaning: these were people who had been for 48 years, until July 4, 1946, under American rule. Surely this dramatic show of friendship spoke volumes for the enlightened character of American relations with alien peoples under its flag. Similar massive expressions of warm esteem met the President in Korea, Formosa, Okinawa, India, Pakistan and Latin America. Vice President Nixon was given a vast and ecstatic reception in Poland.

Yet there was no effective American propaganda effort to impress the significance of these enthusiastic receptions on the rest of the world. On the other hand, the student riots in Japan which forced the cancellation of the President's trip, and the attacks on Vice President Nixon in Latin America—such incidents, engineered by Communists, have been successfully exploited by Red propaganda to convey to neutral nations the notion of a faltering and abased America.

Another result of the West's passivity in the face of the Soviet Un-

ion's ceaseless propaganda offensive has been to make Western "colonialism" the whipping boy in world opinion, while the cruelties of Red imperialism against its captive peoples are all but forgotten. Bloody oppressions in Hungary have not abated; massacres continue in Tibet; Chinese forces still occupy Indian soil and make probing forays into Laos and Nepal. Yet the West keeps up no continual barrage of propaganda about these Red iniquities.

No less remarkable is the success of the Kremlin "peace" and "total disarmament" pretensions. And this despite the known fact that Moscow and Peiping have been directly responsible for virtually every war and war scare since 1945. Witness the international sensation the Communists were able to foment over the U-2 incident, and compare this with the failure of the United States to arouse world opinion against the Soviets' repeated murderous attacks on American planes over international waters.

Dozens of other examples could be cited. To make matters worse, Communist propaganda is allowed to undermine public morale and sow confusion in the United States itself. Former President Herbert Hoover was alluding to this, in a recent speech, when he spoke of "a multitude of citizens who have sunk to the posture of perpetual apology and seeming shame for ourselves."

America's puritanical background and its inherent honesty seem to have produced an inordinate guilt complex. Somehow, it has become the fashion to belittle major American accomplishments, while all Soviet claims, including dubious boasts of *future* accomplishments, are played up in a groveling spirit.

How are we to account for this persistent failure of America to project on the mind of mankind an accurate image of its own society and a truthful image of the Communist slave world? Why does the United States accept setbacks in this area so supinely? Certainly this cannot be due to lack of propaganda ability—in a country where the arts of image-building are so highly developed. What is lacking is a clear grasp of the incalculable importance of this phase of the protracted conflict.

A global campaign of public education should be mounted on a scale to outmatch the Communists. It must be resourceful, aggressive, unafraid and prepared to turn their own weapons of subversion and infiltration against them. But this will never be done until the necessity of defeating Communism—*defeating*, mind you, not *resisting*—is recognized. Only then can you begin to tell the truth as uninhibitedly and effectively as the enemy tells lies.

From the hour of its birth, the Soviet regime has regarded *agitprop*—agitation and propaganda—as no less important than military strength. So has Red China. Both invest billions of dollars in these enterprises. They have hundreds of special schools which turn out armies of experts in brainwashing and

subversion, for deployment throughout the world. In addition, they train Asians, Africans, Latin Americans, West Europeans and even citizens of the United States in all revolutionary techniques, from propaganda and sabotage to street rioting and guerrilla fighting.

How long will free men refuse to see the obvious: the Communists can expunge what remains of freedom with these weapons of political and psychological combat. How long will free men discount this prime threat as "merely" a cold war, a side show, that can be "ended" through social amenities and an exchange of dancers?

The 1960's are the critical years. This is the time for heroic decisions—decisions that will at long last enable the free world to gain the offensive. It is much too late for negative, purely defensive strategy. We cannot possibly win that way. We must fight back in deadly earnest, using a large-scale concentration of brains, skills and budget—everything we possess—to outmaneuver the Communists in their own kind of war.

What I have said here to the America I love and admire applies no less to all other free nations, my own among them. Freedom has become indivisible. To settle for a world half-slave, half-free is the surest road to surrender. The new barbarians cannot be bought off or contained. *They must be defeated.* This can still be done without a nuclear showdown—by an all-out offensive in the fields of propaganda, economic aid, public education and, in general, fighting fire with fire in every part of the globe.

We can yet drive the Reds in their turn onto the defensive. There are plenty of weaknesses and vulnerable spots in the Communist camp—and we can exploit every one of them. We can turn the Communists' own weapons, including infiltration and subversion, against them. We can create "crises" in *their* home territory, instead of waiting passively for crises in ours. We can train specialists in every branch of cold warfare instead of relying on amateurs. We can keep alive the hope of release from servitude among our enslaved brothers under the Communist yoke.

Appeasement is as futile in a cold war as it has proved to be, throughout the ages, in hot war. Continued apathy, or half-measures, in the struggle now under way will only encourage the Communists to underrate our will to resist, thus eventually crowding us into a corner where we will have to choose between nuclear war and surrender.

The only possible solution is to wage this protracted conflict twice as hard, twice as effectively, as the Communists are now waging it. We must embark on a massive offensive, turning every Communist trick and stratagem—from propaganda to infiltration—against our mortal enemy. This is the one and only way to win the struggle for survival.

Reprinted from the November 1960 issue of The Reader's Digest

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A Reader's Digest REPRINT

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS

which protect the dignity and freedom of the individual.

Right to worship God in one's own way.

Right to free speech and press.

Right to assemble.

Right to petition for grievances.

Right to privacy in our homes.

Right of habeas corpus—no excessive bail.

Right to trial by jury—innocent till proved guilty.

Right to move about freely at home and abroad.

Right to own private property.

Right to work in callings and localities of our choice.

Right to bargain with our employers.

Right to go into business, compete, make a profit.

Right to bargain for goods and services in a free market.

Right to contract about our affairs.

Right to the service of government as a protector and referee.

Right to freedom from "arbitrary" government regulation and control.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

designed to

SERVE THE PEOPLE

FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF IN GOD

Reprinted from the March 1949 issue of The Reader's Digest

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from American Mercury - Jan + March 1962 McAllen Texas

Hogpoge in America has done more to destroy the teachings of Our Lord, Jesus Christ and the Bible, the very foundation and the strongest bulwark of American morality than the Zionists to whom its eternal truths are the ultimate anathema

The great ideal of Judaism is that the whole world shall be imbued with Jewish teachings, and that in a universal Brotherhood of Nations -

The National Jewish Post + Opinion P.2 4/18/58 stated Jews are now proving their collectivity by building up the labor unions in the United States + in building the Soviet system in the U.S.S.R.

Criticism of Israel is synonymous with a crime against the nation + unfavorable comment on any action by Jews anywhere is treated as anti semitism - William Zuckerman - Editor - Jewish Newsletter

Theodor Herzl, at a secret conference of the Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, made this statement: In countries known as progressive and enlightened we have created a scandalous, filthy, abominable literature. For some years after our entrance to power we shall continue to encourage its existence - from Feb. 1960

This criminal conspiracy is anti-Christian and anti-American. Human beings have the right to defend themselves against unjust aggression + oppression

AMERICAN
MERCURY
37TH YEAR

PORNOGRAPHY, A Political Weapon

An alerted and determined public can fight obscenity and win

by John Benedict

PORNOGRAPHY is being used as a political weapon by chicane forces so well protected from public view that barely a hint of their true identity is known by the consuming public. Christianity, specifically that aspect of it termed Christian action, provides the only effective counter-weapon in combatting the bestializing effects of nationwide acceptance of pornography.

An overwhelming flood of pornographic writings, motion pictures and other materials are being prepared for unlimited distribution throughout America. That people welcome this deluge of filth is inconceivable; enough opposition has developed to indicate the contrary to be true, even though the planners already have gauged the quality of expected resistance and found it weak and lacking in temper.

Citizen resistance, except locally, has been almost useless, because it has developed from false premises. The average citizen sees the fight against obscenity as a contest between the local censor or community leaders and the salesmen of lewd books, films and periodicals. Such contests almost always revert to the legal arena; it is there that the promoters and propagators of pornography win their battles. The defender of the moral law seeks justice in the courts; the devotee of the cult of immorality seeks judicial sanction. On a sectional and national level the immoralist almost invariably wins in the courts.

The January, 1960, AMERICAN

6 for $1.00 100 Copies and Up 7¢

From The American Mercury, February, 1960
AMERICAN MERCURY
250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

MERCURY discussed the ramifications of "The *Lady Chatterley's Lover* Case," paying specific attention to the forces promoting the sale of the unexpurgated version of the novel. A shallow dip under the surface of that case revealed that many of the individuals involved had given, some ten years earlier, direct support to Alger Hiss. Other undersurface connections were traced from the Chatterley case to Kuhn Loeb and Company and also into the Communist Party and its fronts. But under everything was the reek of Felix Frankfurter and his proteges.

FEDERAL COURT Justice Frederick vanPelt Bryan's decision on July 21, 1959, upsetting Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield's postal ban of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, followed closely on the heels of the United States Supreme Court's decision of June 29, 1959, which allowed exhibition of the uncensored version of the motion picture of the same name. Kingsley International Pictures Corporation, the film's distributor, had carried its fight against New York's film licensing law up through the courts on appeal from an earlier adverse ruling against the Chatterley film.

Justice Potter Stewart delivered the opinion of the Court, based "upon First Amendment liberties, protected by the Fourteenth Amendment from infringement by the States." The core of the opinion was that New York had prevented the film, "Lady Chatterley's Lover," from being exhibited

> because that picture advocates an idea—that adultery under certain circumstances may be proper behaviour. Yet the First Amendment's basic guarantee is of freedom to advocate ideas. The State, quite simply, has thus struck at the very heart of constitutionally protected liberty.
>
> It is contended that the State's action was justified because the motion picture attractively portrays a relationship which is contrary to the moral standards, the religious precepts and the legal code of the citizenry. This argument misconceives what it is that the Constitution protects. . . . It protects advocacy of the opinion that adultery may sometimes be proper, no less than advocacy of socialism or the single tax.

Adulterers will no doubt be quite happy to learn that the U. S. Supreme Court, in all of its august majesty, has decreed that the Constitution's benign influence extends to advocacy of illicit *affaires d'amour*. Thus has been accomplished the first step in the establishment of a pornocracy. Justice Stewart's inclusion of the term "advocacy of socialism" is another presage of things to come.

And what did Justice Felix Frankfurter, the dominant influence on the Supreme Court since 1941, have to say?

He opined that he was

more than surprised, after viewing the picture, that the New York authorities should have banned "Lady Chatterley's Lover." *To assume that this motion picture would have offended Victorian moral sensibilities is to rely only on the stuffiest of Victorian conventions.* (Our emphasis.)

Frankfurter continued at length developing his pet theories of law: the buttressing of his opinion by sociological references—in this case quotations from D. H. Lawrence's writings on obscenity—and citations from British law on obscene publications. This latter Frankfurter practice is particularly obnoxious to Justice William O. Douglas, who complained: "Reference is made to British law and British practice. But they have little relevance to our problem, since we live under a written Constitution."

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK bracketed Frankfurter from the other side, objecting to the circumstances of the ruling whereby "every member of the Court must exercise his own judgment as to how bad a picture is, a judgment which is ultimately based at least in large part on *his own standard of what is immoral.*" (Our emphasis.) This seems a direct slap at Frankfurter, who, with Whittaker, had concurred in Harlan's opinion. Harlan had decided that he could not "regard this film as depicting anything more than a somewhat unusual, and rather pathetic 'love triangle.'"

A great deal more may be said concerning this ruling, which may be found in its entirety on pages 16141-45 of the *Congressional Record* of September 1, 1959. Buried in the text are the repeating threads of a pattern so vivid in its texture that it constitutes evidence of megalomania on the part of the Court.

Since pornography has been and is being used as a political weapon, as a psychological tool for mass corruption, an intelligent defense against its pernicious effects must be formulated. Comprehension of the true nature of the enemy must be obtained, the cobwebs of deceit swept away. A first step in the right direction is a clear understanding of the Supreme Court's role in the unleashing of the current pornographic onslaught.

Part of that understanding can be derived from reading *Nine Men, A Political History of the Supreme Court from 1790 to 1955,* by Fred Rodell (Random House, 1955). Rodell's personal emphasis is one thing; but his marshalling of facts to prove "the Court is the sanctuary of sanctimonious political partisanship" is quite another. Murray A. Gordon of the New York Bar, in a review of this book, wrote one of the most vitriolic attacks against an author ever to be included in the pages of the communist-front *National Lawyers*

Guild Review (Winter, 1956, issue, page 160). He wrote that

> Rodell tells us [that the] few renegades [on the Court never deterred it] from collectively yielding to the importunities of the monied interests or to the necessities of the political origins of the members of the Court; [that] the decisions of the Court are merely the expressions of individual political predilections, [therefore] the Court has no warrant to perform the high function of determining the constitutionality of government action. [Gordon complains that] Rodell strips the Court of its veneer of symbolism with the acid of his realism, and leaves only a Court as devoid of power, as it is, according to him, devoid of principle. . . . He cannot insist that the Court is simply the abode of a handful of men, each intent upon following his political and economic star, and then ask us to invest them with the final discretion to sustain or strike down legislation.

IT IS PRECISELY on Rodell's points that public attention must be focused. Personal value judgments —held by the nine men on the Court—as to what does or what does not constitute pornography, obscenity, immorality and sacrilege should not be perpetrated upon 178,000,000 people; yet they are. The Court has no warrant from the Constitution to determine what is the "law of the land" as to the propagation of filth among the youth of the nation; yet it does.

An interesting sidelight to the Post Office's recent attack on pornography is the observation by Stanley Meisler in his article, "Hidden Censor," in *The Nation* for October 10, 1959. He states:

> Under the guidance of a dynamic new general counsel, Herbert B. Warburton, the department is studying ways of revising its procedures to meet the objections of book publishers and civil-liberties groups. Warburton hopes to ask Congress for legislation that would put the power of judging obscenity increasingly in the hands of the courts.

Since we, as a nation, unwittingly have given to the Supreme Court the power to order and control our destinies, we must, as individuals, do everything we can to thwart the evil effects of the Court's rulings. Extralegal methods for seeking redress are out; what is left is simply this: we can refuse to fight the pornographers and their allies *on their terms*.

What methods of counterattack are left? Ruthless and unremitting *exposure* of every element of the conspiracy behind the pornography racket. *Suppression* of degrading literature, advertisements and films by boycott, ostracism, picketing, enforced cooperation, police pressure, legal harrassment, *any* method allowable in our society. *Investigation* of future intent of the pornographers so that preventive measures may be prepared.

How is pornography a political, or more correctly, a psychopolitical, weapon? The instant a person picks up a piece of pornographic or obscene literature in any of its forms, or attends a movie which has been advertised in a manner so as to awaken his prurient interest or continues to watch a TV show which is covertly lewd in its appeal, he begins to lose his self-respect and with it respect for his fellow human beings. The degree to which he succumbs to the lure of the lascivious, *within himself,* determines the completeness of his degradation. Passion is not unnatural, nor will any religious source so state; no, it is how that passion is directed—and into what channels —that is important to the spiritual and moral well-being of the individual, which ultimately is reflected in the state of the nation and of all mankind.

The first enemy to conquer is oneself; once that has been accomplished we can look to our fellowmen. If we do not, how can we point the finger at all the myriads of corruptive influences at work in our civilization with any degree of conviction or desire to ameliorate such conditions? Once man is animalized, de-Christianized, psychoanalyzed, debauched sexually, brainwashed into passive acceptance of immoral law as the *sine qua non* of his existence, he is fit only to wear shackles as a slave. *And that is exactly what the men who have planned this expect to happen.*

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC distributed 2,000 copies of *Banned Books* by Anne Lyon Haight (R. R. Bowker Company, New York, 2nd Edition, 1955) to libraries and library trustees. This book lists chronologically those books which fell under a ban because of heresy, treason or obscenity from 387 B.C. to 1954 A.D. It has an introduction by Morris Leopold Ernst. Ernst for years was the treasurer or board director of the American Fund for Public Service, "a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises" (Dies Committee Report, March, 1944, page 76, and Appendix IX, 1944); a member of or otherwise connected with the communist-fronts, the National Lawyers Guild, Sacco-Vanzetti National League, Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, counsel for the cited American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); and co-author of *To The Pure,* published in 1928 by the Freethought Press Association, organ of the national atheistic organization, the Freethinkers of America. This book was described by the Freethought Press as a "study of obscenity and the censor. A valuable contribution to the literature of man's struggle with his sex complex, and the efforts of organized religion in politics to stifle his attempts to acquire infor-

mation." Excerpts from the book, *American Stuff,* edited and sponsored by Ernst, read into the *Congressional Record* in November, 1938, "were so vile in part, they were unprintable." (Dies hearings, 1938, pages 2741-44.)

Ernst has exerted a great deal of effort for over 30 years towards the legitimatization of obscenity, as an ACLU lawyer, as an author of several books on censorship and as a coordinator for others interested in the same objective (among them, D. H. Lawrence, author of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*).

In his introduction to *Banned Books,* he observed that the

> church, maintaining power over masses of illiterate folk, gave evidence of its inner insecurity by endeavoring to maintain power by the suppression of criticism. . . . As the power of the church was diminished . . . censorship shifted from blasphemy into the area of sedition, and then after the democratic process had taken root . . . the power of the state over men's minds dwindled. . . . the next big shift [was] from sedition to obscenity. . . . Anthony Comstock . . . pushed through our first obscenity laws, promptly to be copied in most of the states of the Union. From 1870 to 1915, the practice of book publishers was to submit manuscripts to the Comstock Society. . . . after 1915 a line of cases were brought to court, narrowing to a substantial extent suppressible obscenity.

IT WAS ERNST who made the first major breach in the barriers which had been so carefully erected between the degenerate writers, publishers and distributors and the impressionable youth and nearly defenseless citizenry of this country, barriers long maintained by individuals who often had dedicated their lives to the task. Ernst defended in court James Joyce's *Ulysses,* which luridly reflected its author's predilections for scatological and immoral matters. This literary garbage had been burned, literally, by our postal authorities from its earliest appearance in this country in 1918 until 1933 when Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., admitted it as a *classic,* under a Tariff Act provision which permitted entry of so-called classics for non-commercial purposes at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Ernst then defended Random House and the book in court, and Judge John M. Woolsey of the U. S. Southern New York District Court (founder of the *Columbia Law Review* and adviser to the Harvard Law school) raised the ban with the observation that it was a "sincere and honest book. . . . I do not detect anywhere the leer of the sensualist." He ruled that the book was not pornographic because even though

> the meaning of the word "obscene" as legally defined by the Courts is:

tending to stir the sex impulses or to lead to sexually impure and lustful thoughts, . . . whether a particular book would [so] tend . . . must be tested by the Court's opinion as to its effect on a person with average sex instincts. [His] considered opinion, after long reflection [was that nowhere did the book] tend to be an aphrodisiac.

ON APPEAL of the U.S. vs. One Book Called *Ulysses* case in 1934, Judge Augustus N. Hand, of the New York Circuit Court of Appeals, wrote the opinion which sustained Woolsey's ruling. The (Gathings) House Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials Report, issued on December 31, 1952, analyzed this universally cited ruling, which held that the pertinent theme of an allegedly obscene book was the controlling factor, particularly if the book has high "literary quality" and the obscene contents only delineate character. This, stated the committee,

> is as elatic as rubber in its interpretative susceptibility and supplies the purveyors of obscenity with an excuse regardless of what is the degree of obscenity involved and requires each and every book to be judged separately, an almost impossible task.
>
> Thus a long-existing principle of law dealing directly with obscenity in literature yielded in a revolutionary degree to adjust judicial decisions to the mores of the time. . . . [This established] a new legal philosophy in that field but one so elastic that it serves as the basis for excuse to print and circulate the filthiest, most obscene ltierature . . . ever known in history. Referred to constantly by every publisher of obscene literature whenever approached on the subject, a layman finds it difficult to successfully counter the argument of the publishers citing the *Ulysses* case.

There is, however, a legal counterargument, and the Gathings Committee supplied it by quoting from an opinion by Federal Judge Goodman of the Southern Division of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California. Judge Goodman, in U.S. vs. Two Obscene Books, referred directly to the *Ulysse* case among others:

> There has been a tendency, as indicated in the decisions of the Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit [New York, Connecticut and Vermont] and the District of Columbia to "liberalize" the definition of obscenity as it has come to us from the English courts.

Referring to obscene passages in *Ulysses* and other books, he continued:

> They are sought to be justified by the claim that the books as a whole have an artistic pattern, and to which the obscene and scatalogical portions fit as a part of a whole literary mosaic. But I must conclude that this is a mere sophistry. The filthy scatalogical portions are written in a bluntly different and distinct style from the [rest of *Ulysses*].

Judge Goodman then turned to *Tropic of Capricorn,* by Henry Miller, one of the two books before him in this case in 1950.

> It may be the modern trend towards frankness in sexual matters has influenced the viewpoint of claimant and the critics who espouse the cause of Miller. . . . It is sufficient to say, however, that the many obscene passages in the books have such an evil stench that to include them here in footnotes *would make this opinion pornographic.* . . . If this be importable literature, *then the dignity of the human person and and the stability of the family unit, which are the cornerstones of our system of society, are lost to us.* (Our emphasis.)

Judge Goodman applied the Hicklin test of obscenity (see below) to the books, held them to be obscene, and continued:

> It is contended . . . that *Tropic of Capricorn* must be treated differently because . . . these episodes or passages are stated to constitute [only] 13 per cent of the total number of pages in the book.

Judge Augustus Hand, in his opinion on *Ulysses,* considered "the established reputation of the work in the estimation of approved critics" as an important factor.

Judge Woolsey raised the ban on Marie C. Stopes' *Married Love* in 1931, saying, "I cannot imagine a normal mind to which this book would seem to be obscene or immoral." As a result, Stopes' book, *Contraception,* also gained entry and this cleared the way for a flood of imported birth control literature. It was Ernst who successfully defended the study in perversion, *The Well of Loneliness,* by Radclyffe Hall, in 1939.

In Haight's *Banned Books,* a survey of the cases cited shows conclusively that 1930 marked the year in which the pornographer-agitators gained their first major victory; in that year the Collector of Customs raised the government ban on dozens of obscene books.

HAIGHT'S BOOK also lists some of the judges who have contributed most to the cultural debacle in this country which has resulted from their rulings for the purveyors of obscenity. They were New Jersey Superior Judge Sidney Goldman, who, in 1953, ruled in favor of Bantam Books' *The Chinese Room,* by Vivian Connell; New York Magistrate Jonah J. Goldstein, who, in 1935, discharged a complaint against sale of Gustave Flaubert's *November;* New York City Magistrate Benjamin Greenspan, who exonerated Erskine Caldwell's *God's Little Acre* of the charge of obscenity in 1933, a decision which "marked a milepost against censorship. It rested on the fact that the book must be considered in its entirety, not in isolated passages;" and New York City Magistrate Nathan D. Perlman, who dismissed the case against

Andre Gide's *If It Die* in 1936, and who acquitted Roy Larsen, formerly publisher of *Life* magazine, when he was arrested for selling a copy of his magazine containing a picture story from the film, "Birth of a Baby," previously ruled indecent and corruptive. [Larsen is now president of *Time,* Inc.]

The moral tone of literature sold and read in this country has been successively lowered, ruling by ruling, by judges in New York City. That an opinion by a city magistrate "marked a milepost against censorship," affecting the lives of every person in this country, as it ultimately has, is an absolute disgrace. When it is also realized that it has been a New York organization, the cited Communist-front ACLU (with which Felix Frankfurter and Morris L. Ernst have been intimately associated), which provided the "legal talent" in many cases for New York City publishers, supported by New York City literary "critics," it becomes clear where the focus of infection lies.

Banned Books provides other interesting and pertinent historical information. There was a *Chinese Index* in 1884 to suppress communistic and revolutionary writings; conversely there was originated and in operation by 1926 in Soviet Russia an *Index* of the *Soviet Inquisition* (its official title) which stated in its direction to libraries: "The section on religion must contain solely anti-religious books." It suppressed all books "which confound science with religious inventions, speak of the wisdom of the Creator and the immorality of Darwinism." In 1953, in East Germany, the communist cultural advisers removed from the libraries, schools and bookshops at least 5,000,000 volumes by German, Nazi and foreign authors. In 1954 the same advisers banned Mickey Mouse as an anti-Red rebel.

PERHAPS the first major judicial sanction of obscenity in the United States was that made by Judge Learned Hand (again in New York City) of Harvard Law School. Judge Hand protested the Hicklin rule in 1913 in U.S. vs. Kennerley in which he called for "adequate portrayal of some of the most serious and beautiful sides of human nature."

Two Negro physicians, Dr. Edward C. Mazique, president-elect, National Medical Association, and Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, testified before the Granahan House Postal Subcommittee Investigating the Problem of Obscene Literature. They said,

> They knew from their own observation that pornographic literature contributes directly to mental illness among young people who habitually read it.
>
> Dr. Mazique . . . added that obscene literature is a special threat to people of his race. "By nature of the

fact that the great masses of Negroes are in the lower socio-economic group," he explained, "they are the most helpless in the face of the inundating force of lewd and obscene literature."—*The Tablet,* June 6, 1959.

WHAT IS a projected result of the spreading rot of moral degeneracy now besetting America and the rest of the world, a rot which has been accelerated by the pornographer-agitators? Miss G. M. Godden's *Russia Under the Red Flag* (Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., London, 1929) gives a clue. She realized that pornography always goes hand-in-hand with anti-Christian propaganda and agitation. As a result, her book was savagely suppressed here and abroad. She wrote (page 61):

> Theatrical representations have been devised, throughout Russia, parodying the Gospels with a bestial obscenity impossible to describe in these pages. The actors, by whom all the relations of human life are openly carried out before the audience, may be boys and girls. . . . The organizer of the blasphemous and obscene theatrical propaganda of the Soviet Government is E. V. Meyerhold . . . the Director of the now famous Revolutionary Theatre in Moscow.

Miss Godden further wrote that:

> In a special appeal Zinovieff [Ovse Gershon Radomilsky, sometimes called Apfelbaum] declared: 'We will grapple with the Lord God in due season. We shall vanquish him in his highest Heaven and wherever he seeks refuge, and we shall subdue him forever! . . . Month after month, for 11 years, the flood of obscenity and blasphemy has been poured over Russia, and has been directed down every channel by which the people could be reached.

Miss Godden exposed the horrible system of the *Proletcult* (Soviet Education):

> Alexandra Kollontai . . . wrote in 1922: "Immorality in the schools is making satisfactory progress; many young girls of 15 are already pregnant. We may rejoice, for we shall have some new little communists." . . . One of the masters in a Moscow Academy describes the new *Proletcult* education quite frankly: "The boys and girls are herded together indiscriminately, and there is no semblance of morality. There is no pretence at discipline. No punishments are inflicted, no homework is set, and no marks are allowed.' "

These nauseous facts are the outcome of a carefully devised section of the tactics of International Communism. The International Communist is perfectly aware that one of the most intractable of the obstacles to . . . communism . . . is the general recognition, by the peoples of the world, of certain primary moral obligations. Hence the indefatigable and organized replacement, in communist educa-

tion, of morality by lust, and the insistence on the educational formula of the *Proletcult,* as regards morality, which is expressed in the phrase *everything is allowed.* (Madame Smidovich, *Pravda,* March 24, 1925.) The application of this formula during 11 years to the communistic youth . . . has naturally resulted in wholesale debauchery; a debauchery, moreover, which is welcomed. . . . This systematic Soviet trampling of morality under foot has been carried out . . . with a thoroughness the facts of which cannot be transcribed into English print. . . . Communism, we are told, "deliberately banishes all moral law." . . . M. Yaroslavsky (Gubelmann) has said: "All that is favorable to the Party and the class, as a whole is moral; everything that is not, is immoral." (*Pravda,* October 9, 1924.)

MISS GODDEN describes in detail the terrible increase in child criminality which resulted from the foregoing policy. New York City calls it "juvenile delinquency." Whatever its label, it means this: what is happening in New York City today, to its youth, is a preview of that which is planned for the rest of the nation. A constant flood of insecurity propaganda, cultistic entertainment and lecherous writings is inundating youth. No wonder children have reacted violently; they are the products of the stupidities of their parents, who have relinquished discipline and moral militancy for the enjoyment of sensual, materialistic pleasures.

The Red War on the Family, written and published by Samuel Saloman in 1922 in Washington, D. C., contains extensive quotations from Soviet Russia's Code of Marriage Laws, compiled by Alexander Hoichbarg, chief editor of the Law Bureau, and reprinted in *Contemporary Review* (March and April, 1920). The contents of the Code and the descriptions of what happened to women and children in Russia under the Bolsheviks beggar belief! A Bureau of Free Love was established. A girl, having reached her 18th year, was to be considered the property of the state and had to register with this Bureau which was a part of the Commissariat of Surveillance. "Men between the ages of 19 and 50 have the right to choose from among the registered women, even without the consent of the latter, in the interests of the state." Further details of this Bureau were given in the book, *The Red Conspiracy,* by Joseph J. Mereto (The National History Society, New York, 1920), in addition to explicit information concerning the advocacy of free love and the pursuits of "the lusts of the flesh" by American Socialists before World War I.

Pornography, obscenity and immorality are not only political weapons, they are necessary ingredients of a system of enslavement and are inextricably bound into the fabric of the anti-Christian conspiracy which requires the destruc-

tion of the family as a prerequisite to its success.

What one magazine started the current deluge of filth on the newsstands? Some might answer that it was *Esquire,* which was banned by the Postmaster General in 1946 and then allowed to be sent through the mails after a unanimous decision by the U. S. Supreme Court. Others say the real trend in salacious magazines for newsstand distribution started with the appearance, some nine years ago, of a monthly called *Good Times: A Review of the World of Pleasure,* published by Samuel Roth. In July, 1955, a federal grand jury indictment was brought in New York against Roth, naming as co-conspirators Chief Miller, G. I. Distributors, Inc., Morris Sorkin and Phillip S. Foner, Remainder Book Company and Abraham Lieberman, Book Sales, Inc. Roth was the only one actually indicted for sending lewd literature through the mails and was sent to prison for five years.

THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY Subcommittee (SISS) investigated this case. (See its hearings on Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, May, 1956, Part 23, pages 1195-1206.) The subcommittee called one of the named co-conspirators for testimony, Philip S. Foner, co-owner of Citadel Press and the Remainder Book Company with Morris Sorkin. Foner had been identified previously as a member of the Communist Party and took the Fifth Amendment when asked if he were a member then (in May, 1956). Foner and Sorkin and their firm had been named as co-conspirators with Alex M. Yudkin and his company in an indictment against two other New York publishing houses on the same offense, handed down by a district court grand jury. Foner is a specialist on Jews in American history and wrote a pamphlet by that name. The subcommittee listed the many titles issued by Citadel Press, "publisher of party-line works." They included *Casanova's Homecoming,* by Arthur Schnitzler (indicted as obscene in 1924); *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States,* by Morris U. Schappes (an identified Communist Party member); *Homosexuals,* by A. M. Kirch; *The Satanic Mass,* by H. T. Rhodes; and dozens of others of like nature. Roth, "one of the nation's biggest dealers in obscenity," had been in operation 40 years!

According to the *Brooklyn Tablet* of February 4, 1956, story, Abraham Rubin, 60, was described by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan as "the kingpin of the pornographic industry in this country, doing a $1,000,000-a-year business." Rubin, alias Al Stone, had been cited for contempt in May, 1955, by the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, for refusing to answer questions during its hearings on the

relationship between pornography and delinquency. Hogan said that, on February 3, the police caught Rubin "with the goods." The rear and trunk of his car were loaded with "filthy material," including 24,000 "filthy comic books," 1,000 decks of pornographic cards and 100 reels of 8mm and 20 reels of 16mm film. He was charged with possession of indecent literature with intent to sell. He pleaded guilty on April 9, 1956; on May 15, 1956, he was sentenced to six months in jail and fined $1,000.

Others cited for contempt of Congress before the Kefauver Subcommittee were "alleged pornographers who invoked the Fifth Amendment 35 times each. . . . Irving Klaw, self-styled king of the pinups, who assertedly does a $1,500,000 business. . . . Edward Mishkin, asserted partner in three Broadway area bookshops." (*New York Daily News,* July 13, 1955, page 20.)

THE *New York Daily News* for April 9, 1957, carried an item concerning Hyman Greenspan's arrest with his partner, David Schoer, for selling indecent pictures. "Thousands of indecent photos and reams of pornographic literature were seized," according to the police, after they left the Co-Art Associates photo studios. Greenspan had been arrested on the same charge one year previously and the case was still pending! On December 12, 1957, both men pleaded guilty, on January 17, 1958, each received a $500 fine and a 90-day suspended sentence.

"Three New York City dealers charged with being 'among the biggest operators on the East Coast' in the national $300,000,000 obscene materials business" were indicted on April 7, 1959, by a federal grand jury. This announcement was made by Postmaster General Summerfield and the story was given in the *Tablet,* April 11, 1959.

> Mr. Summerfield referred to raids on headquarters of three of the nation's "large, defiant and ruthless purveyors of mail-order filth" [after opening of the sealed indictments. He called the raids a] devastating and history-making blow [against this business.] Seized in the crackdown were Ben Himmel . . . indicted on 39 counts; William Glanzman . . . 70 counts; Sidney G. Poss . . . 20 counts. . . . Henry B. Montague, in charge of the Postal Inspection Service, said Himmel, Glanzman and Poss have records of using the mails to distribute pornography and that Glanzman has a 1958 New York State case pending against him. [The 1959 case against these three men is still pending.]

The arrest of the monster of Massapequa, Long Island, Russian-born Ivan Jerome, 60, who had changed his name from Emereff, came about because the police accidentally had uncovered motion pictures which he

had taken with hidden cameras in his home. The movies were of himself and at least 20 young girls ranging in age from 13 to 17. District Attorney Frank Gulotta, after viewing the films, said (*New York Herald Tribune,* June 29, 1955):

> This incident serves as a horrible example. . . . We have here children . . . involved in a series of acts which stoop to the lowest depths of moral degradation and here is an individual, perhaps too low to be described in words, taking advantage of the weaknesses and perhaps naïvete and ignorance of these children. He led them into lives of crime and sexual depravity.

Subsequently, the very wealthy Jerome, out on bail, skipped the country and went to Mexico. At the present time his whereabouts are unknown.

DEFEATS SUFFERED in recent years by the forces of morality in the United States have been numerous. In November, 1957, the U.S. Supreme Court overruled the Court of Appeals ban of an indecent French film, "The Love Game." The high court declared the ban placed on the film by the Chicago Police Censor Board was unconstitutional as an infringement on the freedoms of speech and press. (*Tablet,* November 23, 1957.) In 1954, the high court had upset a ban an another French film, "La Ronde," by ruling that the term "immoral" as used in the New York law, was too vague.

Ohio's governor, Michael DiSalle, vetoed a bill which would have repealed a section of the Ohio nuisance code which exempts publication with second class mail permits from prosecution for obscenity.—*The Tablet,* August 22, 1959.

The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the section of the State Penal Code which prohibits exhibitions of a "lascivious, sacrilegious, obscene, indecent or immoral nature." The Court based its decision on a prior ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court that such language was too vague. The majority opinion was written by Judge Curtis Bok (of the Curtis Publishing Company family), who had struck down charges of pornography book sales made against five booksellers in Philadelphia back in 1949. Justice Michael Musmanno, who entered a dissent in the 1959 ruling, declared that as a result of the Pennsylvania vs. Martin Blumenstein decision, Pennsylvania "may well be on the way to a cinematic Gomorrah." In 1956, the same court had struck down the state censorship law. As a result of the 1956 ruling, Musmanno said there was no way of keeping "Baby Doll," a "monstrously ugly and degenerate film," from the theatres in Pennsylvania. He said that the 1959 majority opinion "which is written almost in telegraphic code, appar-

ently wants to say that the word 'obscene' is vague. . . . I can only say that the word 'obscene' today is about as vague as the word 'cat.'"

Bok also held in a related opinion that a lower court had erred in dismissing a suit by distributors of the film, "And God Created Woman," which had been banned in Philadelphia in 1957.

Maryland, in 1959, granted a license for exhibition of the uncut version of "Lady Chatterley's Lover," based on the U.S. Supreme Court decision regarding that film. C. Morton Goldstein, chairman of the state Board of Motion Picture Censors, issued the license, prior to a review of the censorship law by the attorney general. (*Tablet,* July 11, 1959, page 14.)

RUGOFF AND BECKER Theaters in New York City have advertised the following films in this manner:

"The Cousins" is described as "It is a deep cynicism, expressed in absolute hedonism—with shocking candor in the most powerful part of this film which represents a veritable orgy. . . ."—Bosley Crowther, *New York Times* movie critic, in an ad dated November 27, 1959, in the *New York Times.*

In the same paper the Rugoff and Becker Theaters' advertisement of their picture, "The Lovers," describes it as "one of the most important films of the year. It is very pure in its worship of sex itself as the incarnation of love. Unabashed, truthful sensuality."—Arthur Winston, *New York Post* movie critic.

The victimized public does have one weapon left against that faction responsible for the stream of pornographic literature which is flooding newsstands all over the nation. That weapon is a simple yet ruthlessly effective action.

The determined crusader can obtain a pocket-book, such as *Pornography and the Law* (see "The *Lady Chatterley's Lover* Case," January, 1960, AMERICAN MERCURY), and have offset reproductions made of pages 132-133 of that book. (Or the text may be copied for mimeographing.) Then, he should distribute that reproduction with a covering letter addressed to the publisher of the book, to the local, state and federal judges, to all civic organiaztions, newspaper editors, veterans organizations, etc., in which the question is asked, "Do you consider this material obscene or pornographic?"

Letters from the publisher or any other source defending this book can then be reproduced along with the letters taking the opposite viewpoint, and copies of the entire correspondence can be redistributed. Silence from any correspondent can be construed as indicating indifference or tacit approval of the material and also can be made public.

This method of exposure is effective. It forces the "liberal" to defend the actual quoted material, rather than to expound on the "evils of censorship;" it confronts the unin-

formed citizen with the irrefutable evidence of the type of literature being sold in his community. Public support can be mobilized; militant action can then be planned and executed against the local merchants.

Richard Cardinal Cushing, in deploring the current wdiespread distribution of obscene literature, stated,

> What is new and distressing is the effort which is being made in some quarters to minimize the dangers which arise in the prevalance of obscene literature, and to impede the application of existing laws by raising questions, concerning their precise meaning, and the definition of their terms. It is this dishonestly casualistical evasion of the problem which has emboldened distributors and retailers to offer for sale types of literature which only a quarter of a century ago would have fallen under universal condemnation.—*The Tablet,* June 6, 1959.

What organizations are fighting the forces of licentiousness today? The Citizens for Decent Literature, formed in Cincinnati, is one. It was founded and is headed by Charles H. Keating, Jr., and has been expanded into a national CDL. His group has prosecuted obscenity cases in Cincinnati courts. The CDL hopes to build up in the courts of this nation a recognition of pornography as a major crime against society as a mass and as individuals.

The Churchmen's Commission for Decent Publications, a national Protestant organization, has been formed in Washington, D.C. Chairman of the commission's Legislative Committee is O. K. Armstrong, Springfield, Missouri, a former Congressman from that state.

The National Office for Decent Literature (NODL) was established by the Roman Catholic Church in 1938 and is coordinated from 33 East Congress Parkway, Chicago 5, Illinois. It issues lists of obscene books to its members and coordinates a myriad of activities against the publishers and "pushers" of such literature. The Catholic Legion of Decency, 433 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, rates motion pictures as to their objectionable content.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ (Protestant) maintains in Hollywood a West Coast Broadcasting and Film Commission, 5746 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, California, under the direction of George A. Heimrich. It contemplates making recommendations to Protestants to boycott objectionable films by staying away from all motion pictures.

WHAT CAN the individual do, other than participate in the activities and support the efforts of the organizations named? The following recommendations are made (asterisks refer to Postmaster General Summerfield's recommendations):

1. Do not attend theaters exhibiting films which you believe to be indecent or obscene. Tell the exhibitors

you are not going to see such pictures and why. Write the theater exhibitor or owner each time a new objectionable picture is booked, repeating the reason for your non-attendance.

2. Complain to any newspaper that advertises such films with letters to the editor, to the owner, to the stockholders, protesting that newspaper's acceptance of advertising from sources inimical to the public interest.

3. Combine your efforts with public-spirited businessmen who may decide to withdraw their own advertising, and thus revenue, from newspapers that ignore your complaint. If many advertisers divert their advertising, perhaps one local newspaper will decide not to carry the theater advertisements in exchange for the added revenue. Both the exhibitors and the offending newspapers are affected by this method of redress.

4. Find a lawful way to affect the pocketbooks of those who are poisoning the minds of our youth. Organized groups, such as the Catholic War Veterans, the American Legion, the Wage Earners Committee in Hollywood, have successfully picketed motion pictures and theater productions in the past.

5. At the present time obscenity and communism often go hand in hand. Secure documented information as to who the communists and communist-fronters—such as writers, authors, directors, producers, cast members, etc.—are in the entertainment field.

a. Secure Senate Document No. 148, "A Summary Index of Congressional Investigations of Communism and Subversive Activities, 1918 to 1956," (dated July 23, 1956, 84th Congress, 2nd Session), from the Senate Documents Room, Washington, D. C., free, or from the Senate Committee on Government Operations, which compiled it, or the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office (GPO), Washington, D. C. (catalog no. 84-2:S, doc. 48), $1.25 a copy.

b. Check this Index for appropriate investigation of entertainment. Apply to committees indicated for desired report. Ask to be placed on the free mailing list of the SISS and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

c. Subscribe to the American Legion *Firing Line,* National Americanism Commission, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana.

d. Apply directly to Lee Pennington, American Legion, 1608 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., for specific information. Or, have your local American Legion Post do so.

e. Secure copies of Reports of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California (CUAC), Sacramento, California.

f. Ask your Congressman to secure detailed reports on individuals in the entertainment fields from HUAC.

6. As pornography and communism often go hand-in-hand, hundreds of authors and other indi-

viduals connected with tne press (literary critics particularly) and the publishing field have communist or communist-front records. Secure and use the following cumulative indexes as initial guides to information concerning such subversives:

a. Indexes to *Counterattack*, 42 Broadway, New York, New York.

b. Cumulative Index, SISS, 1951-55; free from the Committee. (See also the SISS Report for 1958, issued August 27, 1959, for all available SISS publications.)

c. Cumulative Index to Publications of the HUAC, 1938-1954; supplement, 1955 and 1956; free from HUAC.

d. Composite Index to hearings on Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954. Secure from Congressman Carroll Reece or from the GPO.

e. Composite Index to Hearings of Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations for 1953, from that committee or GPO.

f. Tenth Report of CUAC, 1955, from CUAC, Sacramento, California. (Ask for price.)

g. 13th Report, California Senate Investigating Committee on Education, Sacramento, California. (Ask for all other available reports.)

h. List of publications on communism from GPO and its latest *Political Science* list, which has complete listing.

i. Yearly cumulative index to *Firing Line*.

7. With knowledge of the subversive records of many of the authors of pornographic literature and persons connected with obscene motion pictures, draw up lists of individuals, works, films and other material that should be banned.

8. Make your lists available to libraries, the Chamber of Commerce, various veterans' posts, newspapers, bookstores, women's organizations, etc. Resist all pleas for "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press" as applying to filth, subversion and propaganda as dialectical nonsense; garbage should be burnt, not left out to pollute the atmosphere.

9. Seek advertising outlets, in all communication media, for your lists and specific attacks on books, magazines, films, records, radio and TV programs.

10. Police all communication and entertainment fields. "Stag-party" records are now being sold openly, with semi-nude pictures of women on the record sleeves.

*11. Mobilized efforts are best: parents can join with other parents, teachers, local law enforcement officers and civic groups in drawing attention to the menace of this traffic in filth, forming plans to combat it locally, and mobilizing community support for their representatives in Congress considering legislation to help the Post Office stop the mail-order obscenity racket and to help support the proposed Eastland constitutional amendment against indecency, obscenity and immorality.

12. Make lists of worthwhile

books, magazines, films and other materials. Distribute them.

13. Engage the entire family in entertainment activities of your choosing.

*14. Parents can work closely with teachers in their community to detect obscene materials in the possession of children and to determine the origin of such material.

*15. Parents and teachers should make a special effort to impress on the community the fact that even children who are never exposed to the obscene material may be victimized by sex criminals whose minds have been debauched by it.

*16. With reference to mail-order merchants of filth, alert parents should intercept such solicitations through the mail; save all the material, including the covering envelope; put it promptly in the hands of the local postmaster.

*17. Individuals or civic groups can call on the local postmaster for his aid in combatting the mail order traffic in obscenity. He will provide them with samples of such literature, background material for discussion and inform them of the specific problem represented in their community.

*18. Civic groups can establish a militant decent literature and films committee which can attack all aspects of this problem.

19. Secure the latest *Index Librorum Prohibitorum,* a 508-page listing of books banned by the Vatican over the decades. Order from P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 12 Barclay Street, New York, New York, $1.50 a copy. Also the ACLU *Annual Report,* 35th-39th, from 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York; House Report No. 2510, Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, December 31, 1952, from its chairman, Rep. E. C. Gathings, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.; The 1959 Hearings of the House Subcommittee on Postal Operations and the accompanying 61-page report, "Obscene Matter Sent through the Mail," from the chairman, Rep. Kathryn E. Granahan, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.; The Report of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency from Sen. Estes Kefauver, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

THEODORE HERZL, at a secret conference of the Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, made this statement:

"In countries known as progressive and enlightened we have created a senseless, filthy, abominable literature. For some time after our entrance to power we shall continue to encourage its existence."

Please read and pass on!

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WHAT AMERICANS SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE N.A.A.C.P.

The above picture of a Harlem Negro and his white wife is one which every self-respecting white American should ponder well, because it represents the ultimate goal toward which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and every other professional race-mixing organization is striving. Eventually, if they have their way, every Negro will as a matter of right and privilege enjoy the same "equality of opportunity" as the one above...

It is important that Americans should be thoroughly acquainted with the real objectives of the NAACP, and it is also important that they should realize that the president of this organization is not a Negro at all, but a little Jewish revolutionary by the name of Alvin Spingarn. And they should know that the NAACP was originally founded by a band of Jewish revolutionaries in 1909, and that no Negro has ever headed the organization...

It is likewise essential that Americans should know how the NAACP operates to achieve its objectives. They should know that this alien-controlled conspiracy has at its disposal one of the largest and most specialized legal staffs in the world -- and the only one in the world devoted exclusively to the breaking down of racial barriers.

Americans should be alerted to the fact that the NAACP has been carrying on what it boastfully calls a "silent revolution" for the past quarter century. They should know that with the aid and connivance of our left-wing Supreme Court, the NAACP'S huge legal staff has already obtained court decisions outlawing segregated schools, segregated restaurants, hotels, swimming pools, parks and public housing. And that through a series of running court actions the NAACP plans to extend the blessings of racial "integration" to every American community, to every American classroom, church, playground and, ultimately, to every bedroom...

Americans should know that the NAACP's strategy is based upon the premise that the Negro problem will only be solved with total "integration". And that this can be achieved (according to the NAACP) only by forcing whites and Negroes into intimate and prolonged contact from infancy on: at school, at play, at church, in sports, in social affairs, and at work. That is the NAACP goal, and they will never be satisfied with less.

It is for Americans to decide now whether they want this kind of enforced "equality" or not. If they don't want it, they must strike back now -- before it's too late. Let's stop this assault upon American freedom! Let's put the NAACP and its alien promoters out of business! Let's fight back!

REPRINTS AVAILABLE: 20 for $1.00; 100 for $3.00

American Nationalist, Box 301, Inglewood, Calif.

#52

Here's what you are helping to prevent

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

I hasnt never wrote a letter to no newspaper before cause they can be so prevockative but right now I am so mad I jes don't care. When I told my boss man about it it made him mad to.

I read Mr. Leslie W. Dunbars article in the April 12 Atlanta Constitution and I called him up on the telephone. I ast him if there is a nice house I could buy in his naborhood and when he found out I was a Negro he wouldnt talk to me.

Whats the matter with him? If feels that intergrashun is so urgent why don't he wan no Negrose in his naborhood. Don't he know the bible says missions begins at home? If he aint willin for Negrose to live clost to him why is he so anxious for us to live clost to other white folks?

What Mr. Dunbar dont know is some real estate men are looking into this matter for me and I may be able to buy me a house clost to his and may be next door to his. When I told some of my colored friends who stays in a all Negro section about this it made them mad to. Since there is several houses for sale in the same street what Mr. Dunbar stays on they told me they is going to buy one. We is going to help him fill so urgent a need.

Respective yours truly,

Willie Grissom

(5)

Dr. King is agreed with Communists we should get out of the Congo in 1964 and Vietnam. He has worked hard for peace on the North Vietnam terms

Was civil disobedience a victim?

Massive Attacks On Big Cities

King and Carmichael Map Summer Strategy

By PAUL SCOTT

Dr. Martin Luther King's plans for "disrupting" Washington and several other major cities during 1968 are far more explosive than the details revealed in his public statements.

In addition to recruiting thousands of the poor for his drive here in Washington, King is organizing and training key black militants involved in last summer's riots for major roles in his coming massive campaigns of civil disobedience.

King revealed this and other details of his protest strategy in a series of private conferences here with Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Castro revolutionary leader, and other black militants.

According to a government security agency's report on their talks, King and Carmichael exchanged pledges of mutual support and cooperation in carrying out each other's programs.

Carmichael won King's backing to "organize Washington" through his Black United Front. In exchange, Carmichael pledged his support for King's massive program of civil disobedience against Congress here in April and several other major cities later in the year.

Carmichael also agreed to encourage his "Black Power" supporters to work with King to set up a nationwide political coalition of poor, peace, student and "Black Power" groups.

At one dramatic point in their meeting, Carmichael remarked that the time had come to begin disrupting American cities "to help our Viet Cong comrades-in-arms." (The South Vietnam Benedict Arnolds who joined the Communists)

At a recent Washington news conference, Dr. King (right) outlined plans for his massive demonstration in the capital. With King is Rev. Andrew Young, executive vice president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot because it can be longer lasting, more costly to the society," stated King. "It is more difficult for government to quell it by superior force. The disruption of the cities you want will come much easier."

During their private talks, King neither asked for nor received a pledge from Carmichael that the black militants being organized in Washington would refrain from violence during the coming demonstrations.

In his conversations with other black militants, King reported that ousted Congressman Adam Clayton Powell would play a major role in the coming Washington demonstrations.

"I had a long talk with Powell in Bimini recently and he has agreed to come to Washington in April to play an important role in our demonstrations," stated King. "We are going to make his ouster from Congress one of the major civil rights battles of 1968."

Powell's only visit to Washington from his Bimini retreat since his expulsion was to appear before a federal grand jury investigating congressional charges he had misused public funds.

On advice of his attorneys, Powell during that trip did not try to take his Harlem seat in Congress which he won again in a special election. Powell's expulsion case is now pending before the U.S. Circuit Court here.

In a recent letter to C. Summer Stone, a former aide, Powell confirmed that he would return to Washington, writing that "my return to Washington in April will help rock the entire country."

(Copyright 1968, Publishers-Hall Syndicate Inc.)

□ □ □

COST OF THE SEARCHLIGHT—"Congress established the General Accounting Office to function as a sort of searchlight, piercing the darkness of bureaucratic bumbling to expose wasteful federal spending. Last year, the GAO reports, it uncovered at least $190 million in wasteful spending. That's impressive. Also impressive is word that detecting such waste required the services of 4,216 persons and expenditures of $49 million. We cite the figures not as reproof of the GAO but as a reminder that even the best federal agencies bear watching."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

□ □ □

BIG BULLIES—"The trouble with being a second-rate power is that big countries such as North Viet Nam and North Korea keep picking on us."—Don MacLean in the Washington *Daily News*

In a hysteria of patriotic American both white and black either promote or condone any defiance of law during non violence in, non violence out, do they promote and condone other techniques which have not used them since 7-4-1776. Meetings, petitions, discussions and the ballot box are used first. Those methods techniques always failed first before violence and death in—

While stressing that he was vigorously opposed to U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, King argued that if such an objective was announced for his campaign that it would backfire.

King explained that more support could be obtained from the public by using the coming Washington protest to create national domestic issues which could be used to bring Negroes into a political coalition with other groups.

To show Carmichael the broad outline of his strategy, King gave him a copy of several of his coalition plans, including one to set up black militant neighborhood organizations in five major cities.

Prepared by the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which King heads, the plan states:

"The over-all procedure or strategy involved will center on initial workshop groups. The following steps will be structured:

(a) "Selection of five cities in which our staffs will train 100 neighborhood leaders. The suggested cities are Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Mo., Houston and Atlanta.

(b) "Contacts will be made with the residents of the poor community. Young men who were actively involved in last summer's riots will be sought out and trained as leaders.

"After the potential leaders, both male and female, have been identified, they will be brought to a residential training center near the urban areas, but well outside the city limits, to receive the basic training."

King also lectured Carmichael that his tactics of massive civil disobedience would be far more effective and helpful to black militants in obtaining their goals than riots.

Businessmen Take On Local Problems

By John Chamberlain

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States chose Washington's Birthday to unveil its program for involving business leaders in efforts to wipe out hard-core poverty, presumably on the theory that if its plans for "mobilizing total community resources" are successful they will constitute the Second American Revolution.

When the talk is of "coordinating" and "balancing" a thousand different things, as it was in the Chamber's announcement of its "Forward America" project, the imagination boggles. Too much is too much. So let's begin at the local community level, just to see what the national Chamber organization is really up to propagandizing.

It so happens that in a number of cities —Hartford, Conn., Seattle, Wash., Tampa, Fla., and Buffalo, Schenectady and Sarotaga Springs in New York state —local businessmen have not waited upon prods from the politicians (who have no resources other than the money they can tax from the people) to get going with programs for attacking hard-core poverty.

Take the non-profit Buffalo Opportunities Development Corporation, with its JET (for Jobs, Education and Training) subsidiary, for one example. The impetus for doing something in Buffalo happens to have involved the cooperation of business, government and local Negro organizations, which is as it should be. The interesting aspect is its growth from naivete to sophistication.

Originally, the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce had proposed doing something to start a recreation center for poor people. But when it dug into popular attitudes, it discovered that nobody in the slum areas wanted things like gymnasiums. They wanted jobs. And they wanted follow-through from job training to job placement. This is what the Buffalo JET project is trying to provide.

In Hartford, Conn., local businessmen, who had become depressed at looking at a frowsy, down-at-the-heels downtown area, decided they must do something about it. But, instead of acting on the naive assumption that urban renewal was just a matter of obtaining funds from Washington and ripping out the center of the city, these businessmen began by asking some pretty sophisticated questions. When you tear down buildings which include dwelling houses, where do you put the displaced people?

If the answer is "public housing," then why is it that people aren't earning enough to buy shelter in the open market? The answer could be "deficient education." Then what about schools? The effort to think a whole chain of things through has led in Hartford to a take-it-slow-and-easy program of urban renewal combined with a system of busing Negro children from slums to suburban school areas.

Now, what the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, operating out of Washington, D.C., proposes is a service job for its 50 state affiliates, its 3,000 local Chamber of Commerce units, and its 300 trade associations. It would let all of these in on what has happened—and what can happen—when businessmen decide to tackle poverty conditions in their own communities.

In a world that has seen scores of programs fail because they were dictated from the top down without "casing" local conditions, this makes magnificent sense.

Certified liberals such as Daniel Moynihan (above) are now pushing locally controlled slum renewal programs.

It happens also to be quite in line with the new sophisticated pragmatism that seems to be uniting conservatives and liberals these days when it comes to dealing with the subject of poverty.

Federal programs for urban renewal have, over the years, bulldozed more low-income housing out of existence than has been restored by public housing subsidies. So now liberals such as Richard Goodwin, Daniel Moynihan and Richard Cloward are joining with the conservative Martin Anderson, author of *The Federal Bulldozer*, in asking for realistic slum improvement programs that are locally motivated and locally controlled.

We may be getting somewhere at last. And the Chamber of Commerce of the United States may turn out to be one of the most effective agents for the change.

(Copyright 1968, King Features Synd.)

PROPAGANDISTS POPULARIZE RACIAL "INTEGRATION"

The disgusting pictures shown on this page should give every American cause for thought, for they represent the ultimate goal toward which the starry-eyed exponents of interracial "brotherhood" and "integration" are striving. They also depict one of the important methods by which that goal is to be achieved...

Typical of the TV fare now being served up to the American public is this Negro jazz musician, pictured here sharing his instrument with an admirer.

In this connection it is important that self-respecting Americans realize that the vicious race-mixing program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) is being waged on not one, but on two, major sectors. On one front, integration is being implemented by force and compulsion; on the other it is being put over by propaganda. And it is important to emphasize that both are equally dangerous; that neither is a lesser threat than the other.

This concept may come as a surprise to many Americans, whose attention has been concentrated solely upon the efforts of the Supreme Court and the Eisenhower administration to bring about racial mongrelization by compulsion -- i.e. by forcing whites to mingle with Negroes in the public schools, in the armed forces, in public housing projects and elsewhere. Unfortunately, this preoccupation with the compulsory phase of the struggle has tended to obscure and overshadow the equally dangerous propaganda assault which is concurrently being carried on as a means of brainwashing Americans into accepting racial "integration".

If Americans are to avoid the total mongrelization of their Anglo-American civilization, it is obvious that considerably more emphasis will have to be given to the propaganda question than has been the case to date. In particular, patriots everywhere must learn to recognize the principal source from which most of the current race-mixing propaganda is emanating -- that is to say, the motion picture and television industries.

Shown dying in the arms of the heroine is the Negroidal hero of the interracial film, "Simba". The white girl plays part of the Negro's "assistant".

In this respect it is especially important that Americans realize that all three of the nation's major TV nets are Jewish-owned, as is the Hollywood motion picture industry. Both industries are controlled by a small group of New York Jews, many of Russian origin, and it is they who have undertaken a deliberate policy of glamourizing and popularizing Negroes at every opportunity -- as the accompanying photos attest. One thing is certain: if we are to successfully oppose the mongrelization of our civilization, we must find some way to put a stop to the flood of offensive and degenerate racial propaganda such as is currently befouling our television and motion picture screens.

#63

REPRINTS: 20 for $1.00; 100 for $3.00
American Nationalist Box 301 Inglewood, Calif.

File
Crackpot

P.O. Box 1812,
Atlanta 1, Ga

Gentlemen:

I have just completed going over the Books sent me recently.

Books which are sponsered By "Ralfie Boy" McGill, N.A.A.C.P., Methodist Federation for social action, American Friends Social Service Committee, The Ford Foundation, The garland fund, Robert & John Kennedy, Ike, Earl Warren and his nigger supreme court, and the Communist Party and have found same nauseating to the "nth" degree.

However would like to Be placed on your mailing list so as to keep posted on latest plans and Proposals of the nigger lovers,

Thomas Swanson

From Jonathan Weby
"Survey report"
I'm the Member of the
Southern Regional Council
As Manager of the
National Public Relation
Commission.

The Commission will
be responsible for
establishment and maintain
ing the Commission as
a Corporate entity. This
function I will state
briefly in such terms as:
"To manage the business
and properties of the
Corporation or Commission
or it may be described
in more perpetuate

in fair play and deal
and helping one another
and build a better Community
State and Nation for all
Concerned.

Jonathan Maby

as their successors, the legal or corporate existence of the Commission

"To give broad continuity to the work of the Commission and agency and community interest in it in the light of the ~~chang~~ inevitable changes among individuals who serve as board or staff members, or as executive".

"The responsibility of the Commission will defined be in the official status and documents constitutions and by-laws of the Commission"

The Southern Regional Council care to give

general procedures for appointing Committees assigning tasks and manuals, handbooks as program planning, financing staffing and supervising

"The National public Relation Commission of The Southern Regional Council urge to work for an effective enforcement program as you do have in various State as the only means to end discrimination sit-in, Boycott, Freedom Riders and all demonstrations and hate among all race.

I suggest enforcement program activities

required to effectively control the illegal operations can only, as a practical matter, be accomplished by various states and that the regulatory commission of the Southern Regional Council and each state have a proper agency to administer such program

I realized that numerous other solutions of varying merit had been proposed but none of them offered the immediate solution that present solution that requires - namely, an enforcement procedure which can bring abo

the power to arrest the illegal operator and bring him or her to trial within a reasonable time

"The National public Relation Commission have three (3) basic requirements to be effective on, The State must have adequate laws, rules, and regulations"

The State in which the Commission work must have an adequate force inspector, who have the power to arrest

The primary reason for this adoption by a state as a law requiring registration

that give a specific state agency the necessary power and authority to inspect to see wether or not such operation is a lawful one according to the regulatory law and see that there is no Violation

Under the National Public Relation Commission if we have one agency it will be much better that for the Government to take full control

I believe in true democracy the way the United State was formed and founded I believe

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Crockpot

MLV - how's this for fan mail?

MMB - file

2408 Melbourne Rd.
Raleigh, N.C.

Leslie W. Dunbar
c/o Virginia Quarterly Review

Sir:

Your article concerning the so-called New South may be summed up in one word - trash! Why anyone would herald a mongrelized mulatto America is incomprehensible to me. There is no doubt that many idiotic whites promote a program intended to amalgamate our race with the negro - the most inferior and repulsive race in the world. There is no doubt that they will succeed and this nation, if it survives, will become a completely socialistic, Africanized, total dictatorship. I do not doubt their success but I do question the desirability of it!

In my opinion people such as you are a greater menace to our country than any Russian could be.

Louis T. Lawler

MERRY CHRISTMAS

HAPPY NEW YEAR

Morehead —

I thought you might appreciate this symbol of life in enlightened Florida (!?!)

—

I expect to be dropping you a note to keep you current on our efforts. We seem to be making some progress. —

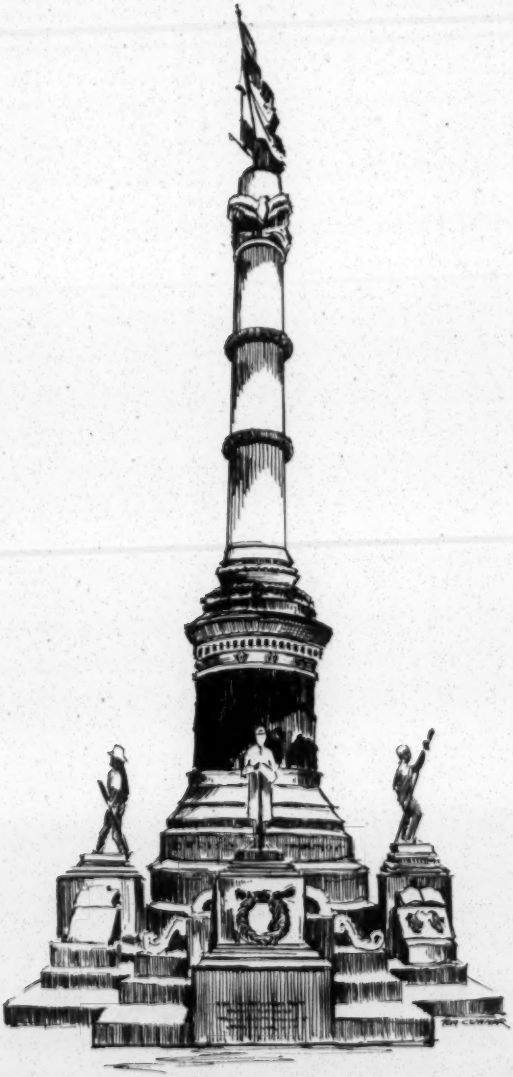
—

Best regards —

J

J. Sibley

UPA
446 N.W. 7th Ave, Fl. 33311



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MEMBERS NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

INVESTMENT BANKERS

Charles C. Hubbard

file checkpoint

BRAIN WASH !

Have you had your brain washed? This is a Communist trick. It is practiced all over the United States. A simple sentence drummed at you and the operation begins to take effect.

Subversives pay millions of dollars for one sentence to wash your brain. Here is the line: Remember if you are a good American, all races, creeds and colors must be equal. Races, creeds and colors means Negroes but that word is not used at this stage of your bath.

When you have been degraded sufficiently by suggestion—then the Negro will be offered as a social equal that all good Americans should want to mate with.

Is your child's mind being tampered with at school? Is it too late for you to learn that your child's mind is as sacred as its body? In other words have you had your brain washed?

—Gullipen

The White Sentinel
P. O. Box 9013
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

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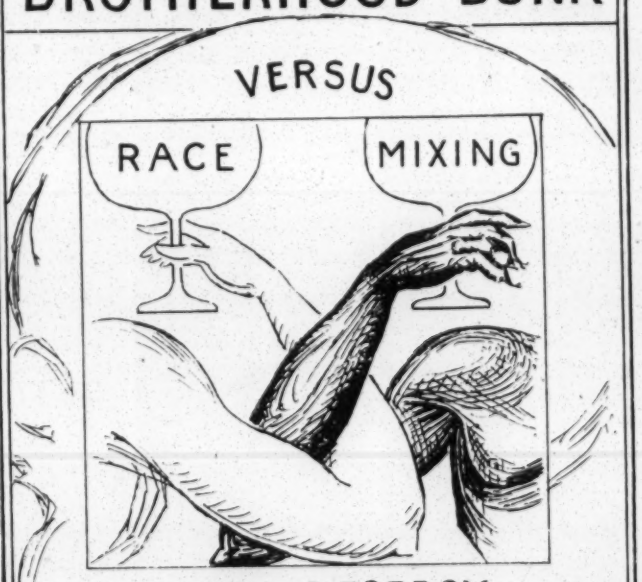

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CIVILIZATION

KNOW THE FUTURE BY THE PAST

Gul

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from the desk of

RUTH PEROT

JW
file

3106 W. Brookline Dr.
Mobile, Ala
36609

April 28, 1971 344-1218 (area 205)

"This is the voice of the Southerners. We are a deliberate group of Anglo Saxon white men, led by Asa Carter, who could not buy the Communist line: there is nothing that can be done. Karl Marx said when you have convinced the population that there is nothing that can be done, you have already whipped them.

"But of course, Karl Marx was ignorant when it came to the southern redneck. The Southerners have never accepted atheistic ideals in all of its history. Its true strength lies in his reliance on God and not government.

"We have seven divisions in Alabama and two adsemblies in Mississippi. The Admiral Raphael Semmes Division in Mobile alone has over 1,000 dedicated men. We meet every 2nd and 4th Thursday in the American Legion Hall, 1918 Duval Street at 7:30 p.m.

"We have a brother in our Assembly whose 16 year old daughter was savagely raped by two blacks with a shotgun; now the girl has to have an abortion. If you have any white manhood left in you and you can see fit to help this man with medical expenses that he can't afford, please send your contributions to the Southerners Medical Fund, P.O. Box 303, Mobile, Alabama. Thank you for calling the Southerners."

Message slightly altered some time before May 6.

May 7 to May 11, inclusive, the phone just rings with no answer or recording.

Phone message recorded over number 344-1218 (Mobile, Alabama 205), May 12, 1971.

"This is the voice of the Southerners. The Southerners are assemblies of white, Christian men across the southland, dedicated to save the children and unite white families into a brotherhood of mutual assistance.

"Our next meeting will be May the 20th at the Prichard National Guard Armory - that's Fort Dumont - at 535 Main Boulevard, Prichard, Alabama at 8 p.m.

"Today in Mobile,Alabama, the so-called public school system is a nightmare. White children are being savagely brutalized by niggers while the limp-wristed, weak kneed school officials look the other way. The cowardly action of the school officials is matched in disgrace only by the blanket of silence and biased reporting of our local news media.

"Now, through the Southerners, you can send your child to an all white, segregated Christian school at no cost to you. That's right, no cost. For more details attend our next meeting, Thursday May 20th, Fort Dumont National Guard Armory, 535 Main Blvd. in Prichard, Alabama, 8 p.m. You will not be obligated to join. Thank you for calling the Southerners."

WHILE YOU SLEEP

Seven Pell City system schools were closed: (St. Clair County) According to one school official, because: "Tension was running high. . .as a result of the actions of negroes toward white girls." Newspapers refuse to print what those "actions," are.

Police Chief J.J. Robinson of Mobile has announced he cannot spare any more men for duty at Murphy High School, adding that it is already costing $1,000.00 per day to keep the "riot squad", there now.

Delegation of white girls appeal to the principal of Anniston High School (Calhoun County), for relief from "obscenities and vulgar approaches of negro boys." No action taken.

Vigor High School, Mobile: White male student while attempting to defend a white teacher from blacks, knocked to the floor, stomped and kicked severely, suffering a brain concussion.

White male student, West End High, Birmingham, when accosted by a group of black male students who demanded money and upon telling them he had none, was stabbed in the back, his spinal cord cut. Now a paralyzed patient at West End Baptist Hospital. No one arrested.

Butler High, Huntsville: Blacks riot at basketball game, injuring five policemen. White adults had to be escorted to their cars by police with trained dogs. Associated Press reported "many bleeding white students at the scene." Butler High was earlier a scene of another vicious negro attack which has resulted in suppression of the song, "Dixie," and removal of the Confederate flag. Negroes ripped up the flag and tied bits of it around their shoes.

Foley High (Baldwin County) school principal Oscar Rich refuses to comment on negro violence of white students that required Foley and Robertsdale police, along with the Sheriff's Department, on the scene. Waltern Wellborn High Band (Calhoun county) attacked by negroes at Talladega High for playing "Dixie."

The Confederate flag is being secretly outlawed by public school officials along with "Dixie". The school bands, instead, are being instructed to play the tune, "Battle Hymn of the Republic", . .the bloody abolitionist song of the Civil War. . .as another means of appeasement. . .and surrender to the negroes.

First page was a Confederate flag - in color.
Material passed out in Mobile, Alabama - Spring 1971

White girl student, Birmingham campus of the University, makes positive identification of negro in courtroom accused of assaulting and raping her. Results ? Mistrial. . .no sentence.

Negro invades dormatory room of white girl, University campus at Tuscaloosa. . . assault and rape.

Prichard Police were forced to use Mace (spray chemical) to quell a riot at Vigor High school. A negro student, Jim Scott, arrested for carrying a straight razor.

Three white girls, ages 13 to 15 attacked by a group of negroes near the Spring Hill Recreation Center in Mobile. The negroes sprayed what was believed to be an insect repellant into the eyes of the girls.

Murphy High, Mobile: School officials report that white students are fearful of going to the rest rooms usually infested with large groups of negroes who attempt to extort money from them.

Fifteen year old negro male arrested in Mobile for rape of a white woman. He was arrested while distributing handbills. . .a means by which he gained entrance to the woman's home. . .near Louiselle Street.

Mobile police are investigating a series of rapes of white women by negroes who are using flashing blue lights (such as police cars use) to stop lone white women in automobiles. Captain Riddle of the Mobile Police, said all the rape victims have been white.

Seventeen year old white girl abducted from hospital parking lot in Birmingham by negro. Driven to an isolated area where she was raped, horribly bitten and mutilated, after which the negro ran over her with the car and left her in the trunk of the car. She survived.

Seventeen year old white gi rl abducted by four negroes in Mobile. After raping her, they used the butt of a shotgun to batter her face. She survived.

Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver has publicly said: "The white man ain't no man. He's a slob with a television set."

Leonard Bernstein, director of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, recently raised one hundred thousand dollars for the Black Panthers, at a benefit given at his home.

THE SOUTHERNERS

The man who handed you this material could be a medical doctor, a laborer, a college professor, a truck driver or one of many other occupations or professions; all are represented in the assemblies of the SOUTHERNERS.

This man has paid for this material out of his own pocket. He is donating his time and his effort to bring to your attention an obligation that manhood owes to his womanhood and his children. That obligation is not now being lived up to by the bulk of Southern men.

War has been declared upon an entire generation of little white children who are fighting for their lives. , their right to decency, and their heritage of Christian civilization.

Little white girls are bearing the brunt of this savage assault. Their existence or destruction, depends upon the manhood of their race. That is you.

The Southerner who hands you this material has extended the courtesy to you of honoring the manhood he believes you to possess, once you have knowledge of this issue.

If you choose to honor the obligation of manhood toward our white children and womenfolk, you will find an assembly of Southerners near you. You may attend these assemblies without obligation of joining. You will not be called upon for violence in any form.

The politician is turning his face away from these white children. The newspapers are attempting to hide the murder and death of an entire generation of Southern white children.

History will record how you and other men of the South lived up to their obligation of manhood or forsook it out of fear and laziness.

THE SOUTHERNERS
ADMIRAL RAPHAEL SEMMES (RETIRED)
P.O. BOX 303
MOORE, ALA. 36601
344-1218

BOX 303
36601
344-1218

New South
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

RETURN REQUESTED

PLEASE REMOVE MY NAME FROM YOUR MAILING LIST!

I do not approve in any way of your propaganda nor your objectives, nor am I in harmony in any way with your methods. The so-called New South, which you are promoting, is not my ideal.

Like FDR said of Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, and like millions of others today not only in Dixie but throughout the U. S. A., I am an "1860 Un-reconstructed Rebel" and a loyal and proud son of the OLD SOUTH.

Roy Casey

MR ROY CASEY-EXEC SECY
NATIONAL JAIL ASSN
P O BOX 467
KEENE TEXAS

MPO

NEW SOUTH

THE SHAPE OF THINGS . . .

LESLIE W. DUNBAR • JAMES W. SILVER • VINCENT HARDING • ROBERT COLES • JACK PATTERSON • JACK NELSON • ROBERT SHERRILL • ROBERT E. ANDERSON, JR. • AL ULMER • MARGARET LONG • HELEN HOWARD

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL • WINTER, 1966

NEW SOUTH

A QUARTERLY
REVIEW OF
SOUTHERN AFFAIRS

Vol. 21 • No. 1
Winter, 1966

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NEW SOUTH is published quarterly, in February, May, August, and November, by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303. Copyright 1966. Subscription cost is $3.00 a year. Single copies are $1.00, less in quantity or for reprints.

Officers of the Southern Regional Council: President, John H. Wheeler; Vice-Presidents, Josephine Wilkins, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, Stephen J. Wright. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION:
Pat Watters

MANAGING EDITOR:
Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:
Marge Manderson

We have to confess . . .

. . . this is a commercial, straight and unfiltered. Hard sell they call it on Madison Avenue, we believe.

Maybe you know us already and we surely hope you do. Maybe you have sent in your subscription for the next five or ten years. If so, we're humble and we're grateful and we thank you.

But maybe you've never heard of us. (That's hard to take, but we recognize the possibility) If so, we want to introduce ourselves and in the process tell you about our winter issue, which we modestly admit is penetrating, refreshing, stimulating and provocative.

NEW SOUTH, now issued quarterly by the Southern Regional Council, used to be pretty much of a loner in the South. We stood for (and still stand for) such unique and unpopular notions as equality and brotherhood and against such sacred Old South cows as segregation and racial discrimination. We're not alone anymore. A good portion of the more enlightened Southern press has come to accept the positions we espoused some years ago, and we're frankly delighted.

All of which is by way of leading up to the fact that NEW SOUTH is now shifting focus. We're going in for more in-depth articles now -- the sort of things you might find in The Nation, the New Republic, The Progressive. And, in fact, our winter issue features some of the writers you see in those magazines. Robert Sherrill, for instance, a regular contributor to the Nation, reports in this issue of NEW SOUTH on the HUAC Ku Klux Klan hearings. Pulitizer prize winner Jack Nelson, now head of the Los Angeles Times southern bureau, offers up an incisive view of current Southern viewpoints, both the changing and the unchanged. Margaret Long, SRC staffer, novelist and frequent contributor to the Progressive, reports provocatively on activity within the Movement. James Silver, professor of history at the University of Mississippi for 28 years and author of MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY suggests that the door to that society may be opening a bit in excerpts from his new book to be published soon by Harcourt, Brace and World. Leslie Dunbar, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council and now director of the Field Foundation, probes with the philosopher's instinct for the truth behind current, popular concepts toward a realistic solution of America's racial inequities. Jack Patterson, southern correspondent for Business Week, writes a penetrating analysis of the southern businessman's reaction to the Negro Movement. Vincent Harding, chairman of the Department of History and Social Science at Spelman College, author of MUST WALLS DIVIDE? and articles on the southern scene in national magazines, writes eloquently, movingly of the erosion away from redemptive love within the Movement. Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist with the University Health Services of Harvard University and contributor to the Atlantic, Harpers, New Republic, Nation, The New York Times Sunday magazine; author of ''The Desegregation of Public Schools: a Psychiatric Study,'' published by SRC in 1963, evaluates the Southerner and his unique and tragic heritage against the backdrop of today's vast social changes.

Combine these articles with a quarterly state-of-the-southern states round-up of developments and trends in civil rights from the eleven state councils on human relations and it all adds up to the fact that NEW SOUTH is ''must'' reading for all who wish to be informed of what is going on in Southern race relations today.

But don't just take our word for it. Fill out the coupon below and mail it back to us with your 1966 subscription -- and find out for yourself.

QUOTED FROM THE WINTER, 1966 ISSUE, NEW SOUTH

"Perhaps it was all too wild a dream in the first place, this hope of redemption. Perhaps it was a child's fantasy in the sleep of night, or another Negro folk tale dredged up from the long dead age of faith. But if it was, then, who shall preserve us from the day, from this age, from the sudden blaze of fiery light?"—Vincent Harding.

"That Negro girl I heard talking in Harlem was a Southerner, even as Faulkner was, or Ralph Ellison in many ways still is. Their minds have all taken in the region's warmth, openness, and really splendid countryside. Most of all they have all shared the pitiable self-consciousness that allows neither exploiter not exploited whatever sanctuary the one thinks the other has."—Robert Coles.

"The tensions of the early sessions (of the HUAC hearings on the KKK) lasted only until one realized he was watching an encounter, complete with grunts and fierce chattering, analogous to the formalized grimacing and posturing of enemy savages, met in a deep wood, who do not mean to attack but only to save face."—Robert Sherrill

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NEW SOUTH published quarterly

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Southern Regional Council —
United Press International —

You fellows make me sick —
why don't you marry negroes — get your
children to marry them and improve your
selves —
stop being hypocrites — practice what
you preach — yes you too Moore

OVER

LAND OF ONE RACE

"In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plaited in pigtails, white babies at the breasts of colored mothers, colored babies at the breasts of white mothers and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel, and banana.

A mixture of this sort has made any attempt at racial segregation out of the question in Brazil—because no one could possibly tell where white begins and black ends."

"Brazil has long since passed the rest of the world in its race relations. The so-called race problem simply does not exist in Brazil."

—*Washington Afro-American News*

Is this to be the fate of our beloved Nation, decreed by nine political appointees to impress the Asiatics and using as their authority the writing of Socialist and Communist tinged authors?

This amalgamation has already begun in the North, but it can be checked by an aroused public opinion to nullify this infamous BLACK MONDAY decree.

Distributed by
Association of Citizens' Councils
Greenwood, Mississippi

$1.50 per 100

orlr

Southern Regional Council + United Press International - The Un-American Activities of Committee

THE UGLY TRUTH

ABOUT

THE NAACP

Congress established under that Communists started the NAACP Control at today. The war done to this of trouble in the USA-

On page Thurgood Marshall a wra- is listed as a member of Communist front also speaker for the NAACP

Mr J Fr Moore

AN ADDRESS BY

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK

OF GEORGIA

BEFORE THE

55th ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

OF GEORGIA

HELD IN ATLANTA

Biographical Sketch of

EUGENE COOK

Attorney General of Georgia

AB, LLB Magna Cum Laude (Mercer University, Macon, Georgia).

LLD (John Marshall Law School, Atlanta, Georgia).

Member, Commission on Uniform State Laws.

Member, Interstate Cooperation Commission.

Member, Interstate Oil Compact Commission.

Past President, National Association of Attorneys General.

Past Member, House of Delegates, American Bar Association.

Past Member, Board of Governors, Council of State Governments.

Past Deputy and District Governor, Lions International.

Past President, Mercer University Alumni Association.

Past Member, Board of Trustees, Mercer University.

Past Vice President, Georgia Baptist Sunday School Convention.

Honorary Member, Exchange Clubs of the United States.

Twice Delegate to National Democratic Convention.

State Offices (23 consecutive years):

- Attorney General of Georgia (since August 22, 1945).
- State Commissioner of Revenue.
- Solicitor-General, Dublin Judicial Circuit (Georgia).
- Solicitor and Judge, City Court of Wrightsville, Ga.

Born April 12, 1904, at Wrightsville, Johnson County, Ga., son of James Monroe and Ida (Preston) Cook, grandson of W. W. and Mary Ann (Smith) Cook and of Charles Thomas and Mary Elizabeth (Boswell) Preston. Married Julia Adelaide McClatchey, June 1928, daughter of the late H. R. and Mrs. McClatchey (graduate, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga., Summa Cum Laude). Two sons, Eugene, Jr., and Charles McClatchey.

President Redding, Distinguished Guests and My Fellow Members of the Peace Officers Association of Georgia:

It is always a source of genuine personal satisfaction for me to have the opportunity of appearing before this group. Of all the organizations to which I have the privilege of belonging, none has accorded me a greater degree of support and cooperation than the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

This rapport, I feel, is due principally to the fact that we share common professional objectives and personal convictions. As servants of our fellow citizens, we are made acutely aware of the grave responsibility inherent in protecting the rights and liberties of the people through vigorous and impartial enforcement of the law. As individuals charged with this solemn duty, we are able to see more clearly than others the threat to those rights and liberties posed by those who would substitute government by men for government by law.

It is because of your demonstrated discernment in this regard that I have chosen this occasion as the proper forum for revealing, for the first time, the authenticated details of the most ominous of these threats to arise during our lifetime. I refer to the subversive designs behind the current crusade of the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation.

It shall be my purpose in this speech to totally disrobe the NAACP and to present this sinister and subtle organization in all its nakedness.

The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but it is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative effort by my Staff and the Staffs of Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

I am prepared to prove everything I shall say. And I wish to state for the benefit of those who

undoubtedly will attempt to smear me and discredit my findings and conclusions that I would welcome the opportunity to present the evidence I have in hand for determination before a trial jury in a court of law.

At the outset I wish to make it clear that the issue involved is one not of race but rather of subversion. None of the organizations which have exploited the race issue in this country has ever had the welfare of the negro people at heart. They have seized upon this issue as a convenient front for their more nefarious activities and as one with which they could dupe naive do-gooders, fuzzy-minded intellectuals, misguided clergymen and radical journalists to be their pawns.

The record shows that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was neither founded nor is presently directed by colored people. It was originated in New York City 46 years ago as the brain child of a Southern scallawag journalist and Russian-trained revolutionary named William E. Walling. Its principal personalities during its early years were descendants of the rabble-rousing abolitionists who fomented the strife which precipitated the War Between the States, a conflict which could have been avoided but for the activities of those abolitionists.

Of its five founders only one was a negro—a Communist-sympathizing lawyer named W. E. B. DuBois whose record of participation in Communist, Communist-front and subversive organizations and activities taken from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives requires eight pages of single-spaced typewritten copy to outline. Among his more recent activities of this nature was the donation of his services in the preparation of legal briefs defending since-executed Communist spies Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg and the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1953 he was awarded the International Peace Prize by the "Communist front" World Peace Council in recognition of his participation in the sponsorship of the series of Communist-dominated World Peace Conferences held since 1949 in an attempt to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

DuBois was Director of Research for the

NAACP until 1949 and now is referred to by its officers and members as the organization's "Honorary Chairman."

In addition to Walling and DuBois, the other NAACP founders—all white—were Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Socialist Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; and Miss Mary Ovington White, also a descendant of an old-time abolitionist. The first president of the Association was a white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who was identified in his youth with the abolitionist movement and who served as secretary to the original race-baiter, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.

From that day to this, South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with, and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. Its present president, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York City, is a white man as are a large number of the current officers, directors and principal contributors.

The files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following present officials of the NAACP—the President, the Chairman of the Board, the "Honorary Chairman," 11 of 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National Legal Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel, the Assistant Special Counsel, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries.

The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud. Time being a factor, it is impossible to present all of this material; but, to give you an idea of the backgrounds and ideologies of the policy-making officials and personnel of the NAACP, I shall cite chapter and verse on the activities of this organization's principal personalities.

(The designations which I shall use in describing the organizations and activities with which these

individuals have been identified are those applied to them by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Special House Un-American Activities Committee.)

President Spingarn was a participant in the Conference on Africa held April 14, 1944, in New York City by the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs. In 1945 and 1946 he signed statements favoring the granting of Army commissions to Communists and opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes sponsored by the "viciously subversive" National Federation of Constitutional Liberties. He is listed as a sponsor of the "Communist front" Public Use of Arts Committee.

Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias was a member of the Executive Board and Co-Chairman of the New York Committee of the "Communist front" Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was charged in 1947 with "serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." He belonged, prior to 1949, to the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs and was a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Protestant Digest"—a magazine which "has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line." He sponsored the "subversive and Communist" People's Institute of Applied Religion and the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief and was a member of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States." He has sponsored conferences and activities of the "viciously subversive" National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the "Communist front" New York State Conference on National Unity and the "subversive and Communist" American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Committee to Win the Peace.

Roy Wilkins—successor to the late Walter White as NAACP Executive Secretary—was quoted on June 17, 1936, by the New York Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party in this country, as attaching "greatest significance" to the 1936 National Communist Party Convention and stating that the Communist Party's racial

program had had "a very wholesome effect" in the United States. He was further quoted by the Daily Worker on July 15, 1949, as boasting that he had voted in New York City elections that year for since-convicted Negro Communist Benjamin J. Davis. He is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." He was a sponsor of the "subversive and Communist" Conference on Pan American Democracy, and of a joint meeting in 1937 of the "subversive and Communist" American League Against War and Fascism and the "Communist front" American Friends of the Chinese People. He has spoken for the "subversive and Communist" International Labor Defense and the Workers' Alliance, the former of which is regarded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in this country.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall—the negro lawyer responsible for the NAACP's court attacks upon segregation in the public schools—as late as 1950 was a member of the Executive Board of the "Communist front" National Lawyers Guild which has been described as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." Since its inception, the Guild "has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." And, as a member and policy-making official of this Communist Front, Marshall has served as Associate Editor of the "Lawyers Guild Review" and has criticized this nation's loyalty program. He also is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." And he was among a group of attorneys who, in 1947, protested the issuance of contempt citations against pro-Communist Hollywood writers who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, Clarence M. Mitchell, protested against being asked whether he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party at a hearing on pro-

posed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party held before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 3, 1950. Although he stoutly denied being a Communist, he was quoted as saying that such a question was "unfair" because it "immediately precludes from appearing before this Committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind." The transcript further quoted him as saying that: "Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party. They may want to come here and object to this bill, but, I suppose, if they had to answer that question, they very likely would not come."

Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon, the Association's propaganda chief, is listed as a member of the "subversive and Communist" Washington Book Shop and the likewise-designated National Negro Congress which is "the Communist-front movement in the United States among negroes." His book, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," was praised by the Daily Worker and he was listed in 1949 as a nominee to be commentator for the "subversive and Communist" Voice of Freedom Committee.

Of the NAACP's 28 Vice Presidents, the following 11 have records of Un-American activities:

John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Philip Randolph, 20 citations; the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, seven citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, two citations each; and Willard S. Townsend, T. G. Nutter and Grace B. Fenderson, one citation each.

Of the 47 members comprising the Association's Board of Directors, the following 28 have records of the Un-American activities:

Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow and Chairman Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, nine citations; Hubert T. Delaney, eight citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, six citations; Robert G. Weaver, five citations; Buell G. Gallagher, four citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl

G. Harrison, James J. McClendon, Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers and W. Montague Cobb, three citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins, Z. Alexander Looby, Harry J. Greene and Alfred Baker Lewis, two citations each; and H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A. Maceo Smith, James Hinton and Theodore M. Berry, one citation each.

Two other Vice Presidents and three other Directors are well-known apologists for left-wing causes. The two Vice Presidents are Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Industry. The three Directors are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, CIO President Walter Reuther and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York.

Other officers of the NAACP with Un-American activity records are:

Lloyd Garrison, chairman, National Legal Committee, five citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director Gloster B. Current, three citations each; Southeast Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast Regional Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones and Assistant Special Counsel Robert L. Carter, two citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, one citation.

But of all the NAACP officials and policymakers listed in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, none has a record as notorious as that of W. E. B. DuBois to whom I have previously referred as one of the founders and present "Honorary Chairman" of the Association. No less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front and subversive activity are entered against his name—the latest of which was the statement he issued upon the death of Joseph Stalin reading: "Let all negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin."

Yet this same W. E. B. DuBois was one of the "modern scientific authorities" whose writings were accepted by the United States Supreme Court as the basis for its decision of May 17, 1954, prohibiting segregation in the public schools. DuBois contributed to 82 different portions of the book, "An American Dilemma," which was cited in its

entirety by the Supreme Court as an authority for its ruling.

And, speaking of that decision, let me emphasize in passing that 15 other contributors to "An American Dilemma" also have lengthy records of pro-Communist activity in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee. The same thing is true of two of the six individual authorities cited by the High Court—Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier—who between them have been members of or identified with 28 organizations declared to be Communist, Communist fronts or Communist dominated.

Another of the six individual authorities cited by the Supreme Court—K. B. Clark—was, at the time of the arguments before the Court, on the payroll of the NAACP as a so-called "social-science expert."

These records of individual officials and members of the NAACP are not the only source of proof of the subversive influences on and in that organization.

Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that "the Party had penetrated the NAACP."

Official records show that the NAACP has consistently affiliated itself with Communist and left-wing movements.

It was a member of the American Youth for a Free World which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the California Un-American Activities Committee as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the AYFW as "a Communist clearing house."

In 1945, the NAACP sent its Branch Department Director, Gloster Current, to London as an official delegate representing the Association at the founding of the World Federation of Democratic

Youth. This Federation was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 as "part of the Communist International 'solar system.' "

A report made at a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States on July 16, 1946, showed that the NAACP was one of a group of left-wing organizations invited by the National Committee of the Communist Party to a meeting held in Chicago to form a "third party." That report, as detailed on pages 150-151 of the 1947 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, lists the NAACP as an active participant in the conference at which the Progressive Citizens of America was formed.

And earlier this month, according to the United Press, the NAACP picketed a hearing on Communist propaganda conducted in Chicago by Senator Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

A pamphlet outlining the Program of the Communist Party of the United States, published in September 1954 by New Century Publishers of New York City, made specific reference on Page 22 to a link between the Communist Party and the NAACP. It stated:

"We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight . . . for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Former Negro Communist Foster Williams, Jr., testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee about this matter on June 17, 1954, in Seattle, Wash. He said:

"The Communist Party very sneakily manipulates the negro people for their own purposes . . . The NAACP has had this trouble."

The racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May 26, 1928, issue of the Daily Worker, calls for:

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of negroes.

"Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

"Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, negro children from attending general public schools or universities.

"Full and equal admittance of negroes to all waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theaters."

Those are the identical demands being made today, 27 years later, by the NAACP.

On the basis of the evidence now in hand—a minute portion of which I have related to you this afternoon—no other conclusion can be drawn but that the NAACP is being used as a front and tool by subversive elements in this country. Either knowingly or unwittingly, it has allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states.

Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the South and is disrupting relations between these races which heretofore have been—and at present are—harmonious and friendly in every respect. These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism.

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene—the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Education Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names,

reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.

Investigations currently are being made of all three organizations—the results of which will greatly embarrass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

The activities of the NAACP and its local fronts pose a serious threat to the peace, tranquillity, government and way of life of our State. And for that reason it is my intention to present the evidence which already has been, and currently is being, compiled about the subversive nature of these activities to the 1956 session of the General Assembly of Georgia convening next January for appropriate action by the elected representatives of the people of this State.

In the meantime I pledge the full resources of my office to the enforcement of all existing State laws and constitutional provisions relating to subversive activities and our traditional pattern of race relations. And, toward that end, I solicit—and know I can count on the full support and cooperation of you, the peace officers of Georgia.

I thank you.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

WRITE TO THE

EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE

CITIZENS' COUNCILS

GREENWOOD, MISS.

READ AND PASS ON

WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

(1) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity.

(2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful.

68860L

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Paul Anthony

~~J.W.~~

~~E.H.~~

Either J. you know this neighbor?

He is on the Publications Subscription list. Bill Wilson knows him.

E.H. via J.W.

file - Gad. port

1730 North Druid Hills Road, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30319
9 October 1970

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Southern Regional Council:

I believe that your response(and the nation's response) to friction-between-the-races is entirely inappropriate.

All this talk about violence, violence, violence... reminds me of my idyllic childhood in the rural South. Back in those good old days acts of violence didn't disturb the peace. Why I can remember kids from Columbus High School riding through Niggertown hitting passerbys with brickbats and sticks; hell, nobody thought anything about it. It was all in good fun.

Now it's my contention that our present response to mugging, head smashing, and 'senseless' killing is all wrong: Why should we lament what we have worked for years to bring about? Even the White Southerner understands an eye for an eye; movies and television deify the smoking gun; newspapers exalt in bodycounts; everywhere weakness and love of peace are held in contempt.

Yes, America has a dream and that dream is coming true--the beautiful chaos of the frontier. After years of hard work and nostalgia ad nauseum she is finally bringing her dream to fruition.

Lamentation is not an appropriate response to success. And we have been successful: we are getting exactly what we've been asking for. So come on let's be good sports; the movies should remind us that every now and then a good guy gets hit by an arrow.

Sincerely,

Charles C. Wiggin

Charles C. Wiggin

Southern Regional Council -

Crackpots file

Gentlemen -

Attached article is interesting -

It would also be interesting to give the "United Press International" an article saying who is financing your group - where they get the money from - + what the members + officers are paid - How many members are negroes - how many are white - do they believe what they preach - do they practice their opinions - do they marry negroes - why dont they get back up North as they dont belong down south - Or are the hypocrites + dont practice what they preach - Be a sport + let us have the article broadcast thru the "United Press International" Yrs Tom Moore -

over

LAND OF ONE RACE

"In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plaited in pigtails, white babies at the breasts of colored mothers, colored babies at the breasts of white mothers and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel, and banana.

A mixture of this sort has made any attempt at racial segregation out of the question in Brazil—because no one could possibly tell where white begins and black ends."

"Brazil has long since passed the rest of the world in its race relations. The so-called race problem simply does not exist in Brazil."

—Washington Afro-American News

Is this to be the fate of our beloved Nation, decreed by nine political appointees to impress the Asiatics and using as their authority the writing of Socialist and Communist tinged authors?

This amalgamation has already begun in the North, but it can be checked by an aroused public opinion to nullify this infamous BLACK MONDAY decree.

Distributed by
Association of Citizens' Councils
Greenwood, Mississippi

$1.50 per 100

over

Group Deplores Placement Idea

Use For Segregation Fight Prolongs South Unrest, Council Says

By United Press International

ATLANTA, Dec. 5. — Pupil placement plans enacted by a number of Southern state legislatures were attacked by the Southern Regional Council Saturday as "a political device to evade or thwart desegregation."

"When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest," the council said.

SRC is an 80-member interracial group dedicated to improvement of race relations. It issued a policy statement on the school segregation question.

'Get Out Of Courts'

It urged efforts to "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators."

It proposed the South redefine the problem as "how best to educate all our youth" rather than "how to bar Negroes from white schools."

It said much of the South's political leadership, while eager for economic progress, has "seceded from reality" on the school issue.

Threatens Future

"Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country."

In contrast it cited more than 200 Southern school districts where desegregation was started voluntarily and added, "They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees."

The Story of the NAACP

As told by one of its Founders

"The Walls Came Tumbling Down"

BY MARY WHITE OVINGTON

Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York
Copyright 1947

A few excerpts from this book are as follows:

Page 109—"Louis Marshall was another of our lawyers, and so was Felix Frankfurter."

Page 271—"The Legal Committee, headed since 1939 by William H. Hastie, is made up of many eminent lawyers of both races. Famous members have been Moorfield Storey, Clarence Darrow, Louis Marshall, Felix Frankfurter, Francis Biddle, Frank Murphy, Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris L. Ernst, and James Marshall."

Page 19—"The White American is growing darker, and the colored American seems to be slowly growing lighter."

Page 85—"At Birmingham I met the man who was to remain vividly in my memory among the people I had seen on this southern trip, the state secretary of the Socialist party in Alabama. I was at that time a member of the party, and had asked the New York Central Committee for this introduction."

Page 86—"He pulled a letter from his pocket. "You'll be interested to see this for it's from a Negro comrade. Nicely written." I examined the letter. It had the familiar ending. "Yours for the revolution."

Page 100—THE NAACP BEGINS.

"The first of these statements is part of the resolution adopted at the second meeting of the Niagara Movement. Written by W. E. Burghardt DuBois, it was read by W. H. Hershaw at Harpers Ferry in the summer of 1906. The second statement is from an article on "Race War in the North," appearing in The Independent, September 3, 1908, and written by William English Walling."

"Out of these two statements the militant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were born"

Page 101—"English Walling's article came out of the Race Riots at Springfield, Illinois, during the summer of 1908. He and his wife, Anna Strunsky, had just returned to America from czarist Russia where she had been imprisoned for a short time for her alleged revolutionary activities."

THE UGLY TRUTH

ABOUT

THE NAACP

AN ADDRESS BY

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK

OF GEORGIA

BEFORE THE

55th ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

OF GEORGIA

HELD IN ATLANTA

Read this about your friends
Yr
Mr Wayne

a conspiracy committed to unamerican activities established under
with that communists established the NAACP & run it today -

BROOKS HAYS
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

MEMBER,
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

April 29, 1960

Dear Harold:

I am sending you AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY, a document prepared by Carl C. Creger, a student at Central High School, Little Rock, with substantial help from his father, Ralph C. Creger, 14 Rosemont Driver, Little Rock. The father writes that they collaborated but that most of the wording and ideas were the father's. Of course, this contribution from the father robs it of some significance but it is a good statement. The father is a Baptist deacon and I know that if we can get some of his ideas circulated to church people, particularly those who are inclined to hold back for some reason or another in accepting inevitable changes, it would be helpful.

I believe the manuscript is now with the Association Press in New York City and they may put it out in pamphlet form. Subject to that you might find a way to use this material. I don't think it is copyrighted but would prefer that you regard it as their personal property until something is worked out.

With high regards.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Enclosure

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HF
LWD
JC

May 5, 1960

Mr. Brooks Hays
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Brooks:

Many thanks for the copy of the Cregers' manuscript, "An American Success Story." It is a nicely done treatment of the subject, and the authorship lends a fine note of encouragement.

Of course, we would make no use of it without the permission of the authors. And if it is published by the Association Press, there will be no need to do anything but help make the publication known.

Meanwhile, I am circulating the manuscript to others on our staff.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

don't know anything we can do with this except not to have lunch with Mr. Creger
I am having him put on mailing list

via air mail

May 23, 1960

Mr. Ralph C. Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

This is a hasty acknowledgment of your last two letters. I am leaving for New York in a few minutes and expect to see Harry Fleischman, among others. I will do my best to expedite some action there to make possible early publication of your manuscript.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

919P EST MAY 25 60 AB640

NSB577 NS LRA416 NL PD RK LITTLE ROCK ARK 25

HAROLD FLEMMING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ATLA

RIDGE PRESS ADVISED PHONE DATE I HAVE MYSELF A PUBLISHER JUST MATTER OF CONTRACT TERMS. HOWEVER STILL ANXIOUS HEAR FROM STUART OR FINE AND FROM YOU RESULTS MEETING 25TH. PLAN TO DRIVE TO GREENVILLE SEE HODDING CARTER SUNDAY NEED YOUR HELP AND ADVICE ALSO.

RALPH CREGER FONE FR56437 OR LOCUST 58178.

100M-2-59

Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Arkansas
May 18 1960

Mr Harold Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta Ga.,

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I sent the Manuscript AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY to Hodding Carter about a week ago, dont know why I didnt think of him before. Yesterday he called me from Greenville, having just read it. He said he would be happy to write an introduction, and said he felt Brooks Hay. and Harry Golden could also be presuaded to write something in the way of an introduction.

I havent heard anything from Mr. Fleisman yet. Mr. Allen of the Urban league in New York said he was going to contact Fleischman about it.

It seems to me with the support the story should get from editors such as Golden, Carter, McGill and Patterson (of the Arkansas Gazette), and others, that enough publicity to make the book well known, should be assured.

I showed the manuscript to the editor of the North Little Rock Times about a week ago, and he was very lavish with his praise, but his first question was, "Is there any way HE can get at you?" - He - meaning Faubus.

The same question has been put to me in about the same words by several others, and to me that is the most important thing about this whole business, the fact that such a condition can exist here in the United States, where people are afraid of their elected officials.

I will be anxious to hear if you are able to do anything to help get the book in print.

The Urban league people think I overemphasize the importance of getting it in print before the primaries, they say it will be just as good when school starts, next fall. However, the Ridge Press think there is still a chance they might get it out before the primaries.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Dr
Little Rock Ark

Business phone FR 56437
Home phone LO 58178

100M 2-59 Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Arkansas
May 14 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta Ga.,

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter I sent Mr. Fleischman, at your suggestion.

I sent him the manuscript, air mail, and he should have it Monday May 16th.

I am about to run out of gas (and money) on this thing. I sometimes wonder why I should beat my brains out just to set up a situation where my family and myself are subject to abusive telphone calls, and other harrassment, but I am sure you know about these things as well as I.

Anything you can do to help will be greatly appreciated.

Very Sincerely Yours

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

Business Phone - FR 5-6437

Home Phone LO 58178

100M 2-59 Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Arkansas
May 14 1960

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Fleischman,

I am chief train dispatcher in Little Rock for the Rock Island railroad and have a son Carl, age 17 a junior in Central high school. Last winter as a history assignment Carl was required to write a theme on any subject pertaining to history. As I had done considerable reading and research on the subject of race I suggested he write on the history of the Negro in America and call it AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY.

We checked with his teacher and were told that this would be an acceptable subject, and his teacher also told us that if there were to be another TEACHER PURGE in the Little Rock schools, he was sure he would be on the list.

With the teachers permission we collaborated in writing the thesis and when it was finished we showed it to several local people, both white and colored, and all, even the strong segregationists were highly enthusiastic. At the suggestion of Hugh Patterson, editor of the Arkansas Gazette, I sent it to several nationally prominent people and sent it to Readers Digest.

Harry Golden, Ralph McGill, Stuart Symington and Brooks Hays all contacted the Digest recommending it.

Stuart Symington was not asked to write the Digest, but after he had kept the manuscript about three weeks and had announced as a candidate for the presidency, governor Faubus came out with a press release saying that Symington should know he would get no support in Arkansas (as Symington had refused to attend a democratic dinner in Little Rock that was segregated) Two days later I got a letter from senator Symington saying he had written the Digest recommending the manuscript, and two days after that the Digest advised me they were giving it very serious consideration. However in another week they wrote me that they had all gone over it and felt that since it was chronological in form it would lose much value in cutting, and should be a book, and asked my permission to put it in the hands of a literary agent.

However I decided to try it without an agent, and sent letters of inquiry to 25 publishing houses, and have recieved answers from 21, 16 of whom have expressed a desire to see the manuscript.

The first answer I received was from editor Frances Keene of Rutledge books, the book publishing division of Maco Magazines and seemed very enthusiastic so I immediately sent her the manuscript. This was Friday May 6th. Miss Keene wrote me May 11th to the effect that they wanted to go ahead with it starting with 250,000 copies, but was trying to line up some support from interested organizations. I called her to see what she meant and she told me she wanted to put it on the newstands at a price of from 75¢ to $1.00, but be able to wholesale it to organizations for about 25¢ a copy.

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Miss Keene said that they were willing to take part of the rist, but wanted enough orders insured to get them started. She told me the Urban league had offered to help in every way they could, but could not place an order at this time.

I called Mr. Harold Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta and Mr. Fleming told me that they would be willing to place an order, but would like to know more about what would be required, etc., and told me send you a copy of the manuscript, that you might be able to line up support for it from interested groups.

The Urban league has offered the services of their special projects department to help in any corrections or revisions needed, and in securing photographs for illustrations.

Mr. Fleming indicated to me that he would be contacting you on this matter.

The following people have read the manuscript and nearly all of them have written, wired or phoned me praising it and telling me it would be desireable to get it in print, in wide distribution.

Stuart Symington, William Fullbright, Eleanor Roosevelt, Paul Butler, Harry Golden, Ralph McGill, Brooks Hays, Benjamine Fine, Ben Epstein of the ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE, Hodding Carter, Harry Ashmore, A. Phillip Randolph and Lester Granger.

Mr. Hays sent his copy to Mr. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council.

In Little Rock Joe Hardin who is running for governor against Faubus has it and plans to contact senator Fulbright to see what can be done. David Brinkley of NBC-TV has it and there is a possibility he might plug it on a newscast.

Most of those in Little Rock, that is those that are pricipally involved in the fight against Faubus and bigotry, have read the manuscript, and would like to help, but have to be careful because if it were known they were backing it Faubus could use it politically.

We have been hoping against hope some way could be found to get it on the news stands prior to the primaries in July, but time is becoming increasingly important.

Anything you could do to help would be greatly appreciated.

Very Truly Yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph C Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Business phone FR 56437
Home Phone LO 58178

cc to Harold Fleming

100M 2-59

Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock, Arkansas
May 10, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Brooks Hays sent me a copy of the letter you wrote him concerning the manuscript AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY, and I thought you might be interested in recent developments in connection with the efforts that are being made to secure publication.

After hearing from Reader's Digest and others, such as Ralph McGill, I became convinced that the thesis simply was not suited to magazine use and decided to concentrate on book publication.

I sent a copy to Dr. Benjamine Fine of New York, and asked his opinion. He seemed extremely interested and advised me by phone that he had an appointment with his publisher the following week and wanted to talk to him about the story. In the meantime, I sent letters of inquiry to 35 book publishing companies that I felt looked the most promising. With the letters, I sent a brief outline of the story and told them of the support I had. To date, I have heard from twelve publishers, and eight of them expressed interest, the other four all said they are not set up for less than 50,000 words. One of them, the Ridge Press, the book publishing department of Maco magazines, seemed most interested. Their letter read as follows: "Dear Mr. Creger, Thank you for your letter of April 29th which suggests that we consider your and your son's manuscript on the history of the Negro in America. Both the subject and the length seem promising to us and we would be interested in considering the book for publication. Your reference to specific interest on the part of the Urban League is particularly interesting. This is the sort of endorsement we would seek and the fact that you already have it gives added impetus to our desire to see your book. Looking forward to reading you soon, I am, very truly yours, Frances Keene, Editor, Rutledge Books."

Also, The Fleming H. Revel Co. of Westwood, N.J., and the Chilton Co. of Philadelphia expressed more than a normal interest.

I immediately sent the complete manuscript to Miss Keene and it should have reached her on Monday, May 9th. However, since I knew Dr. Fine might have done something, I called him telling him of the letter from Miss Keene. Dr. Fine advised me to do nothing until I heard from him, as his Publisher, Doubleday & Co., is very interested. Since I am strictly a novice at this sort of thing, I was afraid I might make the wrong move.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming

May 10, 1960

You mentioned in your letter to Mr. Hays that the Southern Regional Council would do what they could to help make the publication known. I am sure if this fact were known by potential publishers, it would have a desirable effect. I am enclosing a foreword to the manuscript which I wrote and sent to the publishers along with the manuscript.

It looks doubtful that the story can be gotten into print prior to the Primaries in July, but many of those who have been advising me say that while this would be desirable, it is not essential.

Very sincerely yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph C. Creger

14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Phone: FR 56437 or LO 58178

AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY

BY

CARL CREGER
A LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT

AND HIS FATHER, RALPH CREGER

FOREWORD

As a father and son directly affected by the integration turmoil surrounding Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, we were disturbed by what seemed to us a lack of Christian principles shown by many, and by the willingness of some of those in high political office to exploit an emotional crisis for political gain.

Rather than blindly accepting the usual theories advanced by so many, particularly by those of the older generations, we felt the subject of race relations important enough to justify much study and research. We read nearly every book pertaining to race or related matters offered by the public library, and in addition, tried to make an objective study of the Scriptures.

What we found convinced us that the barriers erected in the path of the Negro, barriers that deny him many benefits of American democracy that everyone else takes for granted, have not served the best interests of the nation. In studying the Scriptures, we found nothing to indicate that the N egro should be set apart or considered as less worthy, but, rather, we found that Scripture references generally quoted by racists actually referred to the Godly versus the Un-Godly, wherever separation of peoples is urged.

Acts 8-27 through 31 tell of Phillip's experience with the Etheopian, "And he arose and went, and behold an eunuch of great authority under Candace, Queen of the Etheopians, who had charge of all her treasure, and he had come to Jerusalem to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot reading Esaias the Prophet. Then the spirit said unto Phillip, go near and join thyself to this Chariot. And Phillip ran to him and heard him reading and said, do you understand what you read?, and the Etheopian said, how can I except some man should guide me? And he asked Phillip to come up and sit with him."

What a wonderful opportunity for the Lord to have explained to us that the Etheopians were a simple people, untrustworthy and unable to assume leadership. It is obvious that such was not the case. The man was everything we are told the Negro is not supposed to be, trustworthy, a man of great authority, and a man of learning.

All of our research indicated to us that the low status of the Negro in this country is cultural, forced on him and not inherent. We feel that the Negro is going to assume full citizenship status in America, and soon. We feel that in spite of attempts by many to prevent his complete emancipation, full citizenship will be accomplished because our laws, our Constitution, and what is sometimes referred to as the American Creed provide for it. We feel he will do this with or without the help of the white man, but we would like to help.

Ralph and Carl Creger

100M 2-59

Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock, Arkansas
June 8, 1960

Mr. Harold Flemming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I thought you would be interested in knowing that I have signed a contract with the Lyle Stuart Publishing Company in New York, for publication of my manuscript.

From what I have been able to develop, this is a very reputable firm and believe they will do a good job with it. There are no strings attached as to advance orders, however, I am sure they would be glad to have any support they can get from a promotional standpoint.

I will be on vacation the week of June 12th and have plans to visit friends in Cullman, Ala., and possibly drive on Southeast to Macon, Ga. Would like to stop in your office and visit with you if you plan to be in town during the week of June 12th.

Very sincerely yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph C. Creger

14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

****

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 10, 1960

To: HCF From: MA

Subject: Creger, of Little Rock

He called this morning, saying he will be in Atlanta Monday, June 13, and wants to see you some time after lunch that day. He will telephone.

Also, he wanted you to know that he has signed a contract to publish his book.

June 15, 1960

Mr. Herbert M. Alexander, Editor
Pocket Books Inc.
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Alexander:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr. Sol Immerman, concerning the enclosed manuscript, An American Success Story, by Carl and Ralph Creger.

The manuscript started as a history assignment for the 17-year-old white student of Little Rock's Central High School, helped by his father, chief train dispatcher in Little Rock for the Rock Island Railroad. It wound up as both a study of the history of the American Negro, and the reasons why a white son and father in Little Rock came to support integration.

Because of the book's theme and authors, a number of intergroup relations agencies feel that the book might have a wide sale both north and south. While we know that Pocket Books rarely publish original manuscripts, prefering to use reprints, we thought that the wide appeal of this material might justify a change in your practices.

Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Alexander J. Allen, Associate Director of the National Urban League, both feel that the manuscript has considerable merit, even though a good editing job is required on it.

I should appreciate any reaction you may have to this suggestion.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman
Director

HF:rd
cc: Ralph C. Creger, Harold Fleming
Gunther Lawrence, Alexander J. Allen

Little Rock, Arkansas
August 4, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My Publisher advises me the tentative publication date for our book is October 28th. They want Carl and me to come to New York in October for Television and Radio appearances, and we are looking forward to that.

I recently received a letter from Lillian Smith about the manuscript, and she said that she thought a different title would be better for the book. She suggested, "This Is What We Found", the idea being that the book is the result of a search for truth by a high school student and his father. I sent her letter to my Publisher and he agreed with Miss Smith, so the title is being changed.

I rewrote the first two pages to fit the new title and also wrote a dedication at the Publisher's request. I thought you might be interested in seeing the dedication and the revised pages, 1 and 2.

Very truly yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph C. Creger

14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

PREFACE

We feel sure that nearly all Americans are aware that the teachers in our public schools are frequently underpaid. Most folks, if they are honest, must admit that these "molders of character" are often subjected to unwarranted criticism from irate parents who feel that "Miss Jones" singled "Junior" out for punishment even though "Junior" obviously had done no wrong. It is pretty generally understood that school teachers must be quite careful about where they are seen in public, careful that they dress modestly and that their conduct in general is above reproach.

In view of all this, many of us feel that the average school teacher must have a certain nobility of character to remain in a profession where their efforts are often not properly rewarded, and where even more often they are unappreciated.

The difficulties encountered by teachers are not confined to one region of our land, they are national in scope. However, since 1957, school teachers in the Little Rock, Arkansas, public schoolsystem have been subjected to pressures above and beyond those known elsewhere, and their refusal to bow to these pressures may have been largely responsible for the preservation of the public school system throughout much of the South.

These teachers did not advocate segregation nor integration, but tried to proceed with the process of education. Like most educators, they valued freedom of thought and opinion. There have been no book burnings in Little Rock - the RABBIT WEDDING can still be purchased. Most of them did make it clear to their students they expected to see a display of good citizenship when Negro children entered formerly all-white schools.

Many of these instructors paid a high price for doing what they thought was right and for speaking out against what they felt was sheer demagoguery on the part of State leaders. They came to know the anonymous telephone call at three in the morning, and the threatening, anonymous letter. Part of the Little Rock School Board, with the support of the Governor, tried to dismiss fifty of these teachers in the summer of 1959. No reasons were given for these dismissals other than the vague hint that some of those on the "purge" list had been "soft" on integration. The three remaining school board members refused to be a party to this wholesale "firing" of teachers, and as a result, a special school board election was held which resulted in the replacement of the extreme segregationists with men pledged to preserve the public schools.

This special election may have been far more important than most of us realize. It may have been the turning point in favor of the retention of public schools throughout an entire region.

As Winston Churchill once said, "Never have so many owed so much to so few."

In the winter of 1959, a history instructor in Central High School required his students to prepare a composition on any subject pertaining to American History. What follows is the result of this Classroom assignment.

We respectfully dedicate this book to the public school teachers in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Ralph and Carl Creger

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND

As a father and son directly affected by the chaos brought on by the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in September, 1957, we were disturbed by what seemed to us a lack of Christian principals shown by so many, and by the willingness of some of those in high political office to exploit an emotional crisis for political gain.

We felt that anything causing as much tension, ill will and bitterness as we had witnessed justified much study and research. We read nearly every book pertaining to race or related matters offered by the public library. In addition, we tried to make an objective study of the Scriptures.

Acts 8-27 through 31 tell of Phillip's experience with the Etheopian:- "And he arose and went, and behold an eunuch of great authority under Candace, Queen of the Etheopians, who had charge of all her treasure, and he had come to Jerusalem to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot reading Esaias the Prophet. Then the spirit said unto Phillip, go near and join thyself to this chariot. And Phillip ran to him and heard him reading and said, do you understand what you read? And the Etheopian said, how can I expect some man should guide me? And he asked Phillip to come up and sit with him." What a wonderful opportunity this would have been for the Lord to have explained to us that the Etheopians were really a simple people, not to be trusted, unlearned and unable to assume leadership. It is obvious that such was not the case. The man was everything the racist tells us the Negro is not supposed to be. He was a man of learning, trustworthy and a man of great authority.

Verses such as these may or may not be significant but certainly we found nothing in the Bible to indicate that the Etheopians were less worthy than others, or that they were inclined toward stupidity, immorality, dishonesty, crimes of violence or any of the many undesirable characteristics attributed to the Negro by racists, and which the racist claims are innate.

All of our research led us to believe that the low status of the Negro in America is cultural, forced on him and not inherent. To us it seemed obvious that it would be impossible for the Negro to achieve the successes others have, because of the obstacles placed in his path, particularly in the field of job opportunities.

But more about that later. Our story is basically the history of the Negro in America, and for a better understanding of the subject, it seems advisable to cover some of the backgroud of the Negro people, prior to their arrival on this Continent.

In presenting this frequently tragic, but none the less praiseworthy history of achievement, emphasis will be placed on conditions as they were, and are today, rather than as some might wish them to be.

There are those to whom race is all-important, and to whom racial supremacy has become a religion. Among these people, the statement is frequently heard that the colored races have contributed little that is worthwhile to the civilization of the world. They say that the colored people, even though inhabiting areas rich in natural resources have not exploited these resources as they might have. These racists always fail to mention that climatic conditions between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn are not as conducive to the energy and drive needed to excel, as that found in the temperate zones.

Be that as it may, the idea that the darker skinned peoples have always been culturally and industrially inferior simply will not stand up under the careful study of history and science. It is not often called to our attention, but students of history generally agree that for several centuries before Christ, Etheopia, Egypt and other African countries had a high degree of culture and industry when our foreberas in Western Europe were existing in a state of savagery. Nationa such as China, Babylon, Greece and others of varied racial groups have had their periods of glory.

Why Western European nations and America have been in the dominant position in recent centuries is a matter of conjecture, and one guess is probably as

PAGE (s) MISSING

100M 2-60 Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Dec 20 1960

Mr. John Constable,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave NE
Room 432
Atlanta 3 Ga.,

Dear Mr. Constable,

You probably have your review copy of THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND by now. The publisher tells me there was some delay at the printers, but that they were mailed Friday December 16th.

My son and I attended an interesting meeting last night. There were ten students from Stanford University in Little Rock, the ten included seven African exchange students. They all glanced through my copy of the book, and seemed much impressed. The African students told me that they had gotten the impression that the avereage high school student in America had a very hazy, or at best a distorted opinion of the Negroes background in Africa, and that this is very unfortunate, particularly in the case of the Negro student. They said they felt my book might be the answer.

Carl and I have been getting excellent publicty locally. There have been news releases, and book reviews, in both Little Rock papers, and it has been mentioned on radio news. Carl and I appeard on a thirty minute TV show on channel 11 December 15th and are scheduled for a thirty minute show on channel 4 December 28th. The largest book store in Little Rock is having an authors party for us Saturday December 31st.

The publishers sent me a list of cities that have gotten news releases and review copies. There were about 125 of them, but relatively few in the south. I don't understand this. They didn't mention New Orleans, for example. They have us booked on some local radio and TV shows in New York during the first two weeks in January, and are trying to get us on the Dave Garroway, or the Jack Parr show, but have not been able to accomplish this as yet. If you know of any one with influence that could help in this respect I'd appreciate it greatly.

The publishers tell me response from book stores is good, but they have very little as yet in the way of commitments from organizations. So far only 150 copies ordered by CORE.

I am enclosing a news item about the woman who donated $500,000.00 to pay the New Orleans school teachers salaries. It seems to me if she is that interested in "making living work" she might be willing to see that THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND reaches a lot of people that could not otherwise afford it. If I knew her address I'd write her.

Very Sincerely Yours,
Ralph Eger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

PS. Carl is starting a scrap book- if you have any clipping on the book from NEW SOUTH, or any nespapers, I'd appreciate it if you'd send them to me.

via air mail

January 23, 1961

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ralph:

My apologies for not writing you sooner about the launching of "This Is What We Found." I have been most impressed by the widespread and favorable publicity the book has received. If publicity and acclaim sell books, this one should move beautifully.

We did receive our copies and will run a review in the February issue of New South.

Both Ralph McGill and Martin Luther King have been on the road so steadily that I have had no opportunity, since your letter arrived, to ask them about the book. I will do so at the earliest opportunity.

Do continue to keep me posted.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Little Rock Arkansas
Jan 11 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Room 201
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.,

Dear Harold,

We just got back from what I would consider a productive week in New York. We were on two radio shows, and I had conferences with Harry Fleischman, Lewis Nichols of the New York Times, Harry Steeger and Alexander Allen of the Urban League, Dr. Benjamine Fine in New York, and with George Guernsey of the AFL-CIO in Washington.

We have been on two local TV shows in Little Rock, and are lined up for another next Monday. Sales have been very good here, and elsewhere, where there has been good publicity. For example Lyle Stuart sent a review copy to Emmett McLoughlin, superintendent of Memorial hospital in Phoenix. Mr McLoughlin was so impressed by the book that he gave a review at a speech he made at Arizona State college, and as a result several book stores in Pheenix have ordered large numbers of books in the past week.

The publisher tells me what we really need are;-

1. Large orders by organizations.
2. Statements about the book to the press by prominently known people.

Harold, I'd like to ask you a favor, would you please call Ralph McGill, and Dr. Martin Luther King, and ask if they have recieved their copies of the book. Also if you would put in a word for the book I'm sure it would help.

I have ordered 500 books myself (at 40¢ per copy) and I'm going to put part of them in the local urban league here, and they are going to put a notice in their news letter telling people they can get them at the urban league office.

Incidentally, did you and John Constable get your review copies?

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ralph Creger

14 Rosemont Drive,
Little Rock Ark.

LYLE STUART

November 23, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Ralph Creger of Little Rock has forwarded your kind comments about THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND (formerly entitled AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY) by Ralph and Carl Creger.

We thought you'd like to see a copy of it and we will welcome your suggestions for widespread distribution of it. Obviously, its importance becomes even more apparent in the light of the Louisiana conflagration.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND will be published in a hard-cover edition at $2.00 and in a paper-bound edition at $1.00. The paper-bound edition is primarily for sale by organizations and they will be given substantial discounts on quantity purchases.

We are grateful for your interest and, again, we'll appreciate your suggestions for bringing this work to the widest possible audience.

Very sincerely yours,

Eileen Brand

Eileen Brand, Editor

EB:ge
Enc.

225 LAFAYETTE STREET • NEW YORK CITY 12 • CANAL 6-3528

FROM: Robert Salomon
General Manager

LYLE STUART 225 Lafayette Street, New York City 12 CANAL 6-3528

NEWS

about DISCOUNTS TO ORGANIZATIONS

on THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND
by Ralph and Carl Creger

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND began as a history assignment for Carl Creger, a seventeen-year-old student of Little Rock's Central High School. Ralph Creger is his father, chief train dispatcher in Little Rock for the Rock Island Railroad. Both father and son became so interested in the topic that they collaborated to expand it to its present length. It wound up as both a study of the history of the American Negro and the reasons why a white son and father in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes.

We originally planned to publish a hard-cover edition to retail for $2.00. (The book has 64 pages.) However, so many organizations have expressed an interest in promoting and selling this title that we are also publishing a soft-cover edition to sell for $1.00.

Our discount schedule to organizations for the $1.00 edition is as follows:

Copies	Discount	Price per copy
500 to 999	60%	40¢
1000 to 2499	64%	36%
2500 to 4999	66%	34%
5000 to 9999	68%	32¢
10000 or more	72%	28¢

Under 500 copies the discount is 40%.

100M 2-60 Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Arkansas
Feb 9 1961

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1961

Mr Harold Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street N.W.,
Atlanta 3 Ga.,

Dear Harold,

Things are going pretty well for my book. We continue to get good publicity. Got a good review by Saunders Redding in the Baltimore Afro-American, one in the Kansas City Star, the Pine Bluff Ark Commercial, The Phoenix Ariz Gazette and the Columbus Ohio Dispatch in the past few days. I got a letter from P L Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier saying he was going to get a copy of the book to president Kennedy, and was going all out to promote the book. Also got a very nice letter from Ralph Bunche, and Rufus Clement, along with many others.

I. S. McClinton, a colored man here in Little Rock is state president of the Arkansas Democratic Voters Association. His wife is blind, and has been for twenty years. She put herself through college after she became blind, and after she got her threechildren started to school. About three weeks ago she called and said the book had just been read to her by her husband, and that she was writing the Library of Congress asking them to put in on a record so blind people could hear it read. Last week she made arrangements with the publisher to send copies of the book to president Kennedy, vice president Johnson, and each member of the U.S. Senate. They should be getting their copies the first of the week.

Mrs. McClinton has been employed by the state for six years. She worked in vocational rehabilitation for the blind, for which she was ideally suited. She was discharged from her job about two months ago on the grounds that she was physically unable to handle it, however her health was the same as when she started six years ago. Later they were told it was because her husband refused to play ball with the Faubus administration.

There was a nice story about Mrs. McClintons sending the books in the Arkansas Gazette Sunday Feb 5th.

I spoke to Mrs. McClintons club last night, they were the leading colored church women from Little Rock. I told them the history of writing the book, and some of my ideas on helping reduce prejudice among prejudiced people. Then we had a discussion period. They feel, as I do, that while all the work being done by the southern liberal is fine, most of it reaches only the "egg heads". We need to do some missionary work among the "red necks" and thats what I'm trying to do through the book. I still need your help, Harold, all I can get.

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

I left copies of a plan that I feel will help the book, with the ladies. They all said they want to help in any way they can and seemed very enthusiastic. I am enclosing a copy, and also a copy of a review over a radio station in New York, that the publisher just sent me.

Were you ever able to call the attention of Dr King or Ralph McGill to the book?

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ralph Geyer

14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

PS. The Arkansas Council on Human relations just bought 70 books and are sending them to each member of the Little Rock Ministerial alliance.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND
Ralph and Carl Creger
Lyle Stuart $2.00

Book Report
Lee A. Howe

Best of the Week: WSNY
Schenectady New York
January 22, 1961

In keeping with my policy of trying to bring your attention to some of the best of today's publications, I am happy to report on a book which, while it contains much that is familiar to many of us, is very much worth reading, not only for what it contains, but for the background against which it was written. THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND by Ralph and Carl Creger is a brief, layman's account of the history of the Negro in America. The main body of the book contains less than 60 pages, so you may know it is brief. Even more, however, the authors include some background material on the Negro before he came to this country. Therefore, you won't expect a scholar's exhaustive analysis or a historians detailed account. But it still is a different book - and here's why.

Carl Creger, fulfilling an assignment in history, prepared an essay on the history of the Negro in America. He and his father became interested in the question and followed up by a more exhaustive study which finally resulted in this book. This, too, may not be unusual, but - and here is the fact that makes the book unusual - Ralph and Carl Creger live in Little Rock and the essay was a part of the school work in the schools which underwent the critical experience. Add to this - as a result of their study, father and son came to champion the cause of the Negro, rather, I should say, the cause of democracy for all in our country, including the Negro.

We can hope and pray that THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND will be widely distributed in those areas in the south where schools have not yet been able to adjust to the idea of integration. It should be read in all parts of our country, including our own community, for it helps to answer the charge so frequently unspoken but yet frequently thought, "The Negro is inferior". Add to the teachings of the sociologists, the anthropologists, the conviction arrived at by the Cregers confirming the scientific approach - "There is no such thing as an inferior race." "There are only inferior people, and they are to be found in every race."

I strongly recommend THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND as the Book of the Week. You will feel better knowing that there are people like the Cregers in Little Rock, and the future is with them rather than with the Faubus's.

Book Title: THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger

Published by: LYLE STUART PUBLISHING CO.
225 Lafayette St.
New York 12, N.Y.

If you like the book and think it will help prejudiced white people to become a little less prejudiced, if you think it will help colored people to become more aware of the outstanding accomplishments of many colored people all over America,

1. Write your friends all over America (Particularly those in large cities) and tell them about the book. Tell them to CALL their local book store and order it. The hard cover edition is $2.00 and the soft cover edition is $1.00.

2. Write Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
House Of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Or

Senator Hubert Humphrey
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Or

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, or Rep. William Dawson, or Senator Jacob Javits, or Senator Stuart Symington.

Tell them you think it would be good for all Americans to read the book and that you will appreciate anything they can do to make the book known to the American public.

Ralph Creger

Little Rock Arkansas
February 25 1961

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.,

Dear Harold,

I'm sending you a copy of a letter going out this week to all 164 Arkansas newspapers, daily and weekly. The pricipal of Horace Mann high school here is having his typing students run off original copies for me, so I wont be sending them duplicates. I'd like you to notice particularly the letter from Harry Ashmore included.

I am also sending similar letters to about 200 large dailies all over America.

The book seems to be going well, but I am dissappointed over the publicity given the book in certain areas of the South. As far as I know there has been very little promotion in such states as Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

The colored people here in Little Rock seem to be going all out to help promote the book. Also, I am starting to get some active support from local people interested in getting a racially tolerant man in as governor in the next election.

I'd like to ask you once again, Harold, to contact Ralph McGill or some one with the Constitution, and see if they won't give me some kind of a break, publicity wise. They have a copy of the enclosed letter. Also I hope you will be able to contact Dr. King soon, as ask his help.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ralph Creger

14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

Little Rock, Arkansas
February 25, 1961

EDITOR
(Letters To The Editor Dept.)

Dear Editor:

As just about everyone knows, Little Rock, and Arkansas, became the symbol of bigotry and prejudice to many people in 1957. This cross we bore, in addition to other misconceptions about Arkansas. Through the book THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, which began as a Central High classroom assignment, we hoped to show people that folks in Little Rock are no more inclined toward prejudice than others are.

When the book was in manuscript form, several people read it, and the usual comment was, "It's wonderful, but is there any way HE can get at you?" No one felt it necessary to ask who HE was! To me, this has been the REAL tragedy, more to be deplored than the denial of equal rights and opportunities to a part of our citizenry. This sort of thing is just not supposed to happen here! REAL statesmen throughout our history have not felt it necessary to promote and encourage a climate of fear and suspicion in order to prosper.

There have been nice reviews of our book in papers all over America, but three of the best have been local. These include the interpretive report by Bobbie Forster in the ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT, reviews in the PINE BLUFF COMMERCIAL, and the ARKANSAS BAPTIST.

I have just received a letter from Pulitzer prize-winning Editor and Author, Harry S. Ashmore, who is now Editor-in-Chief of Encyclopaedia-Brittannica. Several who are hopeful of a change in state leadership have advised against publication of this letter, fearing it might give HIM another chance to complain about being "picked on". After serious consideration, I have decided that you cannot eliminate demagoguery by catering to it. The letter reads as follows:

"Dear Mr. Creger: I don't know whether it will help or not, but feel free to use the following statement from me in any way that seems useful: By now, a good many millions of words have been written about Little Rock, and I have contributed more than my share. Journalists, preachers, lawyers, sociologists, educators and assorted advocates have had important things to say about the unhappy events that began at Central High and registered their impact across the face of the globe. But, in all this welter of words, one view remains unique...that of a Central High School student and his father who set down their simple, earnest feelings of shock, pain and hope in THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND. Carl and Ralph Creger's book deserves to be read everywhere, and it needs particularly to be read in Arkansas. Great issues of law and of political and social change had their focus at Little Rock, but there was another, not always readily visible element there...simple, compassionate humanity. This is the quality that emerges in the Creger's little book. Arkansans need to be reminded that they share it too, and they should display it with pride, not hide it in shame before the bitter words of the demagogue." Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore.....

We would like to have been gifted with Mr. Ashmore's natural artistry with words. Since we were not, we proceeded in the belief that when conviction is deep enough and strong enough, the right words will somehow be found.

R. C. Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

February 28, 1961

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for your letter letting me know the progress of This Is What We Found. Ashmore's letter, in particular, should prove very helpful.

I did have an opportunity to speak to Ralph McGill and learned that he has received and presumably read your book. I am not sure of his plans for publicizing it, but I got the impression that you and I both have done all we can to move him in that direction.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The students at Horace Mann High (Negro) have typed 200 of these for me

Little Rock, Arkansas
March 10, 1961

EDITOR
(Letters To The Editor Dept.)

Dear Editor:

As just about everyone knows, Little Rock, and Arkansas, became the symbol of bigotry and prejudice to many people in 1957. This cross we bore, in addition to other misconceptions about Arkansas. Through the book THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, which began as a Central High classroom assignment, we hoped to show people that folks in Little Rock are no more inclined toward prejudice than others are.

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R. C. Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Editorials

THE unequivocal stand of President Kennedy against federal aid to parochial schools is highly commendable. It is beginning to appear that Mr. Kennedy meant what he said when he was running for office—something altogether too uncommon among office-holders in American politics. Turning his back squarely upon high officials in his church (Roman Catholic), Mr. Kennedy declared in a recent press conference that the Constitution and opinions by the Supreme Court of the United States prohibit appropriation of public funds for parochial schools. He hit the nail's head an extra, firm lick by declaring that there "isn't any room for debate on that subject." That's that, refreshingly.

JFK Meant What He Said On Church-State Issue

CARRIED in this week's "Letters to the Editor" department is a letter from Deacon Ralph C. Creger, of Calvary Church, Little Rock, sharing with our readers a letter he received recently from Harry S. Ashmore, who won the Pulitzer prize for his handling of the Little Rock race issue and is now editor-in-chief of Encyclopedia Brittannica. The high commendation of Mr. Ashmore for the forthright book by Creger and Son, *This Is What We Found*, is an enviable prize in itself for these two Little Rockians, of two different generations, who dared to face the race issue head on in their search for truth, and then were not afraid to publish what they found.

Book on Little Rock Crisis Widely Read

The fact that *This Is What We Found* is selling like the proverbial hotcakes, not only in other states, but here in Little Rock, is an indication that the people are desirous of considering the race problem with more or less open minds. That there has been a wholesome change of climate for the good in Greater Little Rock and Arkansas is indicated by the fact that the only two "hot" letters received by the authors in a growing flood of mail came from residents of Northern states. Over and over the Cregers are hearing: "You have stated it the way we see it, but we would not dare say so."

Mr. Creger, Sr., regards the fear element, which has closed the mouths, if not the minds, of so many Arkansans, as one of the greatest tragedies of the Little Rock Story.

THE wholesome sharing of ideas and opinions provoked by the *Arkansas Baptist Newsmagazine's* proposal that the special offerings for missions be brought into the Cooperative Program (our editorial in issue of March 2) is most encouraging. As long as we can discuss openly and fearlessly our common problems as Baptists there is a good prospect not only that we shall remain a great New Testament democracy, but that we may arrive at correct conclusions.

President Pollard On Proposed Changes

Last week's *Arkansas Baptist* carried letters from a number of our Southern Baptist leaders, sharing their thinking about the special offerings. We are happy to have for this week's "Letters-to-the-Editor" section the frank reactions of President Ramsey Pollard of the Southern Baptist Convention to our suggestion on the special offerings and to one we made in our editorial of February 16 calling for a change of the name of the Southern Baptist Convention.

This editor appreciates greatly the suggestion of President Pollard that our people who have something to say about the proposed new name for SBC write to their state Baptist papers, that their ideas might be shared with all the people. This is a wise approach not only on this matter, but on anything else of concern to Baptists. The Baptist state paper can fill one of its most vital roles by serving as an open-forum medium for our Baptist people.

Personally Speaking . . .

On Saying Something

A DEAR lady was confessing to me recently that she is addicted to reading this column each week. Naturally, I was pleased. People have to pretend to listen to you when you are with them in person and talking, whether you are saying anything or not. It would be rude not to listen. But one's reputation for being courteous is not at stake if he does not read his second-class mail. He can ignore it week after week and be none the worse, as far as his politeness-rating is concerned.

ELM

Noting that I was already beginning to purr, my fan went on to say that "Personally Speaking" is the first thing to which she turns when the **Arkansas Baptist Newsmagazine** arrives each week.

At this point the middle button on my coat, which is the one I try to keep buttoned because that is at the point I need most to be contained, popped off and rolled across the front of the church where we were standing.

Then the lady said something which I have since been pondering. And I am not sure since that moment whose side she is really on. "I like to skip down to the bottom of the column and see what you say each time," she concluded.

There are a lot of different ways to take that, dear lady! Are you trying to say to me that it takes me the most of my space every week to get around to saying something? I sure hope not, for I have to fill this column with something, you know.

Up till this encounter the worst thing that had been said about me and my weekly (or weakly) brainchild was said by a fellow editor who called my style of writing "whimsical." That did not bother me much. I figured he was just jealous. But what about his looking at the bottom of the column to see what I say?

For some reason, this reminds me of what Dr. Wyatt, of Albuquerque, N.M., added as he read his scripture at the Evangelistic Conference. He had just read: "And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind:" (1 Kings 19:11b) when he added: "A lot of preachers haven't found that out yet."

Our closing thought today is that whether a fellow is speaking or writing he ought to strive, at least by the time he finishes, to say something worth being said. Present company excepted!

Erwin L. McDonald

Letters to the Editor

President Pollard Favors 'Best Consideration' On Restudy Of Baptist Special Offerings

THANK you so much for the editorial which you plan to publish on March 2 ("In Support of a Cooperative Program").

I think it deserves the very best consideration we could possibly give it. Personally, I think we do have too many offerings in our church. However, I do not think the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering and the Annie Armstrong Offering are going to hurt our Cooperative Program.

It seems to me that we need to undergird our Cooperative Program with some definite teaching concerning its meaning to the mission program around the world. It is altogether possible that we have failed to properly inform our people as to what the Cooperative Program really is and what it is doing for all of our institutions and for the mission cause on foreign soil.

The Cooperative Program needs to breathe — it needs a vibrant personality — it needs to live in the imagination of our people and they need to *see* the world-wide ministry of Southern Baptists through the Cooperative Program.

I have received any number of letters concerning the proposal to change the name of the Southern Baptist Convention. I have written all of them and suggested that they write to their state editors of the Baptist papers and give them their best thinking on this important matter.

While I cannot be at this time in favor of changing the name of our Convention, I do feel that it is such a significant matter that we ought to keep an open mind and thoroughly investigate all the points in favor of such a change. It seems to me that there is a great deal of interest concerning this matter.

May God's richest blessings continue to abide upon you. —Ramsey Pollard, President, Southern Baptist Convention, Bellevue Baptist Church, 1208 Court Avenue, Memphis 4, Tenn.

'. . . *What we Found*'

AS just about everyone knows, Little Rock, and Arkansas, became the symbol of bigotry and prejudice to many people in 1957. This cross we bore, in addition to other misconceptions about Arkansas. Through the book **This Is What We Found**, which began as a Central High classroom assignment, we hoped to show people that folks in Little Rock are no more inclined toward prejudice than others are.

There have been nice reviews of our book in papers all over America, but three of the best have been local. These include the interpretive report by Bobbie Forster, in the **Arkansas Democrat**, reviews in the **Pine Bluff Commercial** and the **Arkansas Baptist.**

I have just received a letter from Pulitzer prize-winning editor and author, Harry S. Ashmore, who is now editor-in-chief of Encyclopedia Brittannica. The letter reads as follows:

"Dear Mr. Creger: I don't know whether it will help or not, but feel free to use the following statement from me in any way that seems useful: By now, a good many millions of words have been written about Little Rock, and I have contributed more than my share. Journalists, preachers, lawyers, sociologists, educators and assorted advocates have had important things to say about the unhappy events that began at Central High and registered their impact across the face of the globe. But, in all this welter of words, one view remains unique. . . that of a Central High School student and his father who set down their simple, earnest feelings of shock, pain and hope in **This Is What We Found.** Great issues of law and of political and social change had their focus at Little Rock, but there was another, not always readily visible element there . . . simple, compassionate humanity. This is the quality that emerges in the Creger's little book. Arkansans need to be reminded that they share it too, and they should display it with pride, not hide it in shame before the bitter words of the demagogue. Sincerely, Harry S. Ashmore"

We would like to have been gifted with Mr. Ashmore's natural artistry with words. Since we were not, we proceeded in the belief that when conviction is deep enough and strong enough, the right words will somehow be found. — Ralph C. Creger, 14 Rosemont Drive, Little Rock.

Church Chuckles
by CARTWRIGHT

"I hope you realize what we're doing is low and sneaky, Gerald — giving our business to one of father's competitors!"

'*Cooperative Program*'

I APPRECIATE very much your sending me a copy of your editorial for March 2. ["In Support of a Cooperative Program"]. I have read this over very carefully two or three times. I like it. I think you are working along the right lines. I see no reason why we should not all keep plugging at this matter and one day come up with a solution. I have never been more convinced in my life that the things that are developing now about the Co-operative Program are of the Lord. The spirit in our recent meeting was just simply everything that we could wish. — John Maguire, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Florida Baptist Convention, Jacksonville, Fla.

Hymnals Needed

MAGAZINE Baptist Church needs about 50 good, used Broadman Hymnals. If you know of a church that has such on hand would you please let me know or get them in touch with me. — Taylor Stanfill, Booneville.

Baptists Like Bees

BAPTISTS, like bees, should swarm at the proper time and start a new hive.

Baptists, like bees, when they do swarm, usually need to be settled and very carefully directed in the establishing of a new home.

Baptists, like bees, should be mostly workers with very few drones.

Baptists, like bees, should be organized, some breadwinners, some honey gatherers, some storage cell builders, some guards; in fact, every need should be met by a consecrated committee set to meet that need.

Baptists, like bees, should never use

(Continued on page 18)

Nuggets of Gold

Prejudice

DEFINITIONS

A PREJUDICE is a vagrant opinion without visible means of support.—Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary.*

PREJUDICE is the child of ignorance.—William Hazlitt, *Sketches and Essays.*

PREJUDICES are the props of civilization.—Andre Gide, *The Counterfeiters.*

I AM prejudiced:

If I believe that any race is born with more ability, more brains and character than any other race.

If I think that members of my church are good and most others are queer or bad.

If I ever accuse a whole group of people of anything.

If I repeat rumors or gossip about other groups.

If I believe members of some groups should be restricted in their opportunities in employment and education.

If I keep my children or friends from associating with members of other races or creeds.—Corrine V. Loomis.

PREJUDICE is usually a loose idea tightly held.—*Life Digest.*

PREJUDICE is being positive about something negative.—P. K. Thomajan, *Phoenix Flame.*

PREJUDICE is our method of transferring our own sickness to others. It is our ruse for disliking others rather than ourselves. We find absolution in our prejudices. We find also in them an enemy made to order rather than inimical forces out of our control.—Ben Hecht, *A Guide for the Bedevilled.* (Scribner.)

PREJUDICE is a lazy man's substitute for thinking.—Strickland Gillilan, in *Your Life.*

PREJUDICE is a great time-saver. It enables one to form opinions without bothering to get the facts.—*Kitchener* (Canada) *Record.*

THE difference between a prejudice and a conviction is that you can explain a conviction without getting mad.—*Baptist Message.* ■

An Eye for Results

THE story is told that Eben Jordan, the well-known retail merchant of Boston, once looked about for a man to fill a position of authority that had become vacant. Among the men proposed for the job was the manager of a department who had the reputation of never having made a mistake. Jordan investigated the man's record and summoned him to his office.

"How long have you been here?" he inquired.

"Twenty years," was the answer.

"I hear you have never made a mistake," pursued Jordan.

The manager admitted the fact with pride, anticipating his reward.

"I see by the records," continued Jordan with cold indifference, "that your department has shown less profit than any other department in the store. I see that you have made no mistakes. I also notice that you have made little else. I shall not discharge you, but I must put you on probation. I shall expect your department to show a material gain by the end of the year."

It is not the man who makes no mistakes who always makes progress. In business as everywhere, the rewards go to the man who has his eye on the results as well as on the means of getting them. ■

"Thy Will Be Done"

By JENNIE C. EULETTE

"Thy will be done."
It is not difficult to say
These words, O Lord, when day by day
My life is rich in work and play,
In friendship, love, and laughter gay.
Oh, it is easy then to say:
"Thy will be done."

But should this calm be swept away,
My skies be overcast and gray
As grief or suffering come my way—
Would I be ready, then, to say:
"Thy will be done?"

Whatever burdens life may lay
Upon me, Lord, Oh, let me stay
So close beside thee that I may
Find courage, strength, and faith to pray.
"Thy will be done."

* * *

Quotes

ONE day a vacationist at a remote New England farm was walking toward the village. He met a farmer mowing grass. "How long will it take me to get to town?" asked the visitor.

The scythe stopped and a level glance came up. "How fast are you going to walk?"—Lorraine Sinton in *Best's Insurance News.*

* * *

THE Bible can enrich child life, but this enrichment comes about gradually as seeds of spiritual truth are sown and cultivated from day to day by loving parents.—Frank P. Forwood

* * *

ALL progress is made by men of faith who believe in what is right and, what is more important, actually do what is right in their own private affairs. You cannot add to the peace and goodwill of the world if you fail to create an atmosphere of harmony and love right where you live and work. —Thomas Dreier

Little Rock Arkansas

March 17 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming,

Southern Regional Council,

Room 201, 5 Forsythe St.

Atlanta 3 Ga.,

Dear Harold,

Thanks for the item on my book in NEW SOUTH. I'm getting letters, and orders from books from all over America. Many from the South as a result of items in the Pittsburgh Courier by P. L. Prattis.

I'm enclosing clippings from the latest issue of the Arkansas Baptist with a story about THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND. I also got a letter from Dick Kornmeyer of the Southern Baptist bookstores in Nashville saying they were going to promote in in their book stores as much as possible.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations here hopes to raise enough money to send books to as many libraries, teachers and preachers here as possible. I don't know how well they will do though. The columnist in the Arkansas Democrat took a blast at the ACHR a few days ago for some reason or other.

I've had a couple of real nice letters from Harry Ashmore. He suggested I contact you, but I guess he didn't realize that I've done that frequently.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ralph Eager

14 Rosemont Drive

Little Rock Ark.

100M 2-60 Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Arkansas
April 13 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Harold,

The enclosed article, or letter, was published in the Chicago Weekly Defender April 8th, and in the Pine Bluff Commercial April 6th. I sent it to several others, and don't know how many have used it. It seems to have stirred up lots of comment.

Sincerely
Ralph Creger
Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

PS. RADIO FREE EUROPE called Carl out of class in Central High Monday, they had a fifteen minute taped interview with him, asking about reaction to the book here, and about present conditions in Central High, and in Little Rock. They will use it in broadcasts to iron curtain countries

Little Ro[illegible] Arkansas

To the Editor:

My son, a Little Rock Central High student, and I, recently collaborated in writing a book entitled THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND. The book deals with the history of the Negro in America, and deals in part with the 1957 school crisis in Little Rock.

Through the book Carl and I hoped to show that people in Little-Rock are no more inclined toward prejudice than others are, and also tried to encourage Christian ethics in race relations.

The book is being published by a New York publisher, and seems to be doing quite well. We have had a good deal of favorable publicity in newspapers all over America, and particularly in Arkansas. The editor of the ARKANSAS BAPTIST has twice commented very favorably on the book. We feel the reason for the books acceptance is that we stressed the positive, rathern than the negative. We pointed out the tolerant and progressive attitudes of Arkansans, rather than appealing to bigotry, as is done by those who still cling to hopes of retaining the color-caste system.

Even though we avoided traditional arguments as to the merits of segregation or integration, and told of the history and progress of the Negro in America, and our belief that this could not have been done under other systems of government, this seemed to be too much for Dr. B. L. Bridges, former excecutive secretary of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention. He seemed to be very indignant because the editor of the ARKANSAS BAPTIST had commended Carl and I for our stand, and insisted he be permitted to publish an article entitled a segregationist speaks. Permission was granted, and his article published. This is as it should be, as he certainly should have the right to express himself. I then submitted a letter of rebuttal which was not accepted on the grounds that it was not the type material suitable for use in a church paper, particularly because of my reference to our pet tom-cat and sanitation conditions in Arkansas. However the editor did say he would like to see it published, and wished Dr. Bridges could see my answer, which read as follows :-

All Carl and I tried to do in writing THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND was to show folks that people in Arkansas are probably less prejudiced than many others are, and to encourage Christian ethics in race relations. At first I felt rather hurt to think that Dr. Bridges, a member of my own congregation would attempt to belittle our efforts, but, after reading his article, I can see through the scriptures that he conveniently failed to quote that he really had our best interests at heart. I am beginning to see the error of my ways. Certainly, I had never heard any of his arguments before.

I'd like to go over the six points he mentioned and show how he has caused me to change my thinking.

1. THE BIBLE DOES NOT SUPPORT INTEGRATION: I had always felt that Christian brotherhood was a commond bond, one that should be stronger than any other, that the true test of Chrisianity is whether or not we "love the brethren". Now I see that it would be better to fellowship with a gambler, drunkard or an athiest, so long as he is white, than with a dedicated Christian minister who happened to be dark skinned. And, we should not forget Christs golden rule, DO UNTO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD HAVE THEM DO UNTO YOU, BUT KEEP NIGRAS IN THEIR PLACE.

2. BIOLOGICAL FACTS DO NOT SUPPORT INTEGRATION: In this, the disease prevalent among Negroes is mentioned, together with it's effect on them. It is obvious disease has been taking it's toll. I'd wondered what was slowing down Floyd Patterson, Elgin Baylor, Jimmy Brown, Ernie Banks and Wilma Rudolph.

3. SOCIETY AND INTEGRATION: In this one Dr. Bridges pointed out that Cardinals do not mix with wren, and deer do not mix with cattle. I had never before seen the value of bird watching societies in solving social problems, but now I can see the logic in this. But, my DEER Dr. Bridges, two things disturbed me. Why do my neighbors black spaniel and white terrier eat so readily from adjacent dishes, and how can I get my long haired yellow tom-cat to stop co-mingling with the black lady cat up the street. Of course they will never have a legal marraige, so it's probably allright. Cats will be cats, and sow their wild catnip!

43. Sanitation and Integration: Dr. Bridge says, "Sanitation conditions in Arkansas do not justify integration. I cant agree with the good doctor on this one. I maintain Arkansas is as sanitary as any state in the union.

5. Economics and Integration: Dr. Bridges points out that the Negro has not lifted his standard of living to that of white people. I can see the logic here alright. I know in my own industry, the railroad, of the many good jobs available to Negroes. I am thinking of such jobs as locomotive engineer, telegraph operator, conductor, typist, cashier, ticket seller and signal maintainer. I am sure other industries have like opportunities. I had always wondered why colored people insisted on taking jobs as janitors, maids, bus-boys and garbage collectors.

6. The law and integration: Here Dr. Bridges tells us that in 1950 the Destrict of Columbia Bar Association voted not to admit Negroes. I can readily see that if members of the bar are prejudiced, the rest of us should be prejudiced too.

All in all, Dr. Bridges, your article has made a lasting impression. I suggest that you expand it, and try to get it published as a book. I am sure I shall be unable to do further writing because of my physical condition. I seem to be wasting away, and am down to 205 pounds. You see, I recently attended a conference on community unity at which several Negroes were present. I foolishly shook hands with one of them, and am afraid I have contracted that dread Etheopian disease, SICKLE-CELL ANEMIA.

Ralph Greger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

100M 2-60 Form 2630

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

Little Rock Arkansas
April 18 1961

Mr Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201 - - 5 Forsyth St NW
Atlanta 3 Ga

Dear Harold,

I am enclosing some papers I have prepared which will show the progress being made in getting my book known. I wish you would go over them, and if you can see things I have overlooked, call them to my attention.

I have gotten much encouraging mail the past few days. I do wish, though, that the book was better known in Atlanta, considering what you are facing next fall.

Sincerely,
Ralph Creger
Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Arkansas

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Race prejudice is bad enough, in itself, but it cannot be contained, or confined. It invariably spreads to include many racial, national or religious groups. Politicians who have exploited the race issue usually find they have inherited supporters with other hatreds and prejudices.

Thus we find groups such as the NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY, who's vice chairman, Mrs E L Bishop, of Little Rock said in a letter to Orval Faubus (as quoted in the Gazette) :- "Jews hope to brainwash all the people of the world by dragging out the Eichman trial for several months." She went on to say that the Jews had faked stories about atrocities committed against Jews in German concentration camps. She said, "In the end they will say that every segregationist, States Righter, conservative, etc., is a potential Eichman, a potential mass murderer. The Jews will use public opinion built up by this long phony trial to get congress and even the United Nations to outlaw patriots everywhere. Are we going to let them outlaw us?" she asked. Orval Faubus was the States Rights party candidate for president last fall. In today's Gazette there is an item telling us that Mrs. Bishop plans to spend the next three weeks in Carthage New York to organize a States Rights party there.

This same thing made me have to stand all alone in my own Baptist church last fall when I supported John Kennedy for president.

(Actually I had a hard time voting, and difficulty in making up my mind. I guess I voted for Kennedy because of all the people who were against him for no other reason than the fact he is a Catholic)

But the most damnable thing of all, in this region, is that colored people, who are merely trying to "get in on" Americanism, and those of us who support them, are invariably labeled communists, or communist dupes. It seems to me that the president, or other key people in the administration, should take to TV and set the people straight on this. They should explain to the frightened people of the South that those really serving the cause of communism are the people who would deny equal rights opportunity and justice to a part of our citizenry.

We recently recieved the following letter from Joseph L Ranft, program manager for RADIO FREE EUROPE. It reads as follows: "Dear Mr Creger, We wish to thank you for sending us a copy of THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND written by your son, and yourself. We shall be able to make good use of it in our broadcasts to Eastern Europe. As you know, we obtained a telephone interview from your son recently about the book."

The thoughts expressed in THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND are in direct conflict with every aim of these communist calling, bible quoting, self styled patriots. Certainly no one is more interested in opposing communism than RADIO FREE EUROPE. If the fact that these people have taken such an interest in our book, and are using it to combat communist propaganda, were generally known in the South, I'm sure it would do a lot of good.

Ralph Creger

Those of you getting this letter are familiar with the book THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND and with its purpose.

While there have been many books written on this same general subject I think you will agree that THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND is unusual in several respects.

It is not written by a known personality, who's views are known and predictable, and who's authorship might tend to prejudice its readers. It is short and simply written so that all can easily understand it. It avoids most of the usual North-South arguments that might tend to make the reader forget the real problem. It avoids most of the usual well worn arguments normally used when the segregation-integration controversy arises. It strikes at points where segregationalists are most vulnerable as it stresses the "underdog" role of the Negro, the inate human respect all people have for those succeeding despite handicaps. The segregationists are well aware of these handicaps, and they too, usually consider themselves a persecuted minority. It points out the analogy between the difficulties encountered in the South by labor organizations and by organizations such as the NAACP which represent another group of people who have been exploited. Since frequently many of the most extreme "racists" can be found in labor organizations, I thought this was a point that should not be overlooked. This analogy seems to be effective, judging from the comments I have been getting from many railroad employees who have read the book.

Since most of you getting this letter have expressed a desire to help make the book knonw, I have compiled a list of things that have been done so far, to make the book known. I have listed both the positive results, and the negative. You may see items I have overlooked, and if so, I'd appreciate them being called to my attention.

It is my idea that if you have this list, you might see organizations or people listed that you know, or with whom you have influence, or you might think of people not on the list who should be.

Official publication date was Jan. 2nd. At this time the publisher sent news releases to well over 100 newspapers over the country, most of them were the larger dailies. A review copy was supposed to have gone with the news releases, but because of a delay at the printers, the books were about three weeks late, and this did not help the situation. However several good reviews of the book have appeared in such papers as the Chicago Tribune, the Kansas City Star, the Phoneix Arizona Gazette, items about the book in the New York Times, the Columbus Ohio Dispatch, the St Petersburg Fla. Times, the Arkansas Gazette and the Arkansas Democrat. The Pine Bluff Arkansas Commercial gave us a good review, and good news items, but most of the other Arkansas papers have not been very cooperative. Radio Free Europe called Carl at School April 10th, and had a 15 minute taped interview with him about the book, and about condidtions in school, and most of the Arkansas papers picked this up. There is no doubt in my mind that most of these papers refused to give the book space because of the

theme of the book, and because of Orval Faubus. However the Pine Bluff Commercial has done very well by me. They had an excellent review, and they carried my rebuttal to an article A SEGREGATIONIST SPEAKS written by the retired executive secretary of the State Baptist Convention. (This is the man who got into a controversy with the edtitor of the ARKANSAS BAPTIST because he gave my book so much space) My rebuttal was also carried by the April 8 Chicago Defender. It may have been carried by other papers, but these are all that have been verified. The Arkansas Gazette and the Democrat have both had several items about the book, but strangely, the Democrat has done better than the Gazette.

LABOR which goes to about 500,000 railroad employees had an excellent review.

The Negro press has given the book good coverage. The best had been by P L Prattis in the Pittsburgh Courier. One of his article was so effective that I have gotten letters and book orders from all over America, particularly from Chicago, Cincinnati Detroit and Mississippi. This article was re-printed in full, as an advertisement in the New York Times April 1 and 4.
Saunders Redding gave the book a good review in the Afro-American and there was a review in the Chicago Defender Dec 28 and my letter of rebuttal in the Weekly Defender April 8th. This letter seems to have been quite effective judging from the mail I've been getting. There have been reviews in the NY Citizen-Call and the NY Courier. Several other Negro papers have gotten news releases and letters about the book, but I do not know that they have used them. JET and EBONY have been sent review copies and letters, but so far as I know they have given the book no space and have not replied to my letters.

I have sent letters to the editors of papers all over America. These letters contained statements about the book by well known people, and I have no way of knowing which were used. I sent letters with a statement by New Jersey senator Williams to most New Jersey papers, and don't know how many were used, but the Camden Courier-Post did, as they sent me a clipping. I ordered twenty more of these papers and sent clippings to other senators. Letters containing statements by Estes Kefauver were sent to Tennessee papers, but none were used as far as I know. A long letter of endorsement by Harry Ashmore was sent to all Arkansas papers, but none used it except the ARKANSAS BAPTIST.

I have written letters to both Washington DC papers, and they have given the book no space as far as I know. I have written letters to 50 of the largest dailies in the country, with self addressed envelopes asking for clippings for Carls scrapbook, but only about 15 have replied. I am particularly dissappointed by lack of response from Los Angeles, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit and St Louis.
Review copies of the book were sent to LIFE LOOK NEWSWEEK and TIME. None have given the book any space.
The SOUTHERN PATRIOT carried a good review in the April issue. I understand the CRISIS will review the book. The Progressive has said they may review it, but have given no definte assurance.

Mr. Graham Hall, a man recently returned to Little Rock from the diplomatic service, and a native of Little Rock, gave serious consideration to sending the book to each US senator. Finally he decided against it, apparently not wanting to take a chance on incurring the wrath of Orval Faubus and some of the extremist groups in Little-Rock, but saying he felt some of the leaders who had been here through the crisis should take the lead. Mrs I.S.McClinton, a blind colored woman who's husband is president of the states Negro democratic voters# assn. heard of this, and took on the project of sending the books to the senators. Mrs McClinton has worked for the state, in vocational rehabilitation for the blind, for six years, but was dismissed last winter for no apparent reason. Later they were told it was because her husband refused to "play ball" with Faubus. Mrs. McClinton wrote letters to each senator, and had the publisher send them the books. Something apparently went wrong in the mailing, as only a few seemed to get through to the senators. Only about five acknowledged Mrs. McClintons letters. She felt quite hurt about this. One of them was Herman Talmage. I am sure he did not agree with what the book had to say, but at least he had the courtesy to write her and thank her for the book.

So far the only known results of this move was a strong letter of endorsement by senator Williams of New Jersey. However, several others did not get the book, and have indicated they will have something to say. These include senators Humphrey, Javits, Douglas, Gore and Hickenlooper.

Individuals who know of the book are listed pretty much in the order that they were contacted, after the manuscript stage.

Harry Ashmore - no word from him for about a year, but he recently wrote me a wonderful letter of endorsement, for use in the press, and later sent another letter saying he was going to write Harold Fleming about the book.

Benjamin# Fine - At first, he wrote me several encouraging letters, and had a meeting with me when I was in New York. He said he would probably write about the book in his column. I don't think he has done so, as yet.

Hodding Carter - Very encouraging letters, has said he would review book in his paper. Don't know if this has been done.

Ralph McGill - He wrote Readers Digest, and the Atlantic Monthy about the manuscript - but have heard nothing from him since.

P D East - The book was sent him just recently at the suggestion of Irwin Schulman

Lilliah Smith. Letters of encouragment from her. It was at her suggestion that the title was changed from AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY to THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND.

A Phillip Randolph - Telegram of commendation, but nothing further.

Harry Golden. He wrote Readers Digest recommending book, and has written letters of encouragment. Think he will do review in his paper when returns from Israel.

Jackie Robinson - Two letters of commendation, said would help in any way he could

Bob Kennedy - No acknowledgment from him for book, but, on second letter one of his assistants wrote me a "form" letter thanking me for the book.

Dr Bunche - He wrote very nice letter about the book

Adam C Powell - very nice letter about the book

Congressman Diggs - Said had not had time to read the book yet

Congressman Dawson - no acknowledgment

Congressman Nix - no acknowledgment

Dr Rufus Clement - Very nice letter about book

Dr Billy Graham - form letter from his associate

Martin Luther King - On second request, he acknowledged book, said thought it a "real contribution" but had not read it yet

Ellen Steinberg - Three nice letters about book, ordered ten books for herself, suggested I write Jim Dombrowski in New Orleans about the book, which I did.

Brooks Hays - Lots of nice letters from him, and promises of help with people in Washington, but have seen no positive results of this as yet

Edward R Murrow of USI was sent book recently, has not had time to reply yet

Mrs. Roosevelt - two nice letters of commendation from her

Harry Fleishman - has helped by giving me names of many people in organized labor

Kivie Kaplan - Has been wonderful to me, have several nice letters from him, he has ordered 100 books, he says he will continue to help in every way he can

S Ralph Harlow, author and friend of Kivie Kaplan's - has also been wonderful and is helping me every way that he can

C H Murphy, president of Murphy Oil of Eldorado Arkansas, who recently in speech at Hendrix College told students they must learn to accept integration - has been sent book a few days ago

Winthrop Rockefeller - He wrote Atlantic Monthly, and contacted McGill for me, when book in manuscript form. Nothing since. I feel he could have helped the cause of equal rights a lot more than he has, in several ways. The book is just one of the ways. Maybe he wants to be governor some of these days.

Harry Belafonte - Had to write him second time to get acknowledgment - then his secretary said he just got back from somewhere, and had not read the book yet

William Fulbright - When the book was in manuscript form, and he no doubt thought it would never be published, he wired me, and wrote me three letters, telling me how good the story was, said that if published he would help with the national news media, etc., now that it has published he hasn't done a thing. He writes that it is against his policies to endorse books.

W Averaill Harriman - sent him book, but got no acknowledgment
G Mennen Williams - sent book, but got no acknowledgment
Natl Democratic Chairman - sent book, but got no acknowledgment
President Kennedy - sent him book prior to Jan 1st in Palm Beach, Mrs McClinton sent him book, wrote him two letters and wired him finally got letter from his secretary Evelyn Lincoln, - form letter saying President thanked me- etc. P L Prattis wrote Meyer Feldman in the White House thought he could get the book to President Kennedy's attention, but Mr. Feldman said that Mr. Kennedy could not change his policies of refusing to endorse books - I didnt expect an endorsment - I thought me might help in some way though.

Lyndon Johnson - form letter of cangratulations from him, when he was a senator

Stuart Symington - He wrote a letter to Readers Digest recommending manuscripts use

Carl Rowan - I sent him book, and several letters. Finally got a reply from him about 8 or 9 months later, that he did not have time to read the book

I sent books to Elgin Baylor, Jim Brown, Ernie Banks and Leontyne Price - but have hardly had time for acknowledgments yet. I'd like to send a book to Wilma Rudolph if I knew her address.

At the suggestion of Hodding Carter I sent a book to Percy Green of the Jackson Miss. Advocate - no reply or acknowledgment.

I went through a book in the Little Rock Library and got the names of most of the Negro Newspapers in the South and sent them letters about the book. I've had no replies yet.

I sent letters to the editors to most Tennessee papers with statements by Kefauver. I don't know if any were used. I doub't it.

Donald Ewing of the Shreveport Times wrote and asked me for a book. I sent him one, but he did not acknowledge until I called him by long distance, then he said he didn't think they had better use it.

The president of Tuskegee has the book, says will read it when gets the time

I have sent a book to Rose Long, af the Atlanta Journal, as a result of her article in LOOK magazine. Haven't had time to hear from her yet.

The following in New Orleans have been sent the book at the suggestion of Jim Dombrowski - Louis Riecke- President of the school board, Mary Sand, president Save our Schools, Rev Albert D'orlando-minister, Bill Monroe, Director News Bureau, WDSU TV, Mabel Simmons, Literary Editor Times Picayne.

ORGANIZATIONS - Religious and otherwise:

UAHC - very nice letter from Rabbi Glaser of San Francisco with offer to help also letter from Albert Vorspan saying he would give book brief plug in social action in review but said could not help in distribution as had same problem with other books on same subject by such authors as Ashmore, East, McGill and others.

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION - Miss Jean Luckey says will help promote as much as possible.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES - Darrell Randal said will help make book known, suggested I send book to Dow Kirkpatrick of Atlanta, which I did.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - Harold Fleming has known about the book since its manuscript stage. I visited with Harold in Atlanta in June, 1960. They have given me encouragement, reviewed the book in NEW SOUTH. As far as I know, they have ordered no books.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - They are trying to raise enough money to get at least 500 books and send to school teachers and libraries in the Little Rock area, particularly because of the speed-up in integration next fall in the Little Rock schools. Nine men have been sent letters asking for contributions, but only two have sent any money. The others say they can't afford to have their name linked to the project, but say they are 100% in sympathy with what we are trying to do.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. Very good - strong endorsement of book to local book stores. Dick Kornmeyer writes they are listing it in their WORLD OF BOOKS CATALOGUE.

CONGREGATIONALISTS - ordered six books for display on Race Relations week in June at Fisk University.

NAACP - Very good. John Morsell wrote they had just ordered 1000 more books and would help in every way they can - will review in the CRISIS.

METHODISTS - A. Dudley Ward says will help, will review in CONCERN.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONSL FUND - Good review in the April SOUTHERN PATRIOT, good letter with offer of help from Anne Braden. Jim Dombrowski sent money for five books asking me to send them to five key people in New Orleans, which I did, said would handle further when these people had read the book.

CORE - ordered 100 books originally, nothing further, had hoped for much more from CORE.

Have written three letters to Archbishop Rummell of New Orleans and sent a copy of the book to him. Have received no acknowledgement or reply.

Alice Lilly of St. Louis University has ordered 12 books and says will do all possible to make known in St. Louis area.

Mrs. H. M. Perry of Fisk University ordered books.
Irwin Schulman of B'nai B'rith of New Orleans has written Albert Vorspan and P. D. East about the book, says will be in Little Rock in next few days and talk to me about the book.

URBAN LEAGUE - Alexander Allen of New York helped by correcting a few errors in the original manuscript and by contacting people for me in New York, and helped in other ways. They have not ordered any books, but have mentioned the book in their news-letters.

Herb Tysen of the Urban League in Little Rock says they are having a statewide meeting in Little Rock in June, that there will be 300 people there, many from east and South Arkansas. I'd like to have 1000 books there as Herb says many will want books and I'd like to sell them in lots of five books for $2.00, so they can take the books back to their areas and distribute. Also, I. S. McClinton is having a meeting of his organization to encourage Negroes to buy poll taxes and I could sell books there if I can get them. The big need for the books in Arkansas is in the plantation areas of east and south Arkansas where they are dominated by the plantation owners. The colored people in Little Rock do a pretty good job of thinking for themselves.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SOCIETY - I have been very disappointed here. I have sent books and several letters to these people in Philadelphia but they have not replied. However, many of their people in Little Rock have been quite active in distributing books personally.

RADIO APPEARANCES - Carl and I were on the Bob Dixon Show in New York the first week in January and on Open Mike which originates in Leones Restaurant. The Publisher was unable to book us on any nationwide TV or radio shows. In Little Rock, we appeared on all three TV stations' noon panel shows and were on one radio panel show.

RADIO FREE EUROPE called Carl out of school April 10th and taped an interview with him about the book , reaction to it here, about conditions in school as compared to what they were in 1957. They will use this interview in broadcasts to iron curtain countries. They are sending us the tape which will be used on local radio shows. The book was reviewed by Lee A. Howe on BEST OF THE WEEK, Station WSNY, Schenectedy, N.Y. Jan. 22nd.

Many other things have been done, but I cannot recall all of them.

Two things which are needed to project the book in a really big way are:
(1) Statements to the press about the book by nationally-known people.
(2) Strong organizational support. The book will be read by segregationists if it is given to them, but they normally will not spend their money to buy it. The publisher has excellent discount rates, starting at 40 cents per copy for 500 or more to 999 books, getting down to as low as 28 cents per copy for 10,000 or more books.

All this has been set down for your information so that you can help me in some way if you feel the book can help do the job for which it was written.

Most of you have a copy of the article that dealt with my experiences in getting the book published. This went to Charlie Ferguson of READERS DIGEST, in the hope that they would use it as a "First Person" story. Mr Ferguson returned it saying that the first person stories had to turn on some sharp and dramatic incident, but suggested I send it to CHRISTIAN HERALD, which I did. Mr Ferguson said the DIGEST would no doubt use it as a reprint. Of course it the CHRISTIAN HERALD does use it, and the DIGEST reprints it, our book would get more publicity than we had ever dreamed was possible.

Our publisher tried to get us on the Dave Garroway show, or some nationwide TV show, when we were in New York the first week in January, but this could not be arranged. We appeared on the Bob Dixon radio show, and on "Open Mike" a radio show originating in "Leones" resturaunt. In Little Rock we have appeared on all three TV stations panel shows, and on a radio show.

We just got the tape back from RADIO FREE EUROPE, and a local radio station says they will use it on a broadcast.

Two things are needed to project the book in a really big way,

1. Strong organizational support, by organizations who can, and will take advantage of the discount prices on the books, which start at 28¢ per copy for an order of 500 to 999 books, and get down to 28¢ per copy for 10000 or more.
2. Statements to the press about the book by nationally known people. I have a feeling that a good many of those who have been sent books, have never actually seen them.

Things are really starting to pick up now, but I still need all the help I can get, to show the people in Little Rock they can quite being afraid, and to show people in the South, in America, and all over the world that such a book can come out of Little Rock, and that most of the people here seem to like it.

If I could just get Orval Faubus to come out and blast the book, this would be a big help, but so far he's been to smart for that. I sent him and autographed copy, but have gotten no acknowledgment. Statements to the press by nationally known people would force him to talk. He can't connect me with any of the organizations he has complained of in the past, and he'd look pretty silly picking on me, as he has always fallen back on the fact that he, Orval, the poor boy from the hills was being persecuted.

"THEY SAID IT COULDN'T BE DONE"

Recently, while glancing through a publication called THE MASTHEAD, I was particularly interested in statements by Kenneth D. McCormick, Editor-in Chief of Doubleday and Co.

Mr. McCormick said that his Company receives between five and six thousand manuscripts a year. About four thousand are unsolicited. He pointed out that the most the Company had ever taken from the unsolicited scripts was two: He went on to say, "There is a quality of mediocrity about these scripts that instantly separates them from professional work, from inspired or thoughtful pieces of writing. But they are read carefully because occasional jewels appear among them."

Happily for me, I chanced on these words AFTER I had been fortunate enough to have an unsolicited manuscript accepted by a New York publisher. Even so, after reading the statistics, I almost felt as though I should call and say, "Forget the whole thing, there's been a horrible mistake!"

In the fall of 1957, we, along with many other Little Rock Families, experienced utter frustration as we watched the Governor of Arkansas capitalize on latent fears and emotions of a basically tolerant and kindly people. We wished there were something we could do to help, but it seemed there was not.

As an example of the thinking that prevailed at that time, and which unfortunately seemed to be encouraged by many in positions of authority, the experiences of a young man from my own church may be enlightening.

The young man was a senior in Central High in the fall of 1957. After prayerful consideration, he came to the conclusion that, as a Christian, he could do no less than practice Christ's Golden Rule. He said he had not asked for integration, that he would have been happy to have the schools continue as they were; but, since they were not going to be the same, he felt he should be governed by Christian ethics in the new situations he expected to face.

For speaking a friendly word of greeting to colored students in the hall, for sitting by a colored boy in the cafeteria who was being shunned, this white boy was cornered and beaten one evening by four high school students who seemed to be taking the Governor's defiant words quite literally. For many nights, the boy's telephone rang frequently, late into the night, and threats, abusive language and obscenities were commonplace. As far as I know, this boy and others like him were given no support by the religious leaders in our community. In relating this story to Ministers since that time, I have asked which course they think Jesus Christ would have taken...that taken by the boy taking the beating, or that taken by those who were his assailants, and those who by their public utterances encouraged the assailants.

In the fall of 1958, the public high schools were closed in Little Rock. It was necesssry to send our son, Carl, to a private school operated by the Baptist Churches. For this, we paid twenty-five dollars a month tuition and were asked for further contributions. At the same time, we continued to pay taxes to support the fine high schools we were not permitted to patronize.

In 1959, the public schools re-opened, thanks to a special election, and Carl entered Central High School as a Junior. In October, Carl came home grumbling over a homework assignment which he compared to the "last straw", that easily could break his back. The students in his American History class were being required to write a "term paper" on any subject of their choice pertaining to history. Carl asked for advice, and I suggested he write on the history of the Negro in America. With the permission of his teacher, we collaborated in writing the thesis. In our research we read ninety-eight books from the Public Library. In the composition, we tried to avoid the usual arguments concerning segregation, and simply set down the progress made by the Negro in America...progress that seemed to us to have been made despite great handicaps, handicaps which the rest of us can scarcely comprehend. We entitled

the paper AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY. Before it was submitted to Carl's teacher, we made copies and showed them to friends. They immediately insisted that what we had written must be published.

Neither of us knew anything of procedure. We had no previous experience in writing. Finally, I decided to make several more copies and send to people I thought might be sympathetic to my position. At first, I sent copies to Brooks Hays, Stuart Symington, Ralph McGill and Harry Golden. Each of these men wrote letters of encouragement and said they would contact Reader's Digest and recommend the manuscript's use. After three weeks, the DIGEST wrote that they thought the story should be published, but that it was chronological in form, could not be cut successfully for magazine use, and suggested it be published as a book. They offered to put it in the hands of a literary agent for me. If I had known the odds against me, I'm sure I would have accepted their kind offer, but, not knowing it couldn't be done, I decided to be my own agent. I knew that Winthrop Rockefeller was supposed to be liberal in his views where race is concerned, so I put in a call to him at his Morrilton, Arkansas, farm. When I explained the purpose of my call, he told me he would be delighted to read the manuscript, so, on the following Sunday, we drove to his farm and I discussed the story with him. The following Saturday afternoon, my wife, Barbara, had prevailed upon me to rake some leaves in the backyard. While engaged in this unliterary endeavor, a telephone call came for me. Barbara thought it was some one from my office and let it be known she did not appreciate having me interrupted after the difficulties she had experienced in getting me started. Reluctantly, she called me to the phone. As I picked up the receiver, a pleasant voice answered, "Mr. Creger, this is Winthrop Rockefeller, sorry to interrupt your yard work, but I wanted to tell you I've read your manuscript and like it very much." Mr. Rockefeller went on to say that although he thought the story very worthwhile, he was afraid since there was

no "sex" in it, that it might not have wide appeal. I agreed that the trend in literature seemed to be in that direction, but felt that if we had reached the place in these United States where absolutely nothing, not even civil rights, could be sold without sex to plug it, we might as well give up. Mr. Rockefeller laughed and said he agreed, and that he would get word to the ATLANTIC MONTHLY about the story. (This he did, but they soon advised me that the work was not up to their literary standards, which was probably just as well, as people who can afford to buy a sixty-cent magazine usually don't need converting on the civil rights issue.) When our conversation was ended, Barbara, who was relaxing in the living room, called to me, "WHO WAS THAT?" "WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER", I replied, quite nonchalantly. You can still see the dent in our living room ceiling which Barbara almost went through.

During March, 1960, I wrote and telephoned many people. One of them was Dr. Benjamine Fine of the North American Newspaper Alliance. Near Central High in 1957, I knew he had been punched in the nose and gotten his glasses broken, so I thought he might still have an interest. I wrote and called Senators Fulbright and Kefauver, also Hodding Carter and Lillian Smith and several others. I called David Brinkley and asked for advice and had a good visit with him. All these telephone calls certainly broadened my field of acquaintances but created astronomical phone bills. These calls seemed like strokes of genious to me when made, but by the time the bills arrived, they were, to Barbara, sheer folly... One night we were visiting friends who are Catholic. The lady seemed quite impressed at my willingness to call anyone whose named popped into my mind. As we talked about well-known people sympathetic to my position, the Pope was mentioned. I reached for the telephone but dropped it quickly as our friend screamed, "OH, NO! NOT HIM!"

At one time, I contacted as many people as I could in Little Rock who I felt might have had experience in writing, but without exception they said,

"Don't ask me, I've never had any luck in getting anything published."

Although most of those I called were quite helpful, I soon found that Publishers are quite "touchy" about someone trying to use influence to get something accepted. I had no influence, but they could see I would use it if I did have it. Eventually, I came to the conclusion that I would have to select a Publisher, submit the manuscript and hope that it would be accepted on its merits.

Strictly by chance, I picked the Chilton House of Philadelphia, after reading through a list of Publishers in the WRITERS' DIGEST, which a friend loaned me. In a few days, the Executive Editor of the Chilton Company wrote me saying that he liked the story very much. He went on to say that he felt it should be published in "paperback" form so that the average student could afford to buy it. He said his Company did not publish paperbacks, but that he had a publisher friend in New York who did. He told me he had called his friend, explained the book, and sent him the manuscript.

Four days later, my wife called me while I was at work and read a special delivery letter from the Lyle Stuart Publishing Company in New York, saying, "We have read AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY" and liked it very much. We will be happy to publish it. A contract is being mailed."

When we finally realized that what Carl and I had written actually would be published as a book, we discovered that we still had a difficult decision to make. We were afraid. We had stated in no uncertain terms what we thought of the Governor's actions during 1957 and 1958, and felt things might be very difficult for us. Finally, we decided we were right and that we should go ahead and sign the contract and send Carl away to finish school if things got too bad.

At the suggestion of Lillian Smith, the title of the book was changed from AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY to THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND. Miss Smith pointed out

that the success story was not finished and that the book actually was the search of a high school student and his father for truth. The publisher agreed with Miss Smith's suggestion and THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND reached the book stores on January 2, 1961. We were surprised and immensely pleased at the reaction to the book. There were many, many calls and letters of commendation. Most of them said, in effect, "You have said what we feel but were afraid to put into words." We received only two abusive letters. One was from Toledo, Ohio, and was full of anti-semitic literature. The sender advised he had subscribed to a magazine called KINGDOM DIGEST for me and that it would straighten me out on the Bible. I got one copy of it, and as nearly as I could figure it out, the editor thinks Gentiles are not really Gentiles, but are Jews, and that Jews are not really Jews, but are actually gentiles. Apparently, the author was concerned about the statement in the Bible classifying the Jews as God's chosen people, and this was the only way he could think of to get on the right side. I wrote the editor and told him I had not subscribed to his magazine and that if it produced the type of obscene literature the man from Toledo sent me, to take me off his list. I did not receive a second copy. We also received a letter from Minneapolis containing considerable personal abuse for both Carl and me.

We were asked to go to New York the first week in January where we appeared on two radio shows. In Little Rock, we appeared on all three Television stations' panel shows and on radio shows. There has been much favorable publicity in both Little Rock papers and in other Arkansas papers. Many other papers, such as the New York Times, The Chicago Tribune and the St. Petersburg Times had nice things to say. We are members of a Southern Baptist Church and were pleased when Convention Headquarters in Nashville commented favorably and promised to make the book known through their book stores.

In the spring of 1961, things were much different in Central High. One of the reasons is students like Frank Henderson. Frank, a colored student,

is the son of a Little Rock Minister. At the beginning of the school year, there was always a ring of empty seats around the chair occupied by Frank. The white students seemed to feel that this was expected. But Frank, who has a personality you have to see to believe, just laughed it off and concentrated on his studies (he is a (B) plus student). Before long, the white students were saying to each other, "Well, I don't like 'niggers' but Frank's different." Later, they came to the conclusion that perhaps Frank wasn't so different, that the other colored students seemed to be quite human, after all. By the end of the term, the formerly empty seats were all filled and usually among the first taken. Little Rock's teenagers have shown that they are more willing to judge people as individuals than some of their elders are. These teenagers have usually shown that they are taking their religion more seriously than many grownups as they practice, not just preach, the principles set forth in the gospel according to St. Mathew which reads, "Therefore, all things whatsoever Ye would that men should do to you, do Ye even so to them."

We continue to receive letters from people all over America, from Lyndon Johnson, from Senators Williams and Douglas, from Jackie Robinson, Elgin Baylor, Jimmy Brown, Ralph Bunche and many more, but of all the letters received, the ones which mean the most to us are from the colored people who say, "God bless you and give you strength". Some of these letters contain grammatical errors and mis-spelled words, but to us they are pure gold. They are a message from a people whose faith in America has survived stern tests, tests that might have caused some of the rest of us to waver. It is a faith that vindicates the vision of our founding fathers who proposed a government "with liberty and justice FOR ALL!"

April 24, 1961

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

This is by way of acknowledgement of your letter of April 18th to Mr. Fleming, who is no longer on the staff of the Southern Regional Council. As you will see from the enclosed news release, Mr. Fleming has become Executive Vice President of a new agency in Washington, D. C. -- The Potomac Institute. I'm sure you will be hearing from him in due course.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

MF
Enclosure - 1.

UNITED STATES SENATE
Minority Leader

(COPY)

April 28, 1961

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND does truly reflect your aim...to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. You are to be commended for giving hundreds of hours to research and for working with your son and being objective in your approach to present an issue in a precise, factual and interesting way.

May there be more father and son teams that work and play constructively for the good of mankind.

Sincerely,

Everett M. Dirksen

Below are copies of some of the many letters we have received about the book THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND:

"Dear Mr. Greger:

I like the book you and your son have written. I like it for its sincerity, its earnestness, its manifest effort to get behind myths and distortions and find the truth about race and prejudice in our country. I hope it will be widely read. With best wishes, "Signed - Ralph J. Bunche
Under Secretary
United Nations

"You and your son are to be commended for your successful effort to bring reason and charity to a discussion of the too often emotion blighted subject of the American Negro and his condition, and, in my judgment, your brief but significant book deserves to, and will be read by a large and thoughtful audience. With kindest regards to your son and you," Signed - Estes Kefauver
Senator, Tennessee

"I have just returned from a vacation to find your book. I wish to commend you and your son on the job you did. It's not an easy position to take, and I admire you for it. May I, too, offer my congratulations and if I can do anything to help, please do not hesitate to call on me. Best wishes for continued success, Sincerely," Signed - Jackie Robinson

"You and your son are to be congratulated for the work you have done on this report and the thoughts you have presented therein. With best wishes,"
Signed - Stuart Symington
Senator, Missouri

"It is a pleasure to make the following statement for whatever public notice you may wish to give it: Great social changes aren't really understood when we talk only in terms of statistics or sociological concepts. To really understand what's happening in our nation, we should hear directly from the persons involved. Occasionally a book will help us to establish direct communication, and THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND in such a book. I believe that it will contribute much to greater national understanding of an issue that will require all the understanding we can muster. With best wishes, Sincerely,"
Signed - Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Senator, New Jersey

"I have read THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND with great interest and appreciation. Let me congratulate you upon the position which you and your son have taken. All of us are indebted to you. With kind regards and best wishes, Sincerely yours,"
Signed - Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University

"I have now had a chance to read THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, and think you have done an excellent job. In the midst of terrifying pressure, you and your son tried to study and understand what had led up to the happenings in Little Rock, and you both showed understanding and real sympathy for all who suffered. You represent what I regard as basic and fine Americanism. I hope the book has wide circulation for it can do a great deal of good. With best wishes, Faithfully"
Signed - Paul H. Douglas
Senator, Illinois

Little Rock, Arkansas
May 5, 1961

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
c/o Southern Regional Council- Room 201
No. 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

I have received a great deal of encourgaging mail within the past few days about my book THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND. Margaret Long phoned me last Tuesday and said she had reviewed it in the Atlanta Journal. She had many nice things to say about it, and stories about the book have appeared in several more large newspapers.

Several very well-to-do people seem to be interested and I have received letters at regular intervals from Kivie Kaplin of Boston and Ellen Steinberg of New York. Also have received letters of endorsement for the book from several U.S. Senators, so I am feeling quite encouraged.

There are several areas of the south, however, which are in need of the book and where it has not been publicized, to speak of, and I hope you can help me in these areas.

Many strong segregationists seem to like my book and their views appear to be softened a bit after reading it, unfortunately though, they usually will not spend their own money to buy it.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Little Rock, Arkansas
May 8, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director Of Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hope you are familiar with the book THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, written by my son and me. Margaret Long advised me by phone that she had reviewed it in the April 30th issue of the Atlanta Journal. I have heard from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who said she had written about the book in her column of May 3rd.

Several members of the negro press have advised they are doing stories on the book. I hope you can help me further in making the book known, particularly in the south as this is where I seem to be experiencing the most difficulty, however, Miss Long seemed very optimistic about prospects in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

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Senator, Illinois

UNITED STATES SENATE
Minority Leader

(COPY)

April 28, 1961

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

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May there be more father and son teams that work and play constructively for the good of mankind.

Sincerely,

Everett M. Dirksen

May 15, 1961

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar has referred to me your letter of May 8, 1961, concerning THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND.

As you know, we ran a brief review of the book in NEW SOUTH. Beyond that, there is little we can do in the way of promotion except through word of mouth which we will be happy to do.

I read Margaret Long's column concerning the book. Miss Long is a personal friend and is quite interested in good race relations.

Have you contacted other groups in the human relations field? They might be of some limited aid.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Little Rock Arkansas

June 6 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth St. N.W.

Atlanta Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Doubleday & Company tell me they have mailed you my new book A LOOK DOWN THE LONESOME ROAD.

I'd very much like to get your comments on the book, and naturally, if you think the book can do some good, would appreciate anything you can do to make the book known.

Sincerely

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger

14 Rosemont Drive

Little Rock Ark

File "Cr" gen. corresp.

July 17, 1964

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

I am so far behind in my reading that I have not yet had a chance to read A Look Down the Lonesome Road. I am sure, however, that it is up to the standard of your earlier book, and I shall be reading it as soon as I can.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: Creger, Ralph.

October 2, 1964

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ralph:

I have now read A Look Down the Lonesome Road, and I want to give you my congratulations. It is a good and very humane book, and you would have every season to be proud of it. I wish you all success with it, and we shall do what little we can to promote it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Little Rock Arkansas
May 3 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

As you know, I have been active in race relations work for several years. About a year and a half ago Brooks Hays suggested to me that I should seek Federal employment, in the area of civil rights. I have pursued this, and written several people in Government circles, and it is the consensus that I should concentrate on work in the staff of the Commission for Equal Employment Opportunity, once the staff is named. I have recieved letters that have sounded very encouraging from such people as Carl Rowan, Senator Fulbright, Congressman Mills, John Stewart of the Vice Presidents office, and others. Harry Golden told me he would speak to the Vice President about me.

Brooks told me that it would be unlikely I could get into the Little Rock office (if a regional or state office is established here) because of local political pressures. It would seem wrong to me, to be penalized because of my efforts in behalf of racial justice, by being kept off such a job locally. But I am sure that Little Rock is not the only place such things happen. I did tell Brooks though, that I would go "anywhere".

Aside from my personal involvement in race relations work, I have had a good deal of experience in interviewing applicants for employment with the railroad. I interview just about all the new employees, and understand fully how industries manage to discriminate through handling by regional and local supervisors.

Until April 1st of this year the railroad company did not seem to object to my race relations work, and the Vice President encouraged me and bought several of my books to give to friends. Now the Southern Pacific is taking over the Rock Island, and this Vice President, Mr O. W. Limestall is being, or has been, forced to retire. There have been many changes in personel, and those left, I find, are not at all sympathetic to my position and are giving me a bad time. I campaigned vigorously for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket last fall, and the division superintendent, my immediate supervisor did not like it at all.

Aside from all of this I have wanted, for some time, to get out of the railroad, and get into race relations work for the rest of my life. I believe that equal employment opportunity is the real key to the thing, as I have indicated in my book A LOOK DOWN THE LONESOME ROAD.

I need help from my friends on this thing, and am wondering if you would be willing to drop the Vice President a note about me. You could check on my work with Ozell Sutton or Nat Griswold of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, if you wished. Also, I read in the paper of Mr Branton's appointment by the Vice-President. I sent a copy of my first book to Mr Branton, and we had an exchange of correspondence about it. I believe he would remember me. I'd like to write him, and ask his help. Could you tell me how to properly address him. I presume he has left Atlanta.

I am just hoping that I can get into this work for the rest of my life, and I hope that people are not appointed who are not really dedicated, but are just put on the job because of political patronage.

I will appreciate any help you can give me.

Sincerely,

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock Ark

PS. I will be in Washington May 10th and 11th, Congressman Mills is setting up some interviews for me with the people who should be able to tell me something about the new Commission

file
"Cr" gen

May 7, 1965

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for your letter of May 3. I wish you all good luck, though I am saddened by the news that you may be leaving Little Rock.

I shall write to Wiley Branton about your interest, though I do not know what can be done until the President appoints a commission. Certainly it will not hurt to have your name on file, though I believe we can make better progress after recruiting has begun. I shall not, as you suggest, write to the Vice President because, in the first place, he barely knows me and, because in the second place, my own experience has been that this route to high authority is not a good way of getting one's application fairly considered.

All good wishes, and let me know if I can be of any other help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
LDS
Ralph Cross

File

I wouldn't like to
write unless you feel it
must be done + my writing
would get you off the
hook.

I don't feel any of us
here know enough about
Cooper's competence to do
more than say he's a
good guy + we wish
him well

PA

Little Rock, Arkansas
May 25 1965

TB would you care to write

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Thank you for your letter of May 7th. I was in Washington May 10 and 11, and was lucky enough to be there the day the Commission was named. I was in the Vice-President's office, with John Stewart, who seems to be taking a personal interest in me. He made arrangements at once for a conference for me with Mr. Roosevelts executive assistant. I had a long talk, and was told to go home and prepare a resume' with particular emphasis on my employment record and my work in the field of human relations. I was also asked to send a copy of my new book A LOOK DOWN THE LONESOME ROAD. It was indicated that letters from key people would be helpful. I have many of the leaders in the Little Rock area writing. These are people who know me personally, civic, religious and business leaders. Ozell Sutton of the ACHR wrote a letter of recommendation and so did George Henry of the Urban League. Mrs. Roosevelt had written about me in her syndicated column in 1961, and I sent that in. Judging from what John Stewart told me, I believe I am in pretty good shape for getting on with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. But you never know just what it might take to put you over.

When I was in Washington I was lucky enough to get to see just about everyone I had hoped to see. I had a good talk with Mr. Brainton, and he said he had just recieved a letter from you.

Now that the chairman of the commission has been named, I do believe that a letter from you would be helpful to my cause. As information we moved to Little Rock in 1955, I have been chief dispatcher here for the Rock Island railroad all of the time since then. I have been as active as I knew how to be all of this time in the various human relations group. I worked hard in the S.T.O.P. campaign to open the schools, in the "Bridges Across The Barriers" program of the ACHR and in the Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race. I have been able to break down a few barriers on the railroad insofar as employment practices are concerned.

On my job I have about 400 employees under my supervision, and part of my work has been to interview all new employees hired on the division in the past ten years. I know how management manages to discriminate at the local level.

It seems that the combination of my work experience, together with my dedication and work in human relations should qualify me for some place of service with the new commission.

They did not rule out the possibility of a regional office here. Of course I would love to be assigned to Little Rock. But I told Mr. Roosevelt's assistant I was used to working for an organization in which I went where sent.

Any help you might care to give me would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ralph Creger

Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

PA
MJ - file
file
"Cr" - gen
on
Ralph Creger

EL Branton

June 1, 1965

Mr. Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Creger:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 16 regarding your interest in working with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It will be a few days longer before the EEOC will be in a position to consider personnel for the staff and probably several months before any thought will be given to the establishment of regional offices. Please understand these are personal opinions and are not intended to reflect the position of EEOC.

It appears to me that the only job which the EEOC could offer you at an early date would be a position on the staff here in Washington depending upon their need for a person with your particular qualifications. They must first get a staff director and key personnel to form a working cadre to consider staff problems.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Secretary

Copy to:
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

file
Creger, Ralph

Little Rock, Arkansas
August 7 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Dr. Luther Holcomb has been named Vice-Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and is in charge of the selection of personel. Brooks Hays had lunch with him last week to talk about me. Brooks telephoned me and said that the situation was very good.

John Stewart, assistant to the Vice-President, called me yesterday and said that he had just talked with Dr. Holcomb about me. Things have moved quite slowly, so far. The six department heads are all that have been named, so far. They start to work August 9th. However, they will immediately start to work on further staffing. Mr. Stewart said that it would probably be helpful to my cause if those wanting to help me would write Dr. Holcomb and put in a good word for me. If you would want to do this, I would certainly appreciate it.

I recently recieved a letter from Charles Morgan, and I noticed his address was also 5 Forsythe Street. If you see him you might tell him about my situation, and about what John Stewart wrote me. I think that Mr. Morgan would want to help me.

Sincerely,
Ralph Creger
Ralph Creger
14 Rosemont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

SUBJECT:

LWD letter to WAB re job recommendation for Ralph Creger.

DATE: August 12, 1965

SEE:
Subject:

U. S. Government, President's Council on Equal Opportunity, Wiley A. Branton.

File
See Criticisms, Gen.

file

Paul:

This is from a late-1963 interview with Lester Maddox, which I am re-using~~xm~~ (or rather, using a part of not used before). I thought you might be interested in the part about SRC. Boy, does he ever have you guys figured out. (The contents are not for use by anybody, of course.)

RC

What about equality ? "Well," he said, "I'm sure that history speaks for itself. We've never had an integrated society anywhere that was as successful as a segregated society, in any country any time during history. If you're equal you don't have to prove that you're equal." Negroes are inferior intellectually, he said, but they are progressing. "I think there will always be progress," he said, "and I think we're restricting progress with the Negro by teaching them to eat, and sleep, and to worship and educate -- to be successful in those areas -- that they've got to mix with the white people . . . . It would take centuries for them to bring themselves up. They can bring themselves up . . .. Africa has proved their capacity. The white man hasn't interfered with them there. And they have more resources, they had all the opportunities, and the only areass where they've ever developed is where the white man has moved in and guided, given the leadership. The same is true in Brazil. Look at Brazil. It's much larger, it has material wealth -- terrific -- and it hasn't really gone anywhere at all except in the areas where the United States has stepped in to provide financial aid." Was this because of integration ? "Yes."

When he talked of the rights movement, he invoked what almost sounded like a Marxist view. "I think the major cause behind the move to integrate is not to help the Negro," he said. (This time he switched his pronunciation from "Nigra" to "Nee-grow.") "It is to help the big financial people. Maybe the Carnegies and the Mellons and the Fords and the various big-money people -- they want to please the African countries in order to get into that market where there would be almost a virgin market for heavy industry, for appliances for homes, for furnishings, for clothing, and in order to

PAGE (s) MISSING

do that they're trying to indicate to Africa and other parts of the world that the United States has come to be a leader for doing something for the Negro . . . ." Do big capitalists run the United States that way ? he was asked. "Yes, sir," he said, "through their foundations which keeps the Southern Regional Council in operation, various foundations have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to that particular organization, and in turn it is a kind of forefather over many other organizations -- helps to finance various interracial movements -- and Atlanta has turned into a headquarters for such organizations." (The regional council, headed by an interracial board of southerners, receives foundation funds for information and research, supports human relations councils, and engages in such projects as voter registration.)

What about Communists ? he was asked. Most of the more vociferous segregationists , such as Leander Perez of Louisiana, speak incessantly of Communists as the real mastersof the civil rights movement and Maddox himself often says Communists are responsible for integration. Yes, he said this time, Communists and the big capitalists are both responsible. "Communists are directly involved. So I would never try to say that the Communists are not involved. I think they're directly involved, but we still have the other area, too, of the men trying to gain more dollars."

White people must fight this, he said. "We are careful enough to protect our pets, our birds, our dogs, our livestock, our cattle -- the purity of them -- but we are foolish enough to not take the same precautions to protect our own people . I think

PAGE (s) MISSING

The Southern PATRIOT

Special Supplement | Nashville, Tennessee | May, 1945

Nation Pays Tribute to Hugo Black

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 24, 1945

Dear Senator Barkley:
Alias "Dear Alben".

It seems to me a wise thing in these times to revive the public memory of the fundamental liberalism of Thomas Jefferson by honoring, in his name, a living southern liberal for distinguished service to the nation. Hugo L. Black deserves such honor. His own career has served to translate from history to public service the meaning of Jefferson's devotion to the rights of man.

May I join in this reaffirmation of Jefferson's liberalism in your tribute to a living public servant. America owes much to the South, and certainly not the smallest part of its debt is the heritage of the free mind and the liberal, democratic faith which we associate with the great Jefferson.

We never needed that faith more than now. A South which could lead once again in such a faith would serve not only itself, but, as once before long ago, the freedom and dignity of all men everywhere.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black of Alabama received a tribute from the nation at the dinner given in his honor at the Hotel Statler, Washington, on April 3, where he was awarded the Thomas Jefferson medal by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, given to the Southerner making the year's outstanding contribution to the progress of the nation.

Among the speakers at the dinner, attended by one thousand prominent Washingtonians, were: Judge Fred M. Vinson, Director of War Mobilization; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt; Judge Sherman Minton; Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina; Senator Claude Pepper and Mr. Charles Houston of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Senator Alben Barkley was toastmaster.

Dr. Clark Foreman, President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, presented the Thomas Jefferson Award to Justice Black, "as a man whose life and work are the expression of the finest liberalism of the South, and yet whose wide horizon knows no bounds of section, race or creed". Justice Black received the award for the second time, the first seven years ago for his outstanding contribution in the United States Senate, and on this occasion, in honor of his defense of democracy and the common man on the highest court of the nation.

Honoring Justice Black at the speakers' table were: Justice Wiley Rutledge, Justice Frank Murphy, Justice Stanley Reed and Justice William O. Douglas, as well as Judge James F. Byrnes, Secretary Harold Ickes, Secretary Frances Perkins, Philip Murray, Daniel J. Tobin and Dr. Channing Tobias.

The Dinner Committee was headed by Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and including as Honorary Vice-Chairmen: President Truman, Secretary Henry Wallace, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Msgr. John A. Ryan, Dean William H. Hastie, Dr. Frank P. Graham, Barney Whatley, Mrs. Mary M. Bethune, Judge Jerome Frank, and Lowell Mellett.

Among the sponsors of the dinner were: Secretary Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary James Forrestal, Secretary Francis Biddle, Secretary Claude Wickard and Secretary Frank Walker; Senators Robert Wagner, Wayne Morse, James Mead, Scott Lucas and Joseph Guffey; Representative Estes Kefauver, David Lilienthal, Maury Maverick, William Clayton, Clifford Durr, Sidney Hillman, James G. Patton, Dr. Homer Rainey, Nelson Poynter, Jennings Perry, Josephus Daniels and Dr. Rufus Clement.

Black's Record Hailed

Excerpts from Dinner Addresses and Messages—

Dr. Frank P. Graham

President, University of North Carolina

Honorary President, Southern Conference for Human Welfare

I am very glad to be here tonight as a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to speak our acknowledgment as Southerners, our pride as Southerners, in the life and career of Mr. Justice Black. I shall confine my remarks mainly to his work in behalf of the common man. So many millions of common men live in the South . . .

This great Justice in the midst of our southern and national modern industrial society places in the middle of it all, not mechanisms but personality, not machines, but human beings, not the fictions and symbols of the law but the economic realities and social needs of the common people, not the dividends of today but the children of tomorrow, for after all there is the kingdom that is to come.

Judge Fred M. Vinson

Director of War Mobilization

Senator Black did not accept part and parcel the established order of things. He insisted on looking beneath the surface to the underlying realities. He demanded that the people's heritage of natural resources be preserved as a public trust, to be developed in the common interest. This insistence bore fruit in TVA. He relentlessly exposed the efforts of powerful lobbies to pervert the processes of popular government; and his exposure assisted in the passage of corrective legislation.

At a time when collective bargaining was regarded by many as inconsistent with the American way of life, he insisted upon legislative protection for the rights of men in factory and mine, to associate themselves together for mutual aid and defense of their economic interests. This insistence bore fruit in the labor legislation which is now accepted as the foundation-rock of national labor policy. At a time when the abolition of the sweatshop was regarded by many as unconstitutional, Senator Black pioneered in the preparation and introduction of legislation to protect the common man against wages, hours and working conditions inconsistent with the basic premises of economic democracy. This work bore fruit, in the Fair Labor Standards Act, which bears his name, and which alone would have earned for him the grateful remembrance of all humble folk who live by toil and sweat. . . .

It is especially appropriate that these ceremonies should take place under the auspices of a Southern Conference for Human Welfare. A passion for human welfare is woven like a thread through Hugo Black's entire life.

Likewise he has been a pre-eminent Southerner. Every man is the product of his environment, and even those of us who live somewhat closer to the Mason and Dixon line like to believe that the South cannot fail to leave her imprint on any of her sons. Least of all has it failed to leave its imprint on Hugo Black. He has ever been conscious of his south—of her special social and economic problems, of her peculiar political traditions, of her sensitive and self-conscious pride.

And yet he has never been provincial. He has realized and led in helping his fellow-southerners to realize that the South cannot fulfill her destiny in isolation or in withdrawal from the destiny of the nation. Rather, he has struggled to obtain for the South a fuller heritage and a fuller opportunity to contribute to the enlargement and enrichment of that heritage.

Thus he has transcended the limitations of sectionalism and established himself as an unmistakably Southern but genuinely national statesman.

Mr. Charles H. Houston

Attorney, Vice-President, American Council on Race Relations

Justice Black has grown to be a great stabilizing force in the Negro's struggle for equal rights and an inspiration to all forces striving to achieve true democracy in America . . .

Mr. Justice Black's record on the United States Supreme Court is its own testimonial. Invariably he has taken the stand, whether it involved denial to Negroes of equal educational opportunity, jury service, equal accommodations in public transportation, exercise of the franchise, picketing for jobs or fair representation of minority rights under collective bargaining statutes, that constitutional guarantees must be respected . . . The constitution under his interpretation is a dynamic influence fostering, and not choking, all reasonable attempts of the people to adapt governmental controls to the variable conditions and complexities of modern life.

The greatest compliment I can pay to Mr. Justice Black is to say that he is a southerner who is sufficiently sure of himself, who is sufficiently sure of the South and its people, who believes in democracy so deeply, that he is willing to give the future its chance.

Justice Black receives Thomas Jeffe
Justice Black, Dr. Foreman, Judge Vins

President H

I regret very much that the situat
dinner honoring Justice Black. I think
country is to be congratulated on the f
the Supreme Court. The honor which
Again, I am sorry I cannot be with you.

Mr. Wi

President, Americ

I regret that because of my absence
to join with the friends of Justice Bl
testimonial dinner which will be given
Please be assured that I share with
pleasure and satisfaction which they
him through the presentation of the T
American. Democracy is a living, vit
this principle during all the years he h

Mrs. Mary

President, Nationa

Vice-Chairman, Southe

Our South has wisely honored it
your accomplishments. We have wa
privileged to witness the ceremony
the Supreme Court. I breathed a
express it. That prayer has been a
decisions have been clear, courageou
We of the South, we the people of
lations and our lasting confidence.

Chapl

We invoke Thy blessing, dear G
men and women with dreams, who
but are ever on the quest after bette
with them so that they continue to b
the sum of the world's happiness.

nas Jefferson Award. Left to right, Senator Barkley, dge Vinson.

ent Harry S. Truman

he situation developed so I could not appear for the I think very highly of Justice Black, and I think the on the fact that we have a man like Justice Black on r which he is receiving is one that he justly deserves. vith you.

r. William Green

American Federation of Labor

absence from Washington it will be impossible for me ustice Black in paying him a deserved tribute at the e given in his honor at the Hotel Statler on April 3. are with all the friends of Justice Black the feeling of h they experience over the high honor conferred upon f the Thomas Jefferson Award. Justice Black is a great ing, vital force to him. He has reflected his devotion to ars he has served in a public capacity.

ary McLeod Bethune

ational Council of Negro Women
uthern Conference for Human Welfare

ored itself in being able to recognize your worth and ve watched your career with great satisfaction. I was mony when you took the oath of office as a member of ed a prayer for your sense of justice and courage to een answered. You have stood on the square and your rageous and forthright.
ple of America, tonight bring our affectionate congratu- ice.

aplain Aryeh Lev

ear God, upon this Conference and all its supporters, who are not content with a sordid and dull existence r better things, nobler tasks and keener aims. Be ever ue to bring their blessings to others and thus increase ess. . . . . *Invocation.*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

I know that all of us here are deeply conscious of the service which Justice Black has rendered to the liberal causes which everybody here honors in his heart, and we are happy, therefore, to do him honor tonight. We are happy that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has given Justice Black this award. The Thomas Jefferson Award must mean a great deal, I think, to any Southerner because Thomas Jefferson, to all of us who believe in liberal ideas in this country, will always be the great leader of our early days, who still remains the great leader of those who want justice for the common man, justice for all the people and a chance to earn a good life, a chance to stand equally as citizens of the United States, for all the people of this country.

So, Justice Black, I am very happy to have the chance to say to you, as my husband did, how happy he is for your honor tonight, in which we all take pride.

Judge Sherman Minton

Circuit Court of Appeals

Senator Black came to the Senate with the experience of a great trial lawyer, and bearing in his sensitive nature deep seared the scars left from his experience among the tenant farmers of the hill country and the wage slaves of industry. He knew it was power in the hands of the few that was responsible for the oppression of the many and the ever grinding down of the weak, the poor and unorganized masses. . .

Power in the hands of the few always leads to the oppression of the many. That was his yardstick. Economic power in the hands of the few meant slavery. He knew that the War between the States had freed the Negroes, but it had not abolished slavery on the cotton plantations and in the lumber mills and factories of the South, any more than it had in the sweat shops of the New York garment workers, the New England textile mills and the coal mines of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky. Wherever men used power to oppress his fellows, Senator Black would use whatever power he possessed to break that oppression. He had fought the good fight of liberalism at every turn of his senatorial career.

He has been slow to interfere with the acts of state legislatures when only property interests were involved, but he has voted to strike down state legislation in a high percentage of cases where civil rights and liberties were involved. He has been quick to leave state courts to declare and apply their own law where life or liberty were not involved, but he strikes with a furious blow a violation of one's civil liberties. He respects a jury's verdict with a fidelity heretofore unknown when the issue is damages, but no jury's findings binds him when the powerful oppress the weak, poor and friendless or the victims of passion, discrimination or prejudice.

Senator Claude Pepper

United States Senator

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has chosen well to honor the greatest Southerner since the birth of Woodrow Wilson, in Hugo L. Black. Hugo Black will be remembered not as a radical, but as a conservator, a conservator of human values, of those things of the body and the mind and the spirit and of our resources which last forever in the indissoluble and indestructible quality of the good.

Hugo Black represents the South, for in its heart the South feels as Hugo Black feels. Yes, it has been choked and stifled, and it has been belied and misunderstood, but the throbbing heart of the South is proud of Hugo Black and down deep they cherish the aspiration that his tribe may increase.

Senator Alben Barkley

United States Senator

I greatly appreciate the honor accorded me by the suggestion that I act as Toastmaster at this testimonial dinner to Justice Hugo Black. I came into the Senate with him on the 4th of March, 1927. Not only did we become great personal friends, but we became identified during his entire incumbency in the Senate with what we have come to call liberalism in government. . . .

I wish to congratulate the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for the great work it has done, is doing and will continue to do.

Msgr. John O'Grady

We thank Thee for the strength Thou has given to this nation and its leaders in this the most critical period of its history. We thank Thee especially this evening for the many favors Thou hast given to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The objectives of this Conference are especially dear to Thy divine heart. They are a reflection in human relations of Thy Fatherhood and of the brotherhood of all men in Thee. This Conference accepts the principle that every human personality is a reflection of the Divine . . . We ask that we may be granted the strength and the courage to carry on with a new vigor, a new determination in a sacred cause which transcends all human values. Amen. . . . . *Benediction.*

Justice Black Calls for World Resurgence of Democratic Faith

Acceptance of Thomas Jefferson Award

Mr. Toastmaster, Mrs. Roosevelt, and, may I say, friends, who have gathered here this evening:

It would be impossible for one not to be deeply moved by the kind expressions and the warm manifestations of friendship which have come to me this evening. I cannot, however, accept the award as a mere personal offering to me. It implies to me rather a recognition that we, all of us, share common hopes and ideals, all of which rest on a belief in the essential dignity of men. It was that belief, I think, which led Jefferson to strive unceasingly that our nation might establish, in his words, "equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political." A government with this faith is democracy at its best; a government without this faith leads straight to fascism.

This democratic ideal has sustained our nation for more than a century and a half. Unfortunately, our daily practices sometimes have fallen short of the dream, but viewed in the broad perspective of history, there is little reason for us to doubt that our long-run movement has been in the direction of our goal.

The democratic faith is now being tested in the crucible of war. It has not been and it will not be found wanting. Intelligence, energy, unity and faith will bring victory to our cause. But when victory comes on the battlefield, there will yet remain very much to do. The laying down of arms could again be but an armistice between this and a bloodier, more destructive war to snuff out the lives of the next generation. Should this occur, democracy will have achieved a hollow victory, for peace, not war, is the ultimate goal toward which democracy must move.

Idealism, a hope that the future may be better than the past, is part and parcel of the democratic faith. In that hope this nation was founded. While it abides in the human heart, men of good will must strive to outlaw the scourge of war. **The peace to which we now look will further test that democratic faith. It will not be enough to stamp out anti-democratic practices in the land of our enemies. The conditions which created fascism there must not pass unnoticed here. Their first and most dangerous symptom is always the same everywhere: an abandonment of equal justice to all, the placing of some groups in a preferred class of citizenship at the expense of other groups. True democracy must continue to war on all such beliefs.**

Like most of the great values of life, the ideals of democracy, and peace can be won or maintained only by constant struggle, for democracy is a fighting thing. No man with a conscience can be so far removed from that struggle as not to feel the compulsion of joining in it. Each of us in our own way has a job to do in that fight.

The principles of fascism and all that fascism stands for, with its barbaric denial of human values, must be obliterated and destroyed. To accomplish this, there must be an emphatic reassertion of democratic values and a resurgence of democratic faith at home and throughout the world. There WILL be, and all of you will join in bringing that to pass.

'The Living Law'

Under our constitutional system, courts stand against any winds that blow as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered or bcause they are nonconforming victims of prejudice and public excitement . . . No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this Court than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed or persuasion.—*Chambers v. Florida, 1938.*

'Equal Protection to All'

It is part of the established tradition in the use of juries as instruments of public justice that the jury be a body truly representative of the community. For racial discrimination to result in the exclusion from jury service of otherwise qualified groups not only violates our Constitution and the laws enacted under it, but is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government. . . . If there has been discrimination, whether accomplished ingeniously or ingenuously, the conviction cannot stand.—*Smith v. Texas, 1940.*

'Cooperate . . . Completely'

Cooperation with our fighting Allies is of equal importance with cooperation among ourselves. This cooperation must be complete and sincere. But for them, who can say what disasters might have befallen us? But for China's five embattled years, all of Alaska, and not merely its western tip, might by now be in the hands of the Japanese. But for England's refusal to yield when in the summer and fall of 1940 she bravely stood alone against the full force of Hitler's fury, our east coast today might be another Coventry. But for Russia's millions of heroic dead, the whistling of falling bombs might already be as familiar to us as to the people of London.

The debt we owe to our fighting Allies we can never fully repay; the very least we can do is cooperate with them completely and sincerely.

—*An address at the Win-the-War Conference, Raleigh, N. C., 1942.*

Adopted June 1, 1949

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In the Matter of
EDITORIALIZING BY BROADCAST LICENSEES. } DOCKET NO. 8516

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

BY THE COMMISSION (CHAIRMAN COY AND COMMISSIONER WALKER NOT PARTICIPATING; ADDITIONAL VIEWS BY COMMISSIONER WEBSTER; SEPARATE OPINION BY COMMISSIONER JONES; COMMISSIONER HENNOCK DISSENTING):

1. This report is issued by the Commission in connection with its hearings on the above entitled matter held at Washington, D. C., on March 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and April 19, 20, and 21, 1948. The hearing had been ordered on the Commission's own motion on September 5, 1947, because of our belief that further clarification of the Commissioner's position with respect to the obligations of broadcast licensees in the field of broadcasts of news, commentary and opinion was advisable. It was believed that in view of the apparent confusion concerning certain of the Commission's previous statements on these vital matters by broadcast licensees and members of the general public, as well as the professed disagreement on the part of some of these persons with earlier Commission pronouncements, a reexamination and restatement of its views by the Commission would be desirable. And in order to provide an opportunity to interested persons and organizations to acquaint the Commission with their views, prior to any Commission determination, as to the proper resolution of the difficult and complex problems involved in the presentation of radio news and comment in a democracy, it was designated for public hearing before the Commission *en banc* on the following issues:

1. To determine whether the expression of editorial opinions by broadcast station licensees on matters of public interest and controversy is consistent with their obligations to operate their stations in the public interest.

2. To deermine the relationship between any such editorial expression and the affirmative obligation of the licensees to insure that a fair and equal presentation of all sides of controversial issues is made over their facilities.

2. At the hearings testimony was received from some 49 witnesses representing the broadcasting industry and various interested organizations and members of the public. In addition, written statements of their position on the matter were placed into the record by 21 persons and organizations who were unable to appear and testify in person. The various witnesses and statements brought forth for the Commission's consideration, arguments on every side of both of the questions involved in the

hearing. Because of the importance of the issues considered in the hearing, and because of the possible confusion which may have existed in the past concerning the policies applicable to the matters which were the subject of the hearing, we have deemed it advisable to set forth in detail and at some length our conclusions as to the basic considerations relevant to the expression of editorial opinion by broadcast licensees and the relationship of any such expression to the general obligations of broadcast licensees with respect to the presentation of programs involving controversial issues.

3. In approaching the issues upon which this proceeding has been held, we believe that the paramount and controlling consideration is the relationship between the American system of broadcasting carried on through a large number of private licensees upon whom devolves the responsibility for the selection and presentation of program material, and the congressional mandate that this licensee responsibility is to be exercised in the interests of, and as a trustee for the public at large which retains ultimate control over the channels of radio and television communications. One important aspect of this relationship, we believe, results from the fact that the needs and interests of the general public with respect to programs devoted to new commentary and opinion can only be satisfied by making available to them for their consideration and acceptance or rejection, of varying and conflicting views held by responsible elements of the community. And it is in the light of these basic concepts that the problems of insuring fairness in the presentation of news and opinion and the place in such a picture of any expression of the views of the station licensee as such must be considered.

4. It is apparent that our system of broadcasting, under which private persons and organizations are licensed to provide broadcasting service to the various communities and regions, imposes responsibility in the selection and presentation of radio program material upon such licensees. Congress has recognized that the requests for radio time may far exceed the amount of time reasonably available for distribution by broadcasters. It provided, therefore, in Section 3 (h) of the Communications Act that a person engaged in radio broadcasting shall not be deemed a common carrier. It is the licensee, therefore, who must determine what percentage of the limited broadcast day should appropriately be devoted to news and discussion or consideration of public issues, rather than to the other legitimate services of radio broadcasting, and who must select or be responsible for the selection of the particular news items to be reported or the particular local, State, national or international issues or questions of public interest to be considered, as well as the person or persons to comment or analyze the news or to discuss or debate the issues chosen as topics for radio consideration, "The life of each community involves a multitude of interests some dominant and all pervasive such as interest in public affairs, education and similar matters and some highly specialized and limited to few. The practical day-to-day problem with which every licensee is faced is one of

striking a balance between these various interests to reflect them in a program service which is useful to the community, and which will in some way fulfill the needs and interests of the many." *Capital Broadcasting Company*, 4 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 21; *The Northern Corporation (WMEX)*, 4 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 333, 338. And both the Commission and the courts have stressed that this responsibility devolves upon the individual licensees, and can neither be delegated by the licensee to any network or other person or group, or be unduly fettered by contractual arrangements restricting the licensee in his free exercise of his independent judgments. *National Broadcasting Company* v. *United States*, 319 U.S. 190 (upholding the Commission's chain broadcasting regulations, Section 3.101–3.108, 3.231–3.238, 3.631–3.638), *Churchhill Tabernacle* v. *Federal Communications Commission*, 160 F. 2d. 244 (See, rules and regulations, Sections 3.109, 3.239, 3.639); *Allen T. Simmons* v. *Federal Communications Commission*, 169 F. 2d. 670, *certiorari denied* 335 U.S. 846.

5. But the inevitability that there must be some choosing between various claimants for access to a licensee's microphone, does not mean that the licensee is free to utilize his facilities as he sees fit or in his own particular interests as contrasted with the interests of the general public. The Communications Act of 1934, as amended, makes clear that licenses are to be issued only where the public interest, convenience or necessity would be served thereby. And we think it is equally clear that one of the basic elements of any such operation is the maintenance of radio and television as a medium of freedom of speech and freedom of expression for the people of the Nation as a whole. Section 301 of the Communications Act provides that it is the purpose of the act to maintain the control of the United States over all channels of interstate and foreign commerce. Section 326 of the act provides that this control of the United States shall not result in any impairment of the right of free speech by means of such radio communications. It would be inconsistent with these express provisions of the act to assert that, while it is the purpose of the act to maintain the control of the United States over radio channels, but free from any regulation or condition which interferes with the right of free speech, nevertheless persons who are granted limited rights to be licensees of radio stations, upon a finding under Sections 307 (a) and 309 of the act that the public interest, convenience, or necessity would be served thereby, may themselves make radio unavailable as a medium of free speech. The legislative history of the Communications Act and its predecessor, the Radio Act of 1927 shows, on the contrary, that Congress intended that radio stations should not be used for the private interest, whims, or caprices of the particular persons who have been granted licenses, but in manner which will serve the community generally and the various groups which make up the community.[1] And the courts have consistently upheld Commission

[1] Thus in the Congressional debates leading to the enactment of the Radio Act of 1927 Congressman (later Senator) White stated (67 Con. Rec. 5479, March 12, 1926):

"We have reached the definite conclusion that the right of all our people to enjoy this means of communication can be preserved only by the repudiation of the idea underlying the 1912

action giving recognition to and fulfilling that intent of Congress. *KFAB Broadcasting Association* v. *Federal Radio Commission*, 47 F. 2d 670; *Trinty Methodist Church, South* v. *Federal Radio Commission*, 62 F. 2d 850, *certiorari denied*, 288 U.S. 599.

6. It is axiomatic that one of the most vital questions of mass communication in a democracy is the development of an informed public opinion through the public dissemination of news and ideas concerning the vital public issues of the day. Basically, it is in recognition of the great contribution which radio can make in the advancement of this purpose that portions of the radio spectrum are allocated to that form of radio communications known as radiobroadcasting. Unquestionably, then, the standard of public interest, convenience and necessity as applied to radiobroadcasting must be interpreted in the light of this basic purpose. The Commission has consequently recognized the necessity for licensees to devote a reasonable percentage of their broadcast time to the presentation of news and programs devoted to the consideration and discussion of public issues of interest in the community served by the particular station. And we have recognized, with respect to such programs, the paramount right of the public in a free society to be informed and to have presented to it for acceptance or rejection the different attitudes and viewpoints concerning these vital and often controversial issues which are held by the various groups which make up the community.[2] It is this right of the public to be informed, rather than any right on the part of the Government, any broadcast licensee or any individual member of the public to broadcast his own particular views on any matter, which is the foundation stone of the American system of broadcasting.

7. This affirmative responsibility on the part of broadcast licensees to provide a reasonable amount of time for the presentation over their facilities of programs devoted to the discussion and consideration of public issues has been reaffirmed by this Commission in a long series of decisions. The *United Broadcasting Co. (WHKC)* case, 10 FCC 675, emphasized that this duty includes the making of reasonable provision for the discussion of controversial issues of public importance in the community served, and to make sufficient time available for full discussion thereof. The *Scott* case, 3 Pike & Fischer, radio regulation 259, stated our conclusions that this duty extends to all subjects of substantial importance to the community coming within the scope of free

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law that anyone who will, may transmit and by the assertion in its stead of the doctrine that the right of the public to service is superior to the right of any individual to use the other * * * the recent radio conference met this issue squarely. It recognized that in the present state of scientific development there must be a limitation upon the number of broadcasting stations and it recommended that licenses should be issued only to those stations whose operation would render a benefit to the public, are necessary in the public interest or would contribute to the development of the art. This principle was approved by every witness before your committee. We have written it into the bill. *If enacted into law, the broadcasting privilege will not be a right of selfishness. It will rest upon an assurance of public interest to be served.*" (Italics added.)

And this view that the interest of the listening public rather than the private interests of particular licensees was reemphasized as recently as June 9, 1948, in a unanimous report of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on S. 1333 (80th Cong.) which would have amended the present Communications Act in certain respects. See S. Rept. No. 1567, 80th Cong. 2nd Sess., pp. 14–15.

[2] Cf., *Thornhill* v. *Alabama*, 310 U.S. 88, 95, 102; *Associated Press* v. *United States*, 326 U.S. 1, 20.

discussion under the first amendment without regard to personal views and opinions of the licensees on the matter, or any determination by the licensee as to the possible unpopularity of the views to be expressed on the subject matter to be discussed among particular elements of the station's listening audience. Cf., *National Broadcasting Company* v. *United States*, 319 U.S. 190; *Allen T. Simmons*, 3 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 1029, *affirmed; Simmons* v. *Federal Communications Commission*, 169 F. 2d 670, *certiorari denied*, 335 U.S. 846; *Bay State Beacon*, 3 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 1455, *affirmed; Bay State Beacon* v. *Federal Communications Commission*, U.S. App. D.C., decided December 20, 1948; *Petition of Sam Morris*, 3 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 154; *Thomas N. Beach*, 3 Pike & Fischer R.R. 1784. And the Commission has made clear that in such presentation of news and comment the public interest requires that the licensee must operate on a basis of overall fairness, making his facilities available for the expression of the contrasting views of all responsible elements in the community on the various issues which arise. *Mayflower Broadcasting Co.*, 8 F. C. C. 333; *United Broadcasting Co. (WHKC)* 10 F. C. C. 515; Cf. *WBNX Broadcasting Co., Inc.*, 4 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 244 (memorandum opinion). Only where the licensee's discretion in the choice of the particular programs to be broadcast over his facilities is exercised so as to afford a reasonable opportunity for the presentation of all responsible positions on matters of sufficient importance to be afforded radio time can radio be maintained as a medium of freedom of speech for the people as a whole. These concepts, of course, do restrict the licensee's freedom to utilize his station in whatever manner he chooses but they do so in order to make possible the maintenance of radio as a medium of freedom of speech for the general public.

8. It has been suggested in the course of the hearings that licensees have an affirmative obligation to insure fair presentation of all sides of any controversial issue before any time may be allocated to the discussion or consideration of the matter. On the other hand, arguments have been advanced in support of the proposition that the licensee's sole obligation to the public is to refrain from suppressing or excluding any responsible point of view from access to the radio. We are of the opinion, however, that any rigid requirement that licensees adhere to either of these extreme prescriptions for proper station programing techniques would seriously limit the ability of licensees to serve the public interest. Forums and roundtable discussions, while often excellent techniques of presenting a fair cross section of differing viewpoints on a given issue, are not the only appropriate devices for radio discussion, and in some circumstances may not be particularly appropriate or advantageous. Moreover, in many instances the primary "controversy" will be whether or not the particular problem should be discussed at all; in such circumstances, where the licensee has determined that the subject is of sufficient import to receive broadcast attention, it would obviously not be in the public interest for spokesmen for one of the opposing points of view to be able to exercise a veto power over the entire presenta-

tion by refusing to broadcast its position. Fairness in such circumstances might require no more than that the licensee make a reasonable effort to secure responsible representation of the particular position and, if it fails in this effort, to continue to make available its facilities to the spokesmen for such position in the event that, after the original programs are broadcast, they then decide to avail themselves of a right to reply to present their contrary opinion. It should be remembered, moreover, that discussion of public issues will not necessarily be confined to questions which are obviously controversial in nature, and, in many cases, programs initiated with no thought on the part of the licensee of their possibly controversial nature will subsequently arouse controversy and opposition of a substantial nature which will merit presentation of opposing views. In such cases, however, fairness can be preserved without undue difficulty since the facilities of the station can be made available to the spokesmen for the groups wishing to state views in opposition to those expressed in the original presentation when such opposition becomes manifest.

9. We do not believe, however, that the licensee's obligations to serve the public interest can be met merely through the adoption of a general policy of not refusing to broadcast opposing views where a demand is made of the station for broadcast time. If, as we believe to be the case, the public interest is best served in a democracy through the ability of the people to hear expositions of the various positions taken by responsible groups and individuals on particular topics and to choose between them, it is evident that broadcast licensees have an affirmative duty generally to encourage and implement the broadcast of all sides of controversial public issues over their facilities, over and beyond their obligation to make available on demand opportunities for the expression of opposing views. It is clear that any approximation of fairness in the presentation of any controversy will be difficulty if not impossible of achievement unless the licensee plays a conscious and positive role in bringing about balanced presentation of the opposing viewpoints.

10. It should be recognized that there can be no one all embracing formula which licensees can hope to apply to insure the fair and balanced presentation of all public issues. Different issues will inevitably require different techniques of presentation and production. The licensee will in each instance be called upon to exercise his best judgment and good sense in determining what subjects should be considered, the particular format of the programs to be devoted to each subject, the different shades of opinion to be presented, and the spokesmen for each point of view. In determining whether to honor specific requests for time, the station will inevitably be confronted with such questions as whether the subject is worth considering, whether the viewpoint of the requesting party has already received a sufficient amount of broadcast time, or whether there may not be other available groups or individuals who might be more appropriate spokesmen for the particular point of view than the person making the re-

quest. The latter's personal involvement in the controversy may also be a factor which must be considered, for elementary considerations of fairness may dictate that time be allocated to a person or group which has been specifically attacked over the station, where otherwise no such obligation would exist. Undoubtedly, over a period of time some licensees may make honest errors of judgment. But there can be no doubt that any licensee honestly desiring to live up to its obligation to serve the public interest and making a reasonable effort to do so, will be able to achieve a fair and satisfactory resolution of these problems in the light of the specific facts.

11. It is against this background that we must approach the question of "editorialization"—the use of radio facilities by the licensees thereof for the expression of the opinions and ideas of the licensee on the various controversial and significant issues of interest to the members of the general public afforded radio (or television) service by the particular station. In considering this problem it must be kept in mind that such editorial expression may take many forms ranging from the overt statement of position by the licensee in person or by his acknowledged spokesmen to the selection and presentation of news editors and commentators sharing the licensee's general opinions or the making available of the licensee's facilities, either free of charge or for a fee to persons or organizations reflecting the licensee's viewpoint either generally or with respect to specific issues. It should also be clearly indicated that the question of the relationship of broadcast editorialization, as defined above, to operation in the public interest, is not identical with the broader problem of assuring "fairness" in the presentation of news, comment or opinion, but is rather one specific facet of this larger problem.

12. It is clear that the licensee's authority to determine the specific programs to be broadcast over his station gives him an opportunity, not available to other persons, to insure that his personal viewpoint on any particular issue is presented in his station's broadcasts, whether or not these views are expressly identified with the licensee. And, in the absence of governmental restraint, he would, if he so choose, be able to utilize his position as a broadcast licensee to weight the scales in line with his personal views, or even directly or indirectly to propagandize in behalf of his particular philosophy or views on the various public issues to the exclusion of any contrary opinions. Such action can be effective and persuasive whether or not it is accompanied by any editorialization in the narrow sense of overt statement of particular opinions and views identified as those of licensee.

13. The narrower question of whether any overt editorialization or advocacy by broadcast licensees, identified as such is consonant with the operation of their stations in the public interest, resolves itself, primarily into the issue of whether such identification of comment or opinion broadcast over a radio or television station with the licensee, as such, would inevitably or even probably result in such overemphasis on the side of any particular controversy which the licensee chooses to espouse as to make

impossible any reasonably balanced presentation of all sides of such issues or to render ineffective the available safeguards of that overall fairness which is the essential element of operation in the public interest. We do not believe that any such consequence is either inevitable or probable, and we have therefore come to the conclusion that overt licensee editorialization, within reasonable limits and subject to the general requirements of fairness detailed above, is not contrary to the public interest.

14. The Commission has given careful consideration to contentions of those witnesses at the hearing who stated their belief that any overt editorialization or advocacy by broadcast licensee is *per se* contrary to the public interest. The main arguments advanced by these witnesses were that overt editorialization by broadcast licensees would not be consistent with the attainment of balanced presentations since there was a danger that the institutional good will and the production resources at the disposal of broadcast licensees would inevitably influence public opinion in favor of the positions advocated in the name of the licensee and that, having taken an open stand on behalf of one position in a given controversy, a license is not likely to give a fair break to the opposition. We believe, however, that these fears are largely misdirected, and that they stem from a confusion of the question of overt advocacy in the name of the licensee, with the broader issue of insuring that the station's broadcasts devoted to the consideration of public issues will provide the listening public with a fair and balanced presentation of differing viewpoints on such issues, without regard to the particular views which may be held or expressed by the licensee. Considered, as we believe they must be, as just one of several types of presentation of public issues, to be afforded their appropriate and nonexclusive place in the station's total schedule of programs devoted to balanced discussion and consideration of public issues, we do not believe that programs in which the licensee's personal opinions are expressed are intrinsically more or less subject to abuse than any other program devoted to public issues. If it be true that station good will and licensee prestige, where it exists, may give added weight to opinion expressed by the licensee, it does not follow that such opinion should be excluded from the air any more than it should in the case of any individual or institution which over a period of time has built up a reservoir of good will or prestige in the community. In any competition for public acceptance of ideas, the skills and resources of the proponents, and opponents will always have some measure of effect in producing the results sought. But it would not be suggested that they should be denied expression of their opinions over the air by reason of their particular assets. What is against the public interest is for the licensee "to stack the cards" by a deliberate selection of spokesmen for opposing points of view to favor one viewpoint at the expense of the other, whether or not the views of those spokesmen are identified as the views of the licensee or of others. Assurance of fairness must in the final analysis be achieved, not by the exclusion of particular views because of the source of the views,

or the forcefulness with which the view is expressed, but by making the microphone available, for the presentation of contrary views without deliberate restrictions designed to impede equally forceful presentation.

15. Similarly, while licensees will in most instances have at their disposal production resources making possible graphic and persuasive techniques for forceful presentation of ideas, their utilization for the promulgation of the licensee's personal viewpoints will not necessarily or automatically lead to unfairness or lack of balance. While uncontrolled utilization of such resources for the partisan ends of the licensee might conceivably lead to serious abuses, such abuses could as well exist where the station's resources are used for the sole use of his personal spokesmen. The prejudicial or unfair use of broadcast production resources would, in either case, be contrary to the public interest.

16. The Commission is not persuaded that a station's willingness to stand up and be counted on these particular issues upon which the licensee has a definite position may not be actually helpful in providing and maintaining a climate of fairness and equal opportunity for the expression of contrary views. Certainly the public has less to fear from the open partisan than from the covert propagandist. On many issues, of sufficient importance to be allocated broadcast time, the station licensee may have no fixed opinion or viewpoint which he wishes to state or advocate. But where the licensee, himself, believes strongly that one side of a controversial issue is correct and should prevail, prohibition of his expression of such position will not of itself insure fair presentation of that issue over his station's facilities, nor would open advocacy necessarily prevent an overall fair presentation of the subject. It is not a sufficient answer to state that a licensee *should* occupy the position of an impartial umpire, where the licensee is *in fact* partial. In the absence of a duty to present all sides of controversial issues, overt editorialization by station licensees could conceivably result in serious abuse. But where, as we believe to be the case under the Communications Act, such a responsibility for a fair and balanced presentation of controversial public issues exists, we cannot see how the open espousal of one point of view by the licensee should necessarily prevent him from affording a fair opportunity for the presentation of contrary positions or make more difficult the enforcement of the statutory standard of fairness upon any licensee.

17. It must be recognized, however, that the licensee's opportunity to express his own views as part of a general presentation of varying opinions on particular controversial issues, does not justify or empower any licensee to exercise his authority over the selection of program material to distort or suppress the basic factual information upon which any truly fair and free discussion of public issues must necessarily depend. The basis for any fair consideration of public issues, and particularly those of a controversial nature, is the presentation of news and information concerning the basic facts of the controversy in as complete and impartial a manner as possible. A licensee would be abusing his

position as public trustee of these important means of mass communication were he to withhold from expression over his facilities relevant news or facts concerning a controversy or to slant or distort the presentation of such news. No discussion of the issues involved in any controversy can be fair or in the public interest where such discussion must take place in a climate of false or misleading information concerning the basic facts of the controversy.

18. During the course of the hearing, fears have been expressed that any effort on the part of the Commission to enforce a reasonable standard of fairness and impartiality would inevitably require the Commission to take a stand on the merits of the particular issues considered in the programs broadcast by the several licensees, as well as exposing the licensees to the risk of loss of license because of "honest mistakes" which they may make in the exercise of their judgment with respect to the broadcasts of programs of a controversial nature. We believe that these fears are wholly without justification, and are based on either an assumption of abuse of power by the Commission or a lack of proper understanding of the role of the Commission, under the Communications Act, in considering the program service of broadcast licensees in passing upon applications for renewal of license. While this Commission and its predecessor, the Federal Radio Commission, have, from the beginning of effective radio regulation in 1927, properly considered that a licensee's overall program service is one of the primary indicia of his ability to serve the public interest, actual consideration of such service has always been limited to a determination as to whether the licensee's programing, taken as a whole, demonstrates that the licensee is aware of his listening public and is willing and able to make an honest and reasonable effort to live up to such obligations. The action of the station in carrying or refusing to carry any particular program is of relevance only as the station's actions with respect to such programs fits into its overall pattern of broadcast service, and must be considered in the light of its other program activities. This does not mean, of course, that stations may, with impunity, engage in a partisan editorial campaign on a particular issue or series of issues provided only that the remainder of its program schedule conform to the statutory norm of fairness; a licensee may not utilize the portion of its broadcast service which conforms to the statutory requirements as a cover or shield for other programing which fails to meet the minimum standards of operation in the public interest. But it is clear that the standard of public interest is not so rigid that an honest mistake or error in judgment on the part of a licensee will be or should be condemned where his overall record demonstrates a reasonable effort to provide a balanced presentation of comment and opinion on such issues. The question is necessarily one of the reasonableness of the station's actions, not whether any absolute standard of fairness has been achieved. It does not require any appraisal of the merits of the particular issue to determine whether reasonable efforts have been made to present

both sides of the question. Thus, in appraising the record of a station in presenting programs concerning a controversial bill pending before the Congress of the United States, if the record disclosed that the licensee had permitted only advocates of the bill's enactment to utilize its facilities to the exclusion of its opponents, it is clear that no independent appraisal of the bill's merits by the Commission would be required to reach a determination that the licensee has misconstrued its duties and obligations as a person licensed to serve the public interest. The Commission has observed, in considering this general problem that "the duty to operate in the public interest is no esoteric mystery, but is essentially a duty to operate a radio station with good judgment and good faith guided by a reasonable regard for the interests of the community to be served." *Northern Corporation (WMEX)*, 4 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 333, 339. Of course, some cases will be clearer than others, and the Commission in the exercise of its functions may be called upon to weigh conflicting evidence to determine whether the licensee has or has not made reasonable efforts to present a fair and well-rounded presentation of particular public issues. But the standard of reasonableness and the reasonable approximation of a statutory norm is not an arbitrary standard incapable of administrative or judicial determination, but, on the contrary, one of the basic standards of conduct in numerous fields of Anglo-American law. Like all other flexible standards of conduct, it is subject to abuse and arbitrary interpretation and application by the duly authorized reviewing authorities. But the possibility that a legitimate standard of legal conduct might be abused or arbitrarily applied by capricious governmental authority is not and cannot be a reason for abandoning the standard itself. And broadcast licensees are protected against any conceivable abuse of power by the Commission in the exercising of its licensing authority by the procedural safeguards of the Communications Act and the Administrative Procedure Act, and by the right of appeal to the courts from final action claimed to be arbitrary or capricious.

19. There remains for consideration the allegation made by a few of the witnesses in the hearing that any action by the Commission in this field enforcing a basic standard of fairness upon broadcast licensees necessarily constitutes an "abridgment of the right of free speech" in violation of the first amendment of the United States Constitution. We can see no sound basis for any such conclusion. The freedom of speech protected against governmental abridgment by the first amendment does not extend any privilege to government licensees of means of public communications to exclude the expression of opinions and ideas with which they are in disagreement. We believe, on the contrary, that a requirement that broadcast licensees utilize their franchises in a manner in which the listening public may be assured of hearing varying opinions on the paramount issues facing the American people is within both the spirit and letter of the first amendment. As the Supreme Court of the United States has pointed out in the *Associated Press* monopoly case:

It would be strange indeed, however, if the grave concern for freedom of the press which prompted adoption of the first amendment should be read as a command that the Government was without power to protect that freedom * * * *That amendment rests on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public, that a free press is a condition of free society. Surely a command that the Government itself shall not impede the free flow of ideas does not afford nongovernmental combinations a refuge if they impose restraints upon that constitutionally guaranteed freedom.* Freedom to publish means freedom for all and not for some. Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not. (*Associated Press* v. *United States*, 326 U.S. 1 at p. 20.)

20. We fully recognize that freedom of the radio is included among the freedoms protected against governmental abridgment by the first amendment. *United States* v. *Paramount Pictures, Inc., et al*, 334 U.S. 131, 166. But this does not mean that the freedom of the people as a whole to enjoy the maximum possible utilization of this medium of mass communication may be subordinated to the freedom of any single person to exploit the medium for his own private interest. Indeed, it seems indisputable that full effect can only be given to the concept of freedom of speech on the radio by giving precedence to the right of the American public to be informed on all sides of public questions over any such individual exploitation for private purposes. Any regulation of radio, especially a system of limited licensees, is in a real sense an abridgment of the inherent freedom of persons to express themselves by means of radio communications. It is however, a necessary and constitutional abridgment in order to prevent chaotic interference from destroying the great potential of this medium for public enlightment and entertainment. *National Broadcasting Company* v. *United States*, 319 U. S. 190, 296; cf, *Federal Radio Commission* v. *Nelson Brothers Bond & Mortgage Co.*, 289 U. S. 266; *Fisher's Blend Station, Inc.* v. *State Tax Commission*, 277 U. S. 650. Nothing in the Communications Act or its history supports any conclusion that the people of the Nation, acting through Congress, have intended to surrender or diminish their paramount rights in the air waves, including access to radio broadcasting facilities to a limited number of private licensees to be used as such licensees see fit, without regard to the paramount interests of the people. The most significant meaning of freedom of the radio is the right of the American people to listen to this great medium of communications free from any governmental dictation as to what they can or cannot hear and free alike from similar restraints by private licensees.

21. To recapitulate, the Commission believes that under the American system of broadcasting the individual licensees of radio stations have the responsibility for determining the specific program material to be broadcast over their stations. This choice, however, must be exercised in a manner consistent with the basic policy of the Congress that radio be maintained as a medium of free speech for the general public as a whole rather than as an outlet for the purely personal or private interests of the licensee. This requires that licensees devote a reasonable percentage of

their broadcasting time to the discussion of public issues of interest in the community served by their stations and that such programs be designed so that the public has a reasonable opportunity to hear different opposing positions on the public issues of interest and importance in the community. The particular format best suited for the presentation of such programs in a manner consistent with the public interest must be determined by the licensee in the light of the facts of each individual situation. Such presentation may include the identified expression of the licensee's personal viewpoint as part of the more general presentation of views or comments on the various issues, but the opportunity of licensees to present such views as they may have on matters of controversy may not be utilized to achieve a partisan or one-sided presentation of issues. Licensee editorialization is but one aspect of freedom of expression by means of radio. Only insofar as it is exercised in conformity with the paramount right of the public to hear a reasonably balanced presentation of all responsible viewpoints on particular issues can such editorialization be considered to be consistent with the licensee's duty to operate in the public interest. For the licensee is a trustee impressed with the duty of preserving for the public generally radio as a medium of free expression and fair presentation.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER E. M. WEBSTER

I adopt the majority opinion and file the following additional views. In my opinion, the report and attached separate views of Commissioner Jones still leaves a licensee in a quandary and a state of confusion in that he must follow with his own interpretation of an involved academic legal treatise to determine what he can or cannot do in his day-to-day operation. He is entitled to know from the Commission just that—"what he can or cannot do"—in as concise and unequivocal language as possible.

The issue is simply stated: "Can a licensee of a broadcasting station be an advocate over his own station?"

At the risk of oversimplification, but in the interest of the licensee, I consider the answer to this question to be as follows:

1. Freedom of speech over the radio is not at issue. The right or privilege of access to the radio microphone is an issue.

2. No individual has the right of access to a radio microphone (except for such rights as may be conferred by Section 315 of the Communications Act—"Facilities For Candidates For Public Office"). Each individual licensee has the privilege of and responsibility for determining the particular persons or groups to be granted access to the microphone, which includes denial of access, and the specific program material to be broadcast over his facilities.

3. This privilege and responsibility is not unrestricted, however, but represents a sacred trust which must be exercised in a manner consistent with the basic policy of the Communications Act that broadcasting stations be licensed to serve the interests of the public at large rather than the personal or private interests of the licensee.

4. The public interest requires that the listening public secure a reasonable opportunity to hear differing and opposing positions on the controversial public issues of interest and importance in the community. Where a licensee affords time over his facilities for the expression of any one opinion on such issues, he is under an obligation to insure that opposing points of view will also be presented or at least that a reasonable opportunity be afforded for the presentation of such views.

5. The licensee is free to exercise his privilege of selection of persons to be given access to the microphone to present his own views of controversial public issues or to select persons to broadcast over his facilities whom he knows or has reason to believe share his views. However, where the licensee grants the privilege of access to the microphone to himself or his spokesman, such broadcasts must be handled in the same manner as all other broadcasts of controversial issues and the licensee may not utilize his authority to select the persons to have access to his microphone to advance his own ideas or opinions *to the exclusion of others.*

6. The particular format or formats for the presentation of controversy must be determined by the individual licensee in the light of the particular circumstances of each case. There can be no mechanical formula or test which can be prescribed to insure the essential fairness which is the prerequisite of any successful operation in the public interest. The decision which have to be made by licensees in this field are in many cases difficult ones. But, any licensee making a sincere and reasonable effort to serve the needs of his listening audience as a whole in conformity with the precepts set out above should be able to meet his obligation as a licensee of providing service in the public interest, convenience, or necessity.

SEPARATE VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER JONES

1. I agree that radio station licensees may editorialize over their own facilities. I believe that any document establishing this policy requires a reversal of the *Mayflower Broadcasting Co.* decision, 8 FCC 333, which fully and completely suppressed and prohibited the licensee from speaking in the future over his facilities in behalf of any cause. All licensees considered this *Mayflower* decision as applicable to each of them. I believe that the Commission thus violated the first amendment and that the Commission should acknowledge the unconstitutionality of the *Mayflower* decision and rule that the licensee may speak.

2. Since the majority do not acknowledge the applicability of the first amendment in determining whether the licensee may use his own microphone to advocate causes, it is not surprising that the *Mayflower* decision is quoted with apparent approval. They seem to urge that any relaxation of complete suppression is by the sufferance or leave of the Commission. They have proscribed their permission with prospective conditions in terms of fairness, several examples of which are described *seriatim,* and then they conclude: "It should be recognized that there can be no one all embracing formula which licensees can hope to apply to insure

the fair and balanced presentation of *all public issues.*" Nor do I find any assistance to the licensee or any clarification of the constitutional questions in the separate opinion of Commissioner Webster. When the Commissioner picks legal assumptions from the ether, as "Freedom of speech over the air is not at issue. The right or privilege of access to the radio microphone is the issue," the ceiling of oversimplification is unlimited to reach most any unconstitutional conclusion.

3. The Commission connotes "editorialization" with "news" and "comment." The relationship of commentators and licensees, including network licensees, is such that under the majority view commentator editorialization cannot be ignored and fairness should attach to them if their opinion is to have any meaning of consequence to the industry.

4. In taking the position I do in this matter that licensees shall be free without previous restraint to exercise their constitutional right to editorialize, I wish to make it clearly understood that I also believe that in a revocation or renewal proceeding the Commission has the right to review the overall past performance of the licensee including now a review of one additional facet—editorialization over his own facilities by a licensee and according to my view by commentators—to determine whether a finding can be made that he will operate his radio facilities in the public interest, convenience and necessity. This power of the Commission to review the overall operations of the licensee as the steward of the public is as far as the poles from an ambiguous prospective guide the majority is adopting here to cover a specific segment of the licensee's obligations under the act.

5. Even if the Commission could attach prospective conditions upon the licensee's right to editorialize, such conditions should not be couched in ambiguous terms. Further, the Administrative Procedure Act and the rules and regulations of the administrative committee issued pursuant to the Federal Register Act (44 USC subchapter 8B) require policy statements to be published in codified form. Since I have come to these conclusions in disposing of the right of licensees to editorialize, I am constrained to state my reasons therefor as follows:

6. Neither the questions here presented nor their resolution can be adequately understood without a discussion of the case of *Mayflower Broadcasting Co.* 8 F. C. C. 333. In the *Mayflower* case, the Commission had before it a situation where a licensee had used the facilities of his station to promote ideas and political candidates of his own choosing. The Commission, in reviewing the licensee's operation, held that a licensee could not, under any circumstances, consonant with the public interest, act as an advocate. The Commission said "a truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee. * * * it cannot be devoted to the support of principles he happens to regard most favorably. In brief, the broadcaster cannot be an advocate." 8 F. C. C. at 340. While some question has been raised from time to time as to whether these broad statements constituted only dictum, examination of the Commission's disposition of the proceedings in that

case makes it clear that the broad language of the Commission prohibiting advocacy by licensees over their facilities was intended to be part of the *ratio decidendi*. Thus in concluding to grant the application for renewal of station WAAB's license, the Commission expressly relied upon the licensee's unequivocal representations that no editorials had been broadcast since September 1938, that the licensee did not intend to depart from this uninterrupted policy and that the station had no editorial policy. In view of the language of the *Mayflower* decision and the Commission's basis of disposition of the proceedings, I cannot see how the *Mayflower* decision can be read in any other way but as a square holding that a licensee cannot use his microphone for personal advocacy. The Commission, in my opinion, fully and completely suppressed and prohibited the licensee from speaking in the future over his microphone in behalf of any cause.

7. It is true that protests were heard outside of the Commission's meeting room, but for 7 years no one formally challenged the decision of the Commission,[1] and the Commission took no steps to disclaim the ban created on editorialization by licensees. It is therefore reasonable to say that at the time of the commencement of these proceedings, it was the unimpaired ruling of this Commission that editorialization over the facilities of a station by the licensee was contrary to the public interest. I would now expressly repudiate any such doctrine and explicitly make clear that to the extent that *Mayflower* created such a ban it is now overruled. The failure of the majority to discuss *Mayflower* and to repudiate the ban on editorialization created by *Mayflower* is under such circumstances extraordinary. It may not be without significance that the majority report cites the *Mayflower* decision with apparent approval. In view of the majority's decision I do not see how it can consistently appear to leave the effect of *Mayflower* unimpaired while at the same time hold that editorialization by licensees is not contrary to the public interest. The majority report in failing to discuss the effect of *Mayflower* on the main problem here presented either indicates a reluctance to admit the error of the earlier decision or a desire to perpetuate its evil effect. In either case I cannot approve.

8. In concluding that editorialization by licensees is not prohibited, the majority report does not expressly say that such conduct is permitted in the public interest. The Commission, without any reference to the effect of *Mayflower*, merely comes to the conclusion that overt licensee editorialization, within reasonable limits and subject to the general requirements of fairness, is not contrary to the public interest. This conclusion thus appears to be based solely on the requirement created by this Commission that licensees be fair and objective in the presentation of contro-

[1] This decision of the Commission has hung like Damocles' sword over every station licensee to silence the licensee as an advocate. While it is true that any licensee in defiance of the *Mayflower* decision might personally have expressed editorial opinions and thus put his station license in jeopardy, the fact remains that no one challenged the governmental authority in this instance. I realize, of course, the dangers that a licensee would have been required to face had he challenged the *Mayflower decision*. Nevertheless radio should remember the history and experience of newspapers in their fight for freedom of the press. That battle should serve as a guide to the broadcasting industry on how to combat current abuse of governmental authority.

versial issues of public importance. I believe that in resting this holding solely on that ground, the Commission overlooks the more important and determinative factor of the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States. If as the majority states "radio is included among the freedoms protected against governmental abridgment by the first amendment" and if as is made clear by the majority it must be made available to "all responsible elements in the community," then it follows that governmental prohibition of editorialization by licensees, who certainly are a responsible element of the community, constitutes an unconstitutional abridgement of free speech.[2] I, therefore, rest my decision that editorialization by licensees is in the public interest not on any policy requirement created by the Commission but upon the inviolate terms of the first amendment. For whether or not the Commission is willing to follow the rule that licensees must be fair and objective in the presentation of controversial issues of public importance, a prohibition of editorialization by licensees would, in my opinion, be contrary to the first amendment and therefore invalid as an unconstitutional abridgment of free speech.

9. It is, however, suggested that since licensees are in effect trustees of the airwaves for the public, the Commission may condition the grant of the radio station license on the duty of the licensee to refrain from editorializing. I cannot, however, subscribe to this content. In my opinion, cases such as *United Public Workers* v. *Mitchell*, 330 U.S. 75, and *McAuliffe* v. *Mitchell*, 155 Mass. 216, dealing with prohibitions on political activities by Civil Service employees are not at all applicable here. Those decisions rest solely on the peculiar nature of the relationship of the Government, as an employer, to persons in its employ. The *United Public Workers* case makes clear that the extraordinary evil of political partisanship by classified employees of Government is so substantial as to warrant an interference with the normal freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. I do not believe that any such evil is here involved. Whatever the evil that may result from editorializing by licensees, I do not believe it is so substantial as to warrant the deprivation of the civil rights of the licensee. Accordingly, I believe that any condition imposed on a radio station licensee which prohibits editorialization by the licensee constitutes the imposition of an unreasonable and unconstitutional condition in violation of the first amendment.

10. My objection to the manner in which the majority approaches the problems presented does not constitute a mere preference as to the route by which it reaches its decision. It reflects rather what I believe to be a fundamental difference in approach to the Commission's regulatory powers with respect to the programing policies of licensees. Whatever may be the constitutional validity of the approach the Commission takes, I believe the funda-

[2] Both the Communications Act and the decisions of this Commission and the courts make it clear that radio station licensees are required to be responsible members of the community. Irresponsible licensees are, of course, not qualified to be the holders of radio station licenses and the problem of editorialization by licensees in a context of irresponsibility presents an entirely diffeernt problems from those involved in a ban on all editorialization by licensees. Cf. *Trinity Methodist Church, South*, v. *Federal Radio Commission*, 62 F. 2d 850, *cert. den.*, 288 U.S. 599.

mental policy against previous restraint of speech requires the Commission to meticulously avoid the imposition of prospective conditions upon speech of licensees that is entitled to the protection of the first amendment.

11. We should, I believe, pay particular attention to the manner in which the body of law with respect to the Commission's powers over the programing policies of licensees has arisen. Section 326 of the Communications Act expressly prohibits the Commission from exercising any powers of censorship. The Commission on the other hand has been given full power in connection with its licensing functions to determine whether an application for a station license or for renewal of such a license would serve the public interest, convenience or necessity. Moreover, application of the policy against previous restraint on speech is not at all inconsistent with this power, and the body of law with respect to the Federal Radio and Federal Communications Commission has grown upon the assumption that no previous restraint should be imposed upon radio speech but that the Commission may in connection with its regular review of each station's operation determine whether or not the operation of the station has been in the public interest. In the words of Justice Groner: "It may, therefore, bet set down as a fundamental principle that under these constitutional guarantees [of free speech] the citizen has in the first instance the right to utter or publish his sentiments although, of course, upon condition that he is responsible for any abuse of that right. *Near* v. *Minnesota Ex Rel Olson,* 283 U.S. 697, 51 S. Ct. 625, 75 L. Ed. 1357." *Trinity Methodist Church, South,* v. *Federal Radio Commission,* 62 F. 2d 850, *cert. den.* 288 U.S. 599.[3]

12. Thus, it is clearly within the scope of the Commission's authority to refuse to grant a renewal of license to one whose operation is extensively conducted in his personal interest rather than the public interest. Cf. *KFKB Broadcasting Association* v. *Federal Radio Commission,* 47 F. 2d 670. Likewise the Commission does not deny freedom of speech by refusing to renew the license of one who in an irresponsible manner has abused the privileges conferred upon him by broadcasting defamatory and untrue matter and has obstructed the administration of justice by attempting by means of radio to impose his will upon the courts. *Trinity Methodist Church, South,* v. *Federal Radio Commission,* 62 F. 2d 850, *cert. den.* 288 U. S. 599.

13. Thus, the powers of the Commission and the responsibilities of the licensee have, without any necessity for violation of the policy against previous restraint, been defined by the courts on a case-to-case basis where the necessity for such decision has been presented. I am in complete agreement with the standards of

[3] I should, however, like to make completely clear that I believe the Government has full authority by proper measures to prohibit the use of radio in connection with activities which it may under the police powers prohibit. Cf. *Shenck* v. *United States,* 249 US 47. Hence Congress has prohibited the utterance of any obscene, indecent or profane language by means of radio communication (Sec. 1364 of the U.S. Criminal Code (18 USC 1364; 48 Stat. 1091), formerly Sec. 326 of the Communications Act) and the broadcast of lottery information (Sec. 1304 of the U.S. Criminal Code (18 USC 1304; 48 Stat. 1088), formerly Sec. 316 of the Communications Act).

licensee conduct imposed by these decisions. I would not, however, deviate from the past method of procedure in handling such problems on the basis of adjudicatory proceedings arising out of individual factual situations. I cannot subscribe to the action of the Commission in expressly imposing prospective conditions on the exercise of the licensee's right to use the facilities of a station for purposes of editorialization. I would not say to the licensee as does the Commission's decision, "You may speak but only on the prospective conditions that are laid down in our report." For my part, I would merely say to the licensee, "You may speak."

14. However, even if I were willing to adopt the approach which places express prospective conditions on the right to editorialize, I could not subscribe to a condition as vague as the concept of the duty to be fair. For where constitutionally valid conditions are imposed on speech by governmental authority, the standards by which one is required to act should be stated in such a way as to be clearly ascertainable. Cf. *Winters* v. *New York*, 333 U.S. 507. I do not believe that the conditions imposed here are made clear enough to serve as an adequate guide to the conduct licensees will be required to follow if they are to avail themselves of the right to editorialize. Insofar as the doctrine of fairness has been announced and applied in particular cases, that doctrine may well have concrete meaning. Cf. In re *United Broadcasting Company (WHKC)*, 10 F. C. C. 515. But outside the context of particular circumstances, I do not believe that an *a priori* standard so broad and vague has significant meaning. We all, of course, can agree that licensees should be fair in the operation of their stations. But in the absence of past examples of the application of the standard fairness to particular situations involving editorialization by licensees, I do not see how licensees will be in a position to ascertain the meaning of the doctrine of fairness as it must be applied to the myriad of factual situations which arise in connection with the day-to-day operation of a radio station.[4] Nor do I believe that the citation of decisions involving network regulations, network programing, overcommercialism, radio advertising of liquor or broadcasts relating to atheism, furnishes any guide as to the manner in which the doctrine of fairness may apply to situations involving editorialization by licensees.

15. I believe that the problems with respect to editorialization can only and should only be determined *a posteriori* in connection with specific situations involving editorialization.[5] I would there-

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[4] A few examples of questions raised:

If a licensee editorializes with respect to issue A, is he required under all circumstances to afford radio time to all responsible persons with views contrary to his with respect to issue A? Or is it enough that on most issues the licensee affords time to reply to his own editorial views? Is the licensee required to afford such persons free time or can he require payment for the time? If views contrary to his have been expressed freely on other stations in his community is he required to also afford time on his station? Can the programs of commentators either of his own choosing or of the choosing of his sponsors serve as replies by opposing views? What restrictions can he impose on the manner in which opposing views may reply? Can opposing views reply in the form of song or drama? What restrictions with respect to censorship by the licensee of the opposing script does the Commission intend to apply? These are but a few of the many practical questions faced by the licensee who wishes to editorialize but left unanswered by the Commission's decision.

[5] While it is very true the flexible standards have served very useful functions in Anglo-American law, it must be pointed out that they usually have evolved not by *a priori* announcements by courts but out of decisions arrived at on a case-to-case basis. Cf., e.g., the history the development of the legal standards in the common law of negligence. These standards

fore continue the past procedure of this Commission in handling similar problems on the basis of adjudicatory proceeding arising out of individual factual situations. In this connection the statement of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Securities and Exchange Commission* v. *Chenery Corporaion*, 332 U.S. 194, 202–203 is pertinent:

> Not every principle essential to the effective administration of a statute can or should be cast immediately into the mold of a general rule. Some principles must await their own development, while others must be adjusted to meet particular unforeseeable situations. In performing its important functions in these respects, therefore, an administrative agency must be equipped to act either by general rule or by individual order. To insist upon one form of action to the exclusion of the other is to exalt form over necessity.
>
> In other words, problems may arise in a case which the administrative agency could not reasonably foresee, problems which must be solved despite the absence of a relevant general rule. Or the agency may not have had sufficient experience with a particular problem to warrant rigidifying its tentative judgment into a hard and fast rule. Or the problems may be so specialized and varying in nature as to be impossible of capture within the boundaries of a general rule. In those situations, the agency must retain power to deal with the problems on a case-to-case basis if the administrative process is to be effective.

16. But even if the Commission's approach to the problems here presented is correct, the form in which the Commission's decision is cast is entirely improper. Neither the general policy created nor the qualifications on the right to editorialize are made clear in terms free from ambiguity. Background, policy, example, qualification are all commingled. Indeed, it is, I believe, fair to state that it takes more than merely a careful reading of the report to ascertain the Commission's disposition of the issues presented. Under these circumstances I believe the Commission should speak more clearly. Sound administrative policy pursuant to the mandate of Congress requires the formulation of the standards here created in the form of clear and separately stated rules and regulations which can serve as a clear guide to licensees as to the conduct which the Commission deems it necessary for them to follow. Clearly the uncertainty with respect to the matters here presented should be removed and not augmented by a formless policy statement issued in the mold of a report.

17. Whatever may be our personal preferences with respect to the final form the Commission's decision here should take, I believe that Congress has by statute commanded, where a general policy is created independently of adjudication, that the form be

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grew out of findings by juries on a case-to-case basis that eventually were molded into general standards. See *Holmes, The Common Law*, pp. 122–129. This is especially significant where as here we are dealing with the problems of free speech.

"The subject in its more general outlook has been the source of much writing since Milton's Aeropagitica, the emancipation of the English press by the withdrawal of the licensing act in the reign of William the Third, and the Letters of Junius. It is enough now to say that the universal trend of decisions has recognized the guaranty of the amendment to prevent previous restraints upon publications, as well as immunity of censorship, leaving to correction by subsequent punishment those utterances or publications contrary to the public welfare. In this aspect it is generally regarded that freedom of speed and press cannot be infringed by legislative, executive, or judicial action, and that the constitutional guaranty should be given liberal and comprehensive construction. It may therefore be set down as a fundamental principle that under these constitutional guaranties the citizen has in the first instance the right to utter or publish his sentiments, though, of course, upon condition that he is responsible for any abuse of that right. *Near* v. *Minnesota ex rel. Olson*, 283 U.S. 697, 51 S. Ct. 625, 75 L. Ed. 1357." *Trinity Methodist Church, South*, v. *Federal Radio Commission*, 62 F. 2d 850, *cert. den.* 288 U.S. 599.

in a separately stated and currently published codified rule. Section 3 (a) (3) of the Administrative Procedure Act expressly requires each agency to separately state and currently publish in the Federal Register "substantive rules * * * and statements of general policy or interpretations formulated and adopted by the agency for the guidance of the public." If the report of the Commission does not enact a substantive rule it at least constitutes a general statement of policy formulated and adopted for the guidance of the public. It is to avoid just the type of procedure here followed that the Administrative Procedure Act contained requirements as to the publication of policy statements in rule form.

18. Not only has Congress provided in the Administrative Procedure Act for publication in such form but the rules and regulations of the administrative committee of the Federal Register, issued pursuant to the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. subchapter 8B) clearly require policy statements such as that adopted here to be published in the Federal Register in codified form. See Federal Register, October 12, 1948, pp. 5929 *et. seq.* Rule 1.32 of the Federal Register regulations provides:

> Documents having general applicability and legal effect. Every document, issued under proper authority prescribing a penalty or a course of conduct, conferring a right, privilege, authority or immunity, or imposing an obligation, and relevant or applicable to the general public, the members of a class or the persons of a locality, as distinguished from named individuals or organizations, is hereby determined to have general applicability and legal effect. Such documents shall be filed in the office of the director and published in the Federal Register. (Applies sec. 5 (a), 49 Stat. 501; 44 U.S.C. 305 (a) (2)).

And Section 1.10 of the Federal Register regulations provides:

> Document subject to codification. Document subject to codification means any regulatory document which has general applicability and legal effect and which is in force and effect and relied upon by the issuing agency as authority for, or invoked or used in the discharge of, any of its functions or activities.

The style of preparation of documents subject to codification is provided for in subpart H of these rules. This style is the same as the form of the rules and regulations of the Commission.

19. Accordingly, there is no question that the policy statement here adopted in the form of a report should be separately stated and published in codified form in the Federal Register. The report in its present form may constitute a sufficient statement of the reasons or grounds for such a codified rule, but it cannot under any circumstances be said to comply with the procedural provisions relating to publication provided for in the Administrative Procedure Act and the Federal Register rules issued pursuant to the Federal Register Act. As such the failure to comply with these statutes and rules raises serious questions as to the validity of any substantive programing requirements now created by the Commission. And further, this doubt only increases the uncertainty of licensees with respect to the matters here presented. Accordingly, I believe that if the Commission is to announce prospective standards, it should proceed to issue codified rules in proper form

for the benefit and guidance not only of licensees but the public at large.

20. It seems to me that the Commission is gagging at a gnat when its opinion is confined to the licensee's personal use of his own microphone to advocate causes of the licensee. Since the adoption of the *Mayflower* decision licensees in general remained silent and supinely submitted to the Commission; however, many licensees, including network licensees who operate the most valuable radio facilities, selected commentators to do their editorializing for them. In fact, they have commercialized the commentators to positions of power and influence upon public opinion which dwarf the power and influence of any licensee or any group of licensees. In fact, this commentator commercialization has reached the point where newspaper licensee network affiliates carry regular broadcasts which they apparently reject and ridicule as proper news or comment for the newspaper columns. This is all the more significant because the majority has treated the term "editorialization" as comprehending "news" and "comment." Since the majority couch the conditions of the licensee's right to editorialize upon terms of "fairness," it is hard to understand why their opinion fails to come to grips with the licensees' standard practice of editorialization through commentators. The Commission files are literally filled with legitimate complaints of unfairness by such professionals, the alter egoes of licensees, who have become identified with them over a period of years as inextricably as the trade name of the station or network. The ambiguous doctrine of fairness has never been attached to them; the Commission has never felt it had the power to demand the kind of practice it now asserts against their principals—the licensees—in this decision. And the majority completely avoids discussing licensee-commentator fairness.

21. In view of the majority decision, the Commission should give special attention to the extent to which the selection of commentators constitutes an aspect of editorialization by licensees. Any appraisal of the realities must take into consideration the fact that licensees in effect editorialize through the mouths of commentators who by reason of their continued use of the facilities make known their views to the licensee and thus broadcast their views with the implied consent of the licensee.[6] The importance of such editorialization is made clear by the special treatment afforded commentary programs. Commentators are known to be associated with particular networks or stations for long periods of time. While the broadcast hour of other types of programs varies from time to time, networks and stations make every effort to leave the broadcast hours of commentator programs unaffected by overall changes in programing schedules. Sponsors may come and go, but the same commentators broadcast at the same hour over the same stations as they have done for years.

[6] "When a radio station hires radio commentators and pays them and puts them on, they editorialize on the news, and sometimes not only editorialize on the news, but they give out editorial opinions about every conceivable subject, many of which they don't know anything about." Comment of Chairman Wheeler in Senate Hearing on S. 814 (78 Cong. 1st Session) p. 1413.

One wonders whether it is not appropriate to call such commentators mere chattels of the networks or stations. Certainly, they are valuable pieces of radio property. When the voices of such program fixtures are available to networks and stations, are we to be surprised that the broadcasting industry has suffered in silence the ban on editorialization created by the *Mayflower* decision?

22. I want to make it clearly understood that in discussing commentators as alter ego editorialists for licensees, the Commission has no more power of previous restraint over commentators than it does over licensees in view of the first amendment and Sec. 326 of the Communications Act. However, I do believe that the Commission has the power to require segregation of objective news from comment and editorialization by commentators and licensees. If fairness to the public is to be the test, then certainly the public is entitled to know what is news and what is opinion from both licensees and commentators.

23. In the first place the Commission must put itself in a position to determine on appropriate occasion the character of editorialization by licensees whether through their own mouths or through the mouths of commentators. It should be realized that at present there is no radio format equivalent to the editorial page of our newspapers. Accordingly, neither the Commission nor radio listeners are in the same position as newspaper readers to identify editorial comment. The problem of labeling is all the more serious in radio by reason of the frequent practice of commingling editorial views with programs dealing with objective presentation of the news. This is especially true in the case of commentator programs. They do not, in fact, constitute merely news broadcasts nor on the other hand do they constitute purely editorial comment. They are rather a combination of editorial opinion based upon so-called factual news stories, which all too frequently result in "loaded" news stories.

24. While there are differences between the programs of different commentators, and there are good commentators and bad commentators, in the main listeners believe that they are being furnished with critical news summaries by all commentator programs. And it is the failure of many such programs to represent themselves as "loaded" news programs that constitutes the vice herein. While I believe that the Commission cannot under the Constitution and should not in any event prohibit the commingling of such editorial opinion and new stories, nevertheless I believe it clear that it has the authority to require the labeling of editorial comment. Furthermore, that many so-called commentary programs, although not all, are obvious deceits on the listener has been alluded to frequently both in Congressional hearings and by prominent public officials. For example, the use of date lines, indicating that the item about to be read originated in Moscow, Berlin, Singapore or the White House, are transparent falsities to informed persons. Nevertheless, thousands of listeners believe, if letters received in Congress and by the Commission are evidence, that such news items are coming hot over the wire at

that instant. Similarly, the use of sound effects lends a false and misleading impression. The Commission might well promulgate standards which will insure honest and factual reporting of news and honest and accurate labeling of what is news and what is opinion. I believe, therefore, that the Commission should, by way of a codified rule and regulation, establish standards for the labeling and identification of editorialization over the air. The Commission should specifically describe in such a rule the exact identifying language and the exact times at which the identifying announcement should be made during the program. *Cf., e.g.,* Sections 3.187 and 3.189 of the rules and regulations relating to station identification and announcement of sponsored programs. Such a rule should make clear that in a program where commingling of news and editorial comment is made, that portion of the program dealing with editorial comment should be labeled as such. I do not believe it is sufficient to merely require a general statement that such a program contains editorial comment.

25. The Commission has full power to review charges of continued irresponsibility by specific commentators in broadcasts over the facilities of individual stations. Licensees are completely responsible for the selection of those who regularly use their facilities and therefore when commentators are continually irresponsible, their programs reflect the conscious permission of the licensee to permit such irresponsibility to be a part of the station's programing. Clearly placing the treatment of news commentaries in the hands of persons who continually in an irrepsonsible fashion present their commentaries cannot be considered consistent with the public interest. Commentators who regularly make statements unsupported by fact and who regularly attack public figures by innuendo, without support in fact, are offering false news to the public. There is no constitutional right to broadcast false news and the broadcast of false news, just as the broadcast of false advertising is contrary to the public interest. Accordingly, the irresponsibility of broadcasts by commentators of necessity reflects upon the qualifications of the licensee who permits such commentators to regularly use his facilities.[7] And it is unfortunate that the more shocking the technique of the commentator the more valuable he becomes to the station or network and the less the desire of the network or licensee to rid their programs of the irresponsibility.

26. The Commission's power to take action with respect to the past use of radio facilities for purposes of irresponsibility is clear enough. The Commission is not required to renew licenses of persons who permit irresponsible professional editorialists to broadcast false news and to make continued attacks upon person after person without foundation in fact. *Trinity Methodist Church, South,* v. *Federal Radio Commission,* 62 F. 2d 850, *cert. den.* 288 U.S. 599. It should be pointed out that the mere fact that many

[7] While I recognize that frequently the views expressed in commentary programs are not those of the licensee, I do not believe that a mere disclaimer by the licensee that the views expressed during a program are the views solely of the commentator and not the licensee constitutes a sufficient solution to the problem. For such a disclaimer does not dispel the effect of the selection of that commentator as a person fit to broadcast over a station or network.

of the commentators broadcast over the facilities of networks does not place the irresponsibility outside the powers of the Commission. It should be remembered that networks are also licensees. In fact, one of the main arguments networks advance as to the need for network-owned stations in key cities is that such stations constitute a necessary originating source for network programs. Accordingly, to the extent that networks are licensees they are subject to the regular licensing powers of the Commission. Where a network permits the continued use of its facilities by irresponsible commentators, this fact should be considered by the Commission as evidence of the network's lack of qualification to hold a radio station license. Further, licensees affiliated with such networks must be held strictly accountable for irresponsibility broadcast over their facilities even though such irresponsibility is of network origin. Licensees cannot abdicate their responsibility for determinations with respect to the continued use of their facilities by irresponsible commentators whose irresponsibility becomes a valuable commercial asset of the stations involved. Accordingly, the Commission should consider irresponsibility on the part of both the network and the individual licensee with network affiliation in placing responsibility for the reckless statements that are frequently broadcast over the air. In this connection it should be pointed out that in the *KFKB Broadcasting Association* case, *supra,* the court approved the action of the Commission in refusing to renew the license of KFKB even though it was found that much of the station's programs were entertaining and unobjectionable in character. 47 F. 2d at 672.

DISSENTING VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER HENNOCK

I agree with the majority that it is imperative that a high standard of impartiality in the presentation of issues of public controversy be maintained by broadcast licensees. I do not believe that the Commission's decision, however, will bring about the desired end. The standard of fairness as delineated in the report is virtually impossible of enforcement by the Commission with our present lack of policing methods and with the sanctions given us by law. We should not underestimate the difficulties inherent in the discovery of unfair presentation in any particular situation, or the problem presented by the fact that the sole sanction the Commission possesses is total deprivation of broadcast privileges in a renewal or revocation proceeding which may occur long after the violation.

In the absence of some method of policing and enforcing the requirement that the public trust granted a licensee be exercised in an impartial manner, it seems foolhardy to permit editorialization by licensees themselves. I believe that we should have such a prohibition, unless we can substitute for it some more effective method of insuring fairness. There would be no inherent evil in the presentation of a licensee's viewpoint if fairness could be guaranteed. In the present circumstances, prohibiting it is our only instrument for insuring the proper use of radio in the public interest.

F.C.C. - WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 86 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

ESTABLISHED 1869
The Chattanooga Times

6/26/53

Methodist Resolution Condemns Publication

By LAURA BARRE
Constitution Staff Writer

The North Georgia Methodist Conference passed a resolution Thursday condemning One Methodist Voice, a periodic publication edited by the Rev. Blake Craft, Clayton, and expressing confidence in the "Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty" of the ministers attacked in the publication.

The resolution followed a statement by the Rev. Mr. Craft that in order for him to receive an appointment, "to which I am justly entitled," Bishop Arthur J. Moore had required that he cease editing the controversial publication.

He charged that his right as a Methodist preacher to speak and to use his pen according to his conscience were on trial.

"POLITELY REFUSED"

Bishop Moore replied that he had suggested the Rev. Mr. Craft as a pastor for several churches and all the churches had "politely but firmly" refused to accept him. Finally, the bishop said, one church agreed to take him on condition that he cease publication of One Methodist Voice.

"I have been publishing the paper for three years," the Rev. Mr. Craft said, "exposing teachings of socialism, a world federalism and a treasonable pacifism within the Methodist church. I have pointed out how some of the leading officials have Communist front affiliations.

"Not one man has made any demand on me to ask me to retract anything I have said. I take that to mean they think what I say is true."

In their resolution, the ministers said "we have sought sincerely to practice Christian charity toward members of our fellowship. For more than two years, however, this spirit of charity has placed North Georgia Methodism in the position of seeming to approve, or, at least, to condone, the spirit and statements contained in One Methodist Voice. We now believe the time has passed when silence is Christian.

"We therefore declare that One Methodist Voice does not speak for, nor represent the spirit nor the mind of North Georgia Methodists.

"COMPLETE CONFIDENCE"

"We declare our complete confidence in the integrity of our brethren who have been attacked by One Methodist Voice, such as Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Bishop Bromley Oxman, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Dr. Lester Rumble, Dr. Nat G. Long, Dr. E. G. Mackay and Mrs. M. E. Tilley.

"We declare our opposition to the use of the name "Methodist" by such independent organizations and publications as the Methodist Federation for Social Action (unofficial) and One Methodist Voice (unofficial)."

Sid Williams, a layman from Austell, moved to table the resolution condemning the publication, but his motion failed for want of a second.

FAVORED RESOLUTION

M. G. Dunaway, a layman from Rockmart, said the laymen favored the resolution as strongly as did the ministers.

The Rev. W. J. Culpepper, Warrenton, moved that the conference re-affirm its love for the Rev. Mr. Craft and request him to re-consider his relationship to the conference and to his brethren. The motion was passed.

"I will stop publishing my paper," Craft replied, "when the bishop appoints a committee to work with me to study what is going on in the church."

The bishop made no reply.

Rev. Blake Craft Gets A Deserved Rebuke

The North Georgia Methodist Conference is to be congratulated for turning thumbs down on that package of prejudice published by the Rev. Blake Craft under the title "One Methodist Voice."

Mr. Craft's protest that his freedom of press is being violated has no foundation in fact. No one is trying to keep him from circulating his views. The Methodist denomination is within its rights in denying him the right to proclaim those views from the press or from the pulpit in the name of Methodism. The church must do something to prevent careless, selfish use of the fine word "Methodist" by those individuals or organizations with special axes to grind.

It is significant that when the Rev. Mr. Craft proffered his services on his own terms, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, head of the conference, reported that the churches to which the pastor had been offered "politely but firmly" had declined him.

* * *

Chattanooga Times 6/26/53

North Georgia Conference Rebukes Publisher of 'One Methodist Voice'

ATLANTA, June 25 (AP)—The North Georgia Methodist Conference today overwhelmingly condemned a newspaper, "One Methodist Voice," published by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton.

Craft was given a year's sabbatical leave by the conference yesterday.

Bishop Arthur J. Moore of Atlanta said it had been impossible to find any Methodist church in Georgia which would accept Craft as its pastor.

The otherwise calm, orderly meeting was thrown into momentary confusion today when Craft asked for the floor.

He said that since he had been granted a leave some of his friends didn't understand the move and he wanted to explain.

Thereupon he read a copy of a telegram he had sent Moore in which he accused the bishop of refusing to give him an appointment.

Moore then rose to answer Craft's charges. He explained that the Methodist Conference cabinet, composed of bishops and district superintendents, had tried to work out an appointment for Craft.

He said the minister wrote to him early in June asking for a new assignment when appointments were announced at the current conference.

The bishop added that he had contacted chairmen of the board of stewards in several churches in Georgia asking that they receive Craft as minister but in each case was turned down.

Then the cabinet met with Craft and, in a "friendly discussion" asked him to name some churches which would receive him. Craft named one, but this church also refused to accept him. Moore continued, unless he would stop publishing "One Methodist Voice."

Craft told the cabinet he must follow his conscience and the members agreed but, said Moore, they didn't see how he could construe that to mean he should continue to criticize his brother ministers.

Moore said the cabinet had tried to work with Craft "but he has refused to co-operate."

When Moore finished, the convention gave him a standing ovation.

The Rev. J. C. Callaway of Athens, secretary of the cabinet, called on each member of the cabinet to stand and confirm the bishop's sentiment. They did.

The conference then adopted a resolution introduced by Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Athens pastor. It condemned "One Methodist Voice" and said:

"It does not speak for nor represent the spirit nor the mind of north Georgia Methodists" and declared "complete confidence in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by "One Methodist Voice."

The resolution said the paper had attacked such men as Bishop Moore; Bishop Bromley Oxnam of Washington; Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Methodist missionary; Dr. Lester Rumble, Augusta minister; Dr. Nat G. Long, Atlanta pastor; Dr. E. G. MacKay, district superintendent of the Decatur-Oxford district, and Mrs. M. E. Tilley, prominent Methodist worker of Atlanta.

The conference yesterday voted to raise retirement pay of ministers from $30 per service year to $35.

ATLANTA JOURNAL - June 25, 1953

Methodists Blast Pastor's Publication

Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton Denies Slander, Says Press Freedom Censored

By SARAH MYRICK

A stern resolution condemning One Methodist Voice, a periodic publication edited by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton was passed overwhelmingly at the North Georgia Conference Thursday morning.

The resolution came after an attack by the Rev. Mr. Craft that he had been denied his freedom of the press and the right of a Methodist minister to express freely his opinion on matters relating to his church.

The Rev. Mr. Craft Wednesday was granted a requested sabbatical leave. On the conference floor Thursday morning, he contended the bishop had not given him an appointment.

In reply, Bishop Moore explained to the conference that he could not get a church to accept the Rev. Mr. Craft unless he would cease to "slander his brethren."

* * *

THE RESOLUTION declared "that One Methodist Voice does not speak for nor represent the spirit nor the mind of North Georgia Methodists."

It declared "complete confidence" in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by One Methodist Voice."

Bishop Moore called the publication a "disturbing influence." He said, "We do not want our church to be the center of the disturbance."

"We told Brother Craft that we might persuade a church to accept him if he would desist from slandering his brethren.

* * *

"BROTHER CRAFT," he said, "replied that he must follow his conscience. I said, 'Brother Craft, that is right, follow your conscience. But I did not see how that can be construed to mean continuing to criticize your brethren.'

"He believes he is being persecuted. I stand in your presence and his to say that is not true. We have tried to co-operate with him and to give him an appointment, but he has refused to co-operate."

As the bishop concluded the conferen . gave him a rising ovation.

What Happened at New Orleans

Statement of Aubrey Williams, Editor and Publisher

ON MARCH 19TH, I appeared as a witness in response to a subpoena at New Orleans before the Jenner committee. I feel that I owe it to all subscribers of SOUTHERN FARM & HOME to give a full account of why I was summoned before this committee and what came out of the hearings, in so far as I was involved.

The stated purpose of the hearing was to investigate the activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. I am president of that organization. However, it was not so much the activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund that the committee was interested in, but the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization which was prominent in the South from 1938 to 1948, but which now no longer exists, having gone out of existence in 1948 or 1949.

Repeatedly, Senator Eastland and committee counsel asked questions about the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and sought to connect the present Southern Conference Educational Fund with it.

As a matter of record, these two organizations were definitely connected. The Southern Conference Educational Fund was set up by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1946 to carry on research and make various studies. Since that time, it has devoted its efforts to fighting all forms of racial discrimination in the South. This fact was, and is, a matter of public record and it required no Senate subcommittee to find it out. Likewise, the activities of the old, now nonexistent Southern Conference for Human Welfare are matters of public record and are well-known.

Aubrey Williams

What then, the reader naturally asks, was the reason the Jenner committee felt called upon to go to all of the expense of making a long study of these organizations and staging this expensive hearing at New Orleans?

THIS is something that only the Senators who voted to send what they now ominously call a "task force" to New Orleans can answer.

Having been so personaly involved, I think it is probably more fitting if I allow some others who were not personally among those who were "put in the dock" to set forth the meaning and significance of what happened at New Orleans. To do this, I am selecting two editorials which have appeared since the "trial." The first is by Allen Rankin, columnist for *The Montgomery Advertiser-Alabama Journal* (Montgomery, Ala.), and the second is by Nelson Poynter, editor and publisher of *The St. Petersburg Times,* St. Petersburg, Fla. These editorials are as follows:

Rankin File

The Witch Trial At New Orleans

By Allen Rankin

INCREDIBLE is the word for the so-called "Communist hearings" in New Orleans last week.

Incredible is the word for this witch trial and inquisition inflicted on three Montgomery (and incidentally, American) citizens in the name of "democracy."

Last week we saw the amazing spectacle of a U. S. Senator, James Eastland, of Mississippi, allowed to try by inconveniencing, browbeating and humiliating Alabama and its citizens in the name of "communism."

To his Senate Internal Security subcommittee, "investigating communism" Eastland summoned three Montgomerians: Aubrey Williams, publisher; Clifford J. Durr, former Federal Communications Commissioner, and his wife, Virginia Foster Durr.

Eastland admitted to a newsman: "I don't think either of the Durrs or Williams are Communists."

Yet these people were summoned to New Orleans for a tragi-farce which purported to be a Senate probe into "alleged Communist influence in the Southern Conference Educational Fund."

They were inconvenienced by being called away from their jobs and their normal lives for three or four days.

They were accused and insulted and browbeaten.

Undoubtedly many ignorant and unthinking people were made to suspect that these three Montgomerians were the more "Communistic" because they were called to this hearing and attempts were made to place them in an unfavorable spotlight. Certainly they were not more "Communistic" for this reason.

We repeat: Senator Eastland himself admits that he doesn't think any of them are Communists . . .

More Votes For Demagogues?

Is this kind of political witch-hunting and citizen-baiting a true "investigation of communism in any sense?"

It is not.

The U. S. Constitution provides a very effective system of law courts for the trial of any U. S. citizen dangerous to his fellows or his country. The Smith Act further authorizes the trial of any suspected Communist in our established law courts.

Why, then are citizens allowed to be embarrassed and humiliated in extra-legal "courts" that function mainly for the political glory or vainglory of such demagogues as Senator Eastland?

Eastland and McCarthy are not "trying" their "victims" for communism. They are trying them for the same thing the Spanish Inquisition tried them for —heresy—for disagreeing with them.

It is no news to recall that the U. S. Constitution guarantees freedom of thought and expression. Lamentably, we have of late developed a band of witch-hunters who, nonetheless, are allowed to "try" and harass their fellow Americans to place themselves, the accusers, in the political spotlight.

We believe and hope that demagogues who try to capitalize on such persecution as this are on the way out.

Nine reporters who covered the New Orleans "trials" informally voted that the trials themselves were a greater threat to our American system than anyone who was or could be on trial under such circumstances.

Did they have a right to "try" these judges? As much right as these "judges" had to try those before them.

Fortunately, the U. S. courts so far have consistently "acquitted" all Amercans accused simply of speaking their own opinions. The legal courts do not convict Americans for heresy. This is the startling privilege only of political demagogues.

Eastland Follows McCarthy

The St. Petersburg, Florida, Times

WITH a smugness which is both irresponsible and shocking, many Democratic members of Congress—the Senate particularly—have been saying blandly that Sen. Joseph McCarthy is a "Republican problem." Some have said frankly that they're not in favor of restraining their Wisconsin colleague because he is making Democratic votes for the fall.

Aside from the amorality of this position, the trouble is that McCarthyism is a virus not confined to any one senator nor to any one party. In New Orleans last Saturday Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.), sitting as a one-man investigating committee, committed or permitted investigative abuses just as flagrant as any McCarthy ever perpetrated.

Eastland, an ultra-conservative even among Southern Democrats, allowed a once-convicted ex-Communist publicly to brand Clifford Durr, a former high U. S. official, and his wife, sister-in-law of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, as Communists. Aubrey Williams, onetime head of the National Youth Administration, was likewise so accused.

Mr. and Mrs. Durr and Mr. Williams all denied the charges under oath, and Mr. Durr called for a showdown as to who was committing perjury. In addition, Mr. Durr, a mild and scholarly attorney, who is suffering from a heart ailment, was so outraged that he attempted to attack his accuser, one Paul Crouch.

The Durrs are native Alabamians, from prominent and prosperous families. They and a few other Southerners like Aubrey Williams, now president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, took seriously the fact that 20 years ago the South held most of the nation's "ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clad" one-third.

They saw in the economic and social conditions of the South a real breeding ground of communism. And they worked hard and long to correct those conditions. They believed that the Bill of Rights applied to the South as it did elsewhere in the nation, and they fought discrimination and segregation based on color.

Mr. Durr, as an attorney for RFC, approved many of the loans which started the South up the economic hill—quite a number here in Florida. He fought against monopoly—a fight he kept up after being appointed to the Federal Communications Committee.

In so doing, Mr. Durr stepped on a number of conservative toes. So did Aubrey Williams in his administration of NYA. But the work that they, and men like them, did rescued the South from being ripe for the persuasive dialectics of Communists who were seeking to move in. Undoubtedly some Communists did infiltrate the NYA and the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, predecessor to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. But they never ran them.

We don't know how many Communists there are in the South now. FBI reports indicate that this region is less infested than any other. And we are confident that this would not have been the case had it not been for the work of persons like the Durrs and Aubrey Williams.

Sen. Eastland is pursuing the same path of political opportunism followed by Sen. McCarthy—attempting to discredit the liberal wing of Southern Democrats by the Communist label.

Responsible Southern senators cannot pass the buck in this case. Sen. Eastland is their problem fully as much as McCarthy is a Republican problem.

There is a matter of Southern honor involved here. A Southern gentleman and lady have been publicly branded with the most opprobrious term of the hour. They have denied it under oath and called for a showdown. Sen. Eastland has shown no disposition to face such having merely said that the investigation of a "communism in the South" will be resumed in Birmingham in June.

Meantime, presumably, the Durrs and Mr. Williams are to be branded by implication both as Communists and perjurers.

This is a type of "character lynching" which responsible Southern senators should deeply resent. If they do not actively lead a movement to restrain their own reckless colleague operating in their own territory, then they certainly cannot point a finger of scorn at the GOP for permitting Sen. McCarthy to go on with his campaign of including them, along with all Democrats, as members of the "party of treason."

PA - This should be read + added to our "defense" stuff.

REPRINTED FROM:

Harper's MAGAZINE

Distributed with the compliments of:

The Fund For The Republic

THE KEPT WITNESSES

RICHARD H. ROVERE

At least eighty-three people have been set up by the government in the trade of "professional witnesses." One calls it "a racket" . . . three are confessed liars . . . and all of them are exempt from security clearance.

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1955, a press conference was called at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City for the purpose of providing a young man named Harvey Matusow with an opportunity to make a public confession of fraud and perjury. Along with the confession—and necessary as a foundation for it—went some items of biography.

In 1947, Matusow, who was then twenty, joined the Communist party. He claims to have taken this step as a dedicated revolutionist. Within a year or two, he said, he became disillusioned and penitent. The way of transgressors is hard. Matusow did not leave the party he no longer believed in. Instead, he stayed on as a voluntary agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In 1951, he abandoned this masquerade and in 1952 appeared as a witness for the prosecution in the trial, in Federal Court, of thirteen leaders of the Communist party charged with conspiracy under the Smith Act.

Matusow's performance under oath—some 700 pages in the trial record—pleased the government attorneys, who won their case, and gained him an honored position as a kept, or professional, witness. That is to say, he made his living—and a very good one, he now maintains, for a man of his age and station—by being sworn and saying what those who paid him wished to have him say. Between 1951 and 1954, his services were sought, and easily obtained, by the United States Department of Justice; the Subversive Activities Control Board; the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations; the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; the House Committee on Un-American Activities; the Ohio Committee on Un-American Activities; and the New York City Board of Education. He claims to have testified in twenty-five trials, deportation proceedings, and the like, and to have made 180 identifications of Communists, or of persons he chose to call Communists, for the various agencies that employed him. He found a good deal of additional employment. He hired out as a speaker in Congressional campaigns, in which, for a fee, he would damage this candidate or that one with intimations of subversion. He composed memoirs and revelations for the Hearst newspapers, lectured on the American Legion circuit, and now and then exploited himself and his past as a night-club entertainer and radio disc-jockey.

In his New York press conference and in subsequent testimony before a Federal Grand Jury and two committees of Congress, Matusow repudiated his career as a professional witness. He

explained that he had walked down a city street one day and had been deeply moved by an eloquent call to piety and virtue which he found inscribed on a sign outside a synagogue. He had not been living the good life. The testimony he had given was riddled with lies. In case after case, he told the assembled reporters, he had fabricated evidence, sometimes on his own initiative, sometimes at the instigation of government lawyers.

He was now filing affidavits in support of requests for new trials for many of those he had helped convict. Such was his remorse that he was willing, he said, to risk the penalties of perjury to undo the damage he had done.

THIS, AT ANY RATE, is Matusow's story. And it appears to have something in common with the stories of at least two other people. Mrs. Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson, government witnesses in a recent proceeding before the Federal Communications Commission, have given the lie to their testimony. Both swore before the FCC that they had known as a Communist, one Edward Lamb, an Erie, Pennsylvania, newspaper publisher whose right as a television licensee had been called into question. Mrs. Natvig, a gaudy triple divorcee from Miami Beach, now says she lied not only about Lamb's Communist record but about her own. She had invented a Communist past for herself in order to identify others as Communists. Watson, a Kansas farmer who, like Matusow, had worked often for the Justice Department, disowned only his avouchments in the Lamb case.

The recantations necessarily leave many matters in doubt. It is the misfortune of skillful dissemblers that their fellows can never give full faith or credit to anything they say. The regeneration of Matusow, Mrs. Natvig, and Watson may be causing unbounded joy in Heaven, but here it must be received with the cool skepticism that should have greeted their sworn testimony. "A liar is always lavish of oaths," Pierre Corneille wrote three hundred years ago in *Le Menteur*, one of the great definitive works on the subject. The courts, the committees, the commissions, and the security panels before which Matusow and Mrs. Natvig were lavish of oaths will be a long time working over the tangled skein of evidence put in the record by this bedeviled youth and this odd woman.

And certainly in Matusow's case those who preside will, if they are possessed of the thoughtfulness the task requires, be haunted by the possibility that he has not really recovered his amateur standing—that he is, in point of fact, as much a professional as ever. Now he has written a book about his experiences. His press conference was called by the publishers of the book, the firm of Cameron & Kahn. There was a distinctly promotional air about the whole enterprise, and there was a distinctly Stalinist air about it, too. Cameron & Kahn is a house that up to now has specialized in Communist literature. In any case, Matusow, whether genuinely purified or merely reverting to form, is once again capitalizing on the confidences of former associates; now he is putting the finger not on Communists but on anti-Communists—on Senator Joseph McCarthy, on Roy M. Cohn, on all his collaborators of the last four or five years. Is he once again on somebody's payroll? It is an uncharitable thought but an inescapable one.

"This is a good racket, being a professional witness," Matusow told the reporters when Cameron & Kahn broke out the Scotch at the Biltmore. Immediately the conference was over, he hurried to the Columbia Broadcasting Company studios for a telecast.

PARTNERS IN THE RACKET

THE DEPARTMENT of Justice announced, soon after Matusow's confession, that it would be among the agencies reviewing and re-evaluating the recanted testimony. The anonymous spokesmen for the Attorney General were a bit grudging and condescending about it. They pointed out that Matusow had given only "corroborative" testimony, as though this were some unimportant species of testimony, hardly worth the bother of looking into. (Actually, there is no special category of evidence known as "corroborative." It merely means, in this instance, that Matusow testified to facts also testified to by one or more other witnesses. Not only can two witnesses be wrong, but there are circumstances in which the withdrawal of one witness's testimony destroys the legal value of another's.) But after Matusow appeared before the Grand Jury, and after Mrs. Natvig and Watson revealed their fabrications, the Department of Justice promised a full investigation. Bearing the honorable name it does, it could hardly do less. Men are in prison today in part because of evidence drawn from a confessed perjurer by Department lawyers.

Neither the Department of Justice nor any other agency of government, however, has given any indication that the Matusow incident has led it to reconsider the moral, juridical, and political effects of the whole practice of retaining professional witnesses. On the contrary, it would appear that the government's principal concern at this stage is to prevent Matusow's latest set of confessions from discrediting the testimony of its other professionals. A federal judge has jailed him on the ground that his recantation is false and contemptuous and the Department has indicted Mrs. Natvig, not for the perjury she admits, but for having lied to its lawyers.

IN A SENSE, of course, the government is profoundly right in wishing to protect its employees. One embezzler does not make thieves of all bankers. One spy in the State Department does not prove all diplomats disloyal. One perjurious witness for the government does not make liars of all the rest. Yet there is a difference. Matusow was asserting not the unverifiable but the self-evident when he said that it had been "a good racket, being a professional witness." As rackets must be judged, it was a good one for him, certainly; and, since Matusow's talents are unusual but not unexampled, it may, at this moment, be equally good for others. And if it is a good racket for anyone, it is a racket for which the government of the United States must bear the heaviest responsibility. For it is the government of the United States—"that august conception," as Samuel Taylor Coleridge once called it—that originated this racket and that continues to encourage and pay for it. Matusow was in partnership with the government.

The government's use of professional witnesses has at least this much in common with a racket—that information about it is exceedingly difficult to come by. The whole affair is veiled in secrecy. The government won't talk. It does not, because plainly it cannot, plead that the safety of the nation would be imperiled if it revealed the number and the identity of those whom it hires to testify according to the wishes of its lawyers. It does not plead the right to withhold the names on the ground that these people are confidential informers; obviously it cannot do that in the case of men and women who appear in open court. The government gives no reasons for its unwillingness to discuss or even to defend this phase of its operations, but it evidently holds to the view that it would not be in the public interest to make any sort of public accounting in this matter.*

In mid-1954, though, some enterprising Washington journalists came into possession of a Department of Justice list which contained the names and earnings of thirty persons "regularly used as witnesses" and of fifty-three "occasionally used" in the period, spanning two Administrations, between July 1, 1952 and May 31, 1954. This list has been made public, and the Department has not to date challenged its authenticity.

Whether the list was complete is not known. It was specified that the eighty-three named were all under contract to the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department. There are others in other bureaus of the Department and in other executive agencies, and there are known to be several working for the legislative branch and the state governments. American public life on almost every level today is characterized by what can only be described as an obsession with problems of loyalty and internal security; it is a rare public agency that does not have at least one division devoting itself to these problems, and it is a downright underprivileged one that does not have some judicial or semi-

* On December 20, 1954, I wrote the Attorney General to request facts on the use of professional witnesses and the Department's "response, if it has made one, to critics of the practice." I pointed out that there had been, even then, a good deal of public discussion of the question, and I noted that it suffered from the lack "of the kind of solid information I imagine the Department of Justice could provide." I got no reply until February 10 of this year, which was a few days after the Matusow recantation. I then received a letter from William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the new Internal Security Division. Mr. Tompkins merely acknowledged receipt of my letter and enclosed copies of two speeches, one by Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III, delivered before the Michigan Association of Prosecuting Attorneys on July 23, 1954, and one by himself, delivered before the Camden County, New Jersey, Bar Association on September 28, 1954. Both speeches are addressed to the problem, but neither really deals with it. Both assume that the sanction the courts have given to paid informers can be extended to professional witnesses. Both contain some rather handsome specimens of question-begging. For example, Mr. Tompkins: "The testimony of these witnesses has been weighed by numerous American juries and found to be credible. Of the eighty-four defendants who have been tried thus far for conspiring to violate the Smith Act, eighty-one have been convicted and only one has been acquitted by a jury. A more convincing yardstick of the credibility of those witnesses I cannot imagine." Neither speech provides any solid information. More recently in testimony before a Senate Committee, Tompkins has said: "It has become increasingly clear that the current attack against government witnesses . . . has its roots in a Communist effort."

judicial apparatus for making the kind of distinctions the ruling obsession demands. These apparatuses require witnesses.

At all odds, the Department of Justice had at least eighty-three kept witnesses in 1954. It seems wholly reasonable to assume that, despite the defection of Harvey Matusow, the number is not smaller today. More likely than not, it is larger, for the new Internal Security Division of the Department, which came into being on July 9 of last year, has announced that it plans greatly to accelerate its work in this field and aspires to produce an ever-mounting volume of prosecutions under the Smith Act, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and all other available statutes.

Of the eighty-three persons retained by the Department in 1954, all were, by their own admission, former members of the Communist party. Some, like Benjamin Gitlow, one of the first American Bolsheviks and once Communist candidate for Vice President, had been true believers; others, like Matthew Cvetic, whose exploits as an undercover agent were celebrated in a radio serial called "I Was a Communist for the FBI," had been quite the opposite but had infiltrated the party at the direction of Mr. Hoover's famous agency. A few, like Harvey Matusow, had made the transition from revolutionist to counter-revolutionist inside the party. Those who are public servants now receive twenty-five dollars a day plus nine dollars "in lieu of expenses." These, at least, are the sums that have been brought out on cross-examination in several trials and hearings. Some witnesses may receive more, others less; thirty-four dollars a day appears to be the prevailing fee.

THE WAGES OF REPENTANCE

BY GOVERNMENT standards, this is fairly high pay. And it is high in comparison with what some of the kept witnesses made before entering government service. Harvey Matusow was earning thirty-five dollars a week in 1951. The job formerly held by Paul Crouch—who earned $9,675 from the Department in two years of witnessing—was as an air-line employee at eighty-five cents an hour. Leonard Patterson was a New York taxi-driver. Many of the others were paid functionaries of the Communist party, which means that their pay was low and infrequent. To satisfy the statute under which the payments are authorized—the General Services and Administrative Act of 1949—the people who receive them are carried on the books not as kept witnesses but as "expert consultants." But kept witnesses is what in fact they are; such usefulness as they may be said to have derives from their ability and readiness to identify people as Communists, to describe Communist activities for the enlightenment of judges, juries, and security panels; and to interpret Communist doctrine in such a way as to bring it within the area proscribed by the Smith Act.

Some critics—notably Joseph and Stewart Alsop, who first brought the problem of kept witnesses to public attention—have urged that a distinction be made between those who have been paid large sums and those who have been paid small sums. It is proper, they point out, to describe a witness such as Manning Johnson, who is credited with earnings of $9,096 in a two-year period, as a professional. However, some on the Department list are credited with amounts that can only be considered as pin money: two or three hundred dollars in twenty-six months. Obviously, some sort of distinction ought to be made between those who earn enough to live on and those who do not. But because of the Department's refusal to provide information, it is impossible to do this. In an act of high magnanimity, the Alsops accepted the bootlegged list from the Department and concluded that there were only twelve witnesses "who have earned enough so that one may reasonably presume the sums were meaningful to them." Harvey Matusow was not one of the twelve, for the Department of Justice had him down as a witness "occasionally used" and listed his earnings as only seventy-five dollars. It has since developed that the one list so far circulated tells only part of the story. Matusow got seventy-five dollars from the Immigration and Naturalization Service and $1,407 from a separate account with the Attorney General's office.

There are certain ironies connected with the purely procedural aspects of the Department's relations with its paid witnesses. The General Services Act, which provides the legal authority for their retention, was passed by the Eighty-first Congress very largely because it had the formidable endorsement of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of Government, headed by Herbert Hoover. The Hoover Commission had been distressed to learn that certain agencies of the federal government very often had to forgo the advice of

eminent American specialists in such fields as science and education because they lacked any means for retaining them on a part-time basis. The Commission prepared a plan to enable certain agencies to draw up and offer contracts retaining specialists on a *per diem* basis. It was accepted with enthusiasm by the Congress.

An additional advantage of the scheme, it was thought, was that it made it possible to obtain the services of qualified advisers without the delays and embarrassments caused by the protracted rituals of loyalty and security checks. So far, the most conspicuous use to which the law has been put is the hiring as "expert consultants" of the former Communists and police agents who make up the Department's corps of professional witnesses. And one of the most conspicuous uses to which the professional witnesses are put is in establishing by sworn testimony that certain other employees of the government are loyalty and security risks.

THUS, the key figures in the field of loyalty and security clearance are men and women who are themselves—almost alone in the whole teeming structure of federal bureaucracy—exempt from the need for clearance. More than that, they compose a group whose individual members would have almost no chance of getting clearance if it were required of them. It reflects not at all on their present condition of rectitude and probity to say that their pasts reek of subversion and sedition and that a number of them are convicted felons. One of the most prominent, for example, is Morris Malkin, formerly a union hoodlum and twice convicted for felonious assault. Another is Paul Crouch, generally regarded as the professional witness with the most experience and the highest earnings, who was once court-martialed for offenses against the Military Code of Justice, sentenced to forty years of hard labor on Alcatraz Island, and dishonorably discharged from the Army. Fortunately relieved of any accountability for these aspects of their past, they play a crucial role in determining who is and who is not of sufficient uprightness to work for the United States government.

And as witnesses in other proceedings, the professionals play a crucial role in determining many things. There is, indeed, no end to the number of places where they may turn up in the course of their service to the Department of Justice and apparently in fulfillment of their agreement with it. While under contract to the Department, Matusow was a witness in departmental trials of a number of New York public school teachers. Paul Crouch, the dishonorably discharged buck private, filed with Senator McCarthy's Committee on Government Operations a bizarre memorandum describing a plot to subvert our entire military establishment which he claims to have hatched with the late Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Marshal of the Red Army, thirty years ago. This bit of delayed intelligence provided, according to Roy M. Cohn, the impetus for the investigation of the Army Signal Corps' radar laboratories at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey—a piece of work that uncovered not a single Communist but did incalculable harm not only to government research but to the government's relationship with the whole scientific community. Called by Congressmen hostile to the admission to statehood of the territory of Hawaii, Crouch took the oath before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and deposed at length on Communism on the islands. William Garfield Cummings, one of the most ubiquitous of the breed, testified, along with Mrs. Natvig and Lowell Watson, before the FCC in the Lamb case. In Louisville, Kentucky, an obscure journalist was indicted for promoting civil disorder; to the good fortune of the state attorney trying the case, there chanced to be on the Department of Justice's list a Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, who was prepared to say that she knew the defendant as a Communist. Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, seasoned performers on the Smith Act wheel, appeared as witnesses against Dr. Ralph Bunche of the United Nations Secretariat.

UN-AMERICAN?

BECAUSE the government takes the view that its dealings with its professional witnesses are privileged, it is impossible to take the true measure of their influence. But it is clear beyond all dispute that one agency, the Department of Justice, is subsidizing testimony not only in many of the cases it is legitimately prosecuting as the legal arm of the federal government but in a number of other cases, some of them flagrantly political. Even the subsidy it provides for witnesses in its own prosecutions is a problem serious enough to warrant investigation and examination.

It is a novel arrangement, this hiring of people to take a solemn oath and testify

favorably to the government. American history offers no precedent for it. The use of paid informers by police departments and federal agencies such as Internal Revenue is neither precedent nor true parallel. The paid informer's job is to aid the authorities in the uncovering of crimes and the apprehension of criminals. He may sometimes be called as a witness, just as the paid witness may sometimes be used as an informer, but generally speaking the functions are separate, and the witness enters upon the scene only when the work of the informer is done. It has long been recognized that the maintenance of order in a society such as ours requires the use of paid informers, but the professional witness up to now has made an appearance only as the creature of disreputable law firms and private detective agencies and of certain businesses, reputable except in this particular, which are frequently engaged in litigation.

Up to now, he has not been associated with the United States government. Circumstances may justify the association today, but it nevertheless violates the spirit of our law and jurisprudence. We do not ask witnesses to meet rigorous tests of disinterestedness, as the Romans did, but we have always insisted that the giving of testimony is a bounden duty of citizenship, like the payment of taxes. It is expected that it will be done freely and in good faith. When expectations fail, the law steps in. The subpoena power exists to compel testimony. Our courts are empowered to require witnesses to furnish bonds under certain conditions, and witnesses may be jailed to assure their appearance and prevent their being tampered with. Failure to meet certain prescribed rules and standards may lead to citations for contempt of court. It is recognized that the discharge of this responsibility of citizenship is in many ways onerous and that it generally entails some financial sacrifice; the courts, therefore, pay modest witness fees. But these, like payments to jurors, are deliberately kept so low that they cannot in any sense be regarded as rewards or even as just compensation. Four dollars a day is the regular Department of Justice fee.

IN CERTAIN cases, it is true, the courts tolerate payment by one side or the other to witnesses who can provide highly specialized knowledge. The general rule of law is that this may be done in the case of men upon whose observation and counsel, outside the courtroom, society itself sets a price. Doctors, alienists, and property appraisers are perhaps the most frequently encountered types. These may be paid by principals in the case, provided the fact of their payment is made known to the court and provided there is no contingency basis for the agreement; the payment of witnesses can under no circumstances be made to depend upon the outcome of the case.

But even with these conditions the practice has always been regarded as a dubious one, and jurors are allowed to give whatever weight they choose to the fact that a witness testifying before them is being paid for his version of the truth. "The experience of the ages," Justice Chadwick of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington once wrote, "sustains the legal conclusion that where the truth is made to depend upon the pecuniary interest of a witness . . . his utterances wear a cloak of suspicion, and they should not be accepted unless the taint is removed by the testimony of credible witnesses or by circumstances that cannot be denied."

THE CLOAK of suspicion is a garment that must be wrapped several times around the witnesses for whose services the Department of Justice has contracted. For one thing, their pecuniary interest—assuming, for the moment, that thirty-four dollars a day constitutes one—has the unusual character of a continuum. Ordinarily, where the possibility exists that the cupidity of a witness, or even his simple exigency, will color his testimony and thereby thwart justice, it exists only for a specific case at a specific time. The experience of most men and women just is not rich or varied enough to give them direct knowledge of more than a few matters that may be subject to litigation during their lives. But an accident of history puts the ex-Communist, whether his faith was feigned or authentic, in possession of an extraordinarily negotiable thing —his past.

As Whittaker Chambers, who has given testimony but has never become a professional and who has confronted the problem of negotiable pasts with candor and deep insight, has written, "He [the ex-Communist anti-Communist witness] risks little. He sits in security and uses his special knowledge to destroy others. He has that special information to give because he knows those others' faces, voices, and lives, because he once lived within their confidence. . . ."

Such an ex-Communist has acquired an expertise for which the demand is, apparently, inexhaustible. His patron, the Department of Justice, seems to measure its usefulness by the number of people it has jailed, by the number of deportations it can claim, by the number of loyalty and security risks it can process out of the government. It appears to be the Department's hope to prosecute the thirty thousand or so American Communists one by one; it recently got a start in this direction by convicting one Claude Lightfoot in Chicago for violation of the Smith Act—not as a leader of the Communist conspiracy, not as a teacher of the doctrine of violent overthrow of the government, but as a mere member of the conspiracy, a mere adherent of the doctrine. With this conviction, which may well be justified by both the law and the public interest, whole new horizons open up for the Department and its witnesses.

CONVENIENT MEMORIES

WHAT IS wanted now, what is likely to be wanted more and more in the immediate future, is identifications—identifications in great numbers. Plainly enough, there could be rewards for an elastic memory. The possibility exists, almost without end, of the truth being made to depend on the pecuniary interest of witnesses. Putting aside what may be the singular case of Matusow, there have been, to date, no clear instances of fraudulent identifications. But certain matters of record suggest the nature of the lurking dangers.

Louis Budenz, a former editor of the *Daily Worker*, who has testified that his income from all sources as an anti-Communist witness and publicist has exceeded $10,000 a year, spent what he maintains was three thousand hours giving the names of Communists to the FBI.

In none of those sessions, Budenz has conceded, did he offer the name of John Carter Vincent or Owen Lattimore. But when Senator McCarthy named both these men in various connections, all of them unfavorable, it came to Budenz, quite certainly, that they were Communists. He so testified before several Congressional committees and grand juries. Likewise, Paul Crouch talked to the FBI on many occasions, testified in numerous trials, and submitted to Congressional committees the names of all Communists he had known aside from rank-and-file members. Not once did he list a certain Jacob Burck, a Chicago newspaper cartoonist. When, however, Burck was the subject of a deportation hearing, Crouch testified that he had encountered him often at meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist party.

The memory is notoriously the most vagrant of human faculties, but there are few cases on record of a bent for mnemonic topicality as powerful as that revealed by Paul Crouch. In some instances, it is possible to rule out avarice altogether as an explanation for the weather changes his recall has undergone. In a large number of documents that he prepared and read in evidence before the Subversive Activities Control Board and a number of Congressional committees, he recounted at length his experiences in the Soviet Union during the period in which he was preparing the campaign to subvert the American military establishment. In these, he mentioned associations with Russian leaders so numerous and so mighty in power as to expose himself to reproaches for name-dropping. Up to 1953, there was one name that did not turn up on any of the lists—that of Georgi Malenkov. In March of 1953, Malenkov succeeded to the Premiership of the Soviet state, and in March of 1953, Crouch, filing the statement that led to the Fort Monmouth investigation with the Committee on Government Operations, revealed for the first time that the new Premier was among those with whom he had conferred in 1927.

Crouch has acknowledged a weakness that may in his case help explain such quirks. Before an Army court martial in 1925, he testified: "I am in the habit of writing letters to my friends and imaginary persons, sometimes to kings and other foreign persons, in which I place myself in an imaginary position. I do that to develop my imaginary powers." In the *Leviathan*, Hobbes wrote that "Imagination and memory are but one thing, which for divers considerations hath divers names." No free man's rights are put in jeopardy, no principle of law is dishonored when Crouch either imagines or abruptly recalls Georgi Malenkov as an old comrade-in-arms. But he has had frequent lapses and recoveries involving persons who do qualify for our law's protection. At the trial of Harry Bridges in 1949, Crouch denied acquaintance with a Communist agitator named David Davis. "I have never heard of David Davis," he told the court. "I had no knowledge of David Davis." By 1951, however, he had not only heard of David Davis, he had encountered him as early as 1928. He was

examined by a federal judge about a Communist meeting allegedly held in 1928:

Q. "Was Mr. Davis present?"

A. "Yes, your honor."

On May 6, 1949, Crouch testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and was asked if he knew a man named Armand Scala, an officer of Miami Local 500 of the Transport Workers Union:

A. "Very well, with Local 500."

Q. "Is he a member of the Communist party?"

A. "I do not know . . . I do not know of my own knowledge what his party affiliations are."

But on May 11, five days later, Crouch put into the record of the Committee a statement and several affidavits amplifying his earlier testimony. In one, he said: "Another member and officer of Local 500 I knew to be active in Communist work in Miami is Armand Scala. Scala had been the chief Communist courier to Latin American countries." In an article published in the Hearst newspapers a few days after that, he made an even more explicit identification of Scala as "the chief courier of the party in Latin America . . . traveling to Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro frequently on party business." In a subsequent libel suit, he swore to the truth of these assertions. Since the newspaper stories had not been privileged, Scala was awarded $5,000.

It may well be that Crouch was, as he presently insists, testifying to the best of his recollection on each specific occasion. No more can be asked of anyone. But the fact cannot be blinked that the use of subsidized testimony increases the danger of subsidized perjury. The rule of law against contingent fees is not directly violated by the contractual agreements the Department of Justice has with Crouch and other witnesses. These agreements are signed, sealed, and delivered in advance of testimony—sometimes very far in advance. A witness named Daisy Van Dorn has testified that she received $125 a month for two years simply to hold herself ready to take the witness stand. However, the clear moral principle upon which the rule of contingency rests is abused by the practice.

The Department's list of the names and earnings of the "persons regularly used as witnesses" shows wide variation in income among the professionals. An element of contingency accounts for the variations. A witness gets his fee whether the case is settled favorably or unfavorably for the government, but common sense—and even the solicitousness for the taxpayer of which the government boasts—must suggest that the witness who can assist in the production of the greatest number of convictions is the witness who should get the most work. In the Department of Justice—as, for that matter, in most lesser prosecuting agencies throughout the country—success is quantitatively measured. It has been customary in this country to take what steps we can to prevent the quantitative measurement of truth. The use of professional witnesses, though it may be warranted by many present needs, should at least be recognized as a step in the other direction.

RISING ABOVE TRUTH

JUSTICE CHADWICK'S cloak of suspicion is becoming to the professional witness for reasons other than those of pecuniary interest. If a heavy risk is run of his memory being stimulated by the prospect of increased emoluments, there is an equally heavy risk that he will visit, not the truth as he knows it, but the fury of disenchantment as he feels it on those against whom he testifies. There is no way of being certain of how many of the professional witnesses are genuine apostates and how many are merely former police agents.

(It is FBI policy never to confirm or deny an individual's statement regarding instructions he claims to have had from the Bureau, and this has led to a certain amount of confusion. Matthew Cvetic told the House Un-American Activities Committee that George Dietz and Joseph Mazzei were members of the Communist party in Pittsburgh. Dietz and Mazzei, fired from their jobs, indignantly declared that they, too, were FBI agents and had in fact been reporting to the Bureau on Cvetic's numerous subversive connections. Similarly, doubts were cast on the *bona fides* of William Garfield Cummings as an FBI agent when it was revealed that his membership in the Communist party antedated his recruitment by the Bureau and that he encouraged continued service to the party by friends and relatives after he left it.)

In any event, a considerable number of the professional witnesses are disaffected Communists and clearly carry the stigmata and disabilities, along with the special insights, of their kind. Many of them display what may be regarded as a touching eagerness to serve the society they once sought to destroy; in some of their cases, this laudable sentiment is fused with what may more

reasonably be described as a thirst for revenge. Men's defects are often only the flaws in their virtue; the flaw may render the virtue nugatory. Manning Johnson, once an ardent Communist and more recently an ardent patriot, testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board that it is an article of his present faith that some things are more important than truth:

> *Q*. In other words, you will tell a lie under oath in a court of law rather than run counter to your instructions from the FBI. Is that right?
>
> *A*. If the interests of my government are at stake. In the face of enemies, at home and abroad, if maintaining secrecy of the techniques of methods of operation of the FBI who have responsibility for the protection of our people, I say I will do it a thousand times.

Again Manning Johnson, this time in a sedition trial in Pennsylvania and undergoing examination on his testimony in a deportation proceeding that had taken place earlier:

> *Q*. That testimony was not correct, was it, Mr. Johnson?
>
> *A*. No, it wasn't, precisely, because I could not at that time reveal that I had supplied information to the FBI. . . . I think the security of the government has priority over . . . any other consideration.

The fear of systems of priorities such as Mr. Johnson's has given rise to the legal doctrine of *testis unus, testis nullus*—one witness is no witness. But a difficulty raised by the Justice Department's use of professionals, and by its policy of withholding information about it, is that two or more witnesses may share this view, or a similar one. We do not know how many people have been convicted, deported, and discharged from government service on evidence supplied wholly by kept witnesses.

THROUGHOUT the history of societies living, or trying to live, under the rule of law, the role of the witness has been a vexatious problem for judges, lawyers, and all others who have concerned themselves with it. Broadly speaking, the tendency in most Western nations has been a steady easing of restrictions. When systems of law are young, jurists cling to the hope that truth will be received only from undefiled sources. This is sooner or later found to be an impossible aspiration, and in some respects a false one, though it is unquestionably noble in spirit. The judicial process, to be sure, must always be, or should always be, a relentless search for the truth. But we know from long experience that the truth is often found in the unlikeliest places. The fact that a Manning Johnson hates and fears Communists, feels betrayed by them, and regards every living one of them as a menace to the whole of humanity does not mean that he is incapable of ever telling the truth about them. What it does mean is that he may possibly tell something other than the truth—and that those who use him as a source of information must be vigilant against the possibility of receiving misinformation.

It is doubtless necessary to use the Manning Johnsons of this world. Society has little choice in the matter. As police and prosecuting officials like to point out—when they are rebuked for their use of low, untrustworthy characters as informers and witnesses—it is very seldom possible to find bishops and cardinals who are widely acquainted among felons and well-informed on the workings of vice syndicates, counterfeiting gangs, dope peddlers, smuggling rings, and the like. Society, through its law-enforcement agencies, must deal with these aspects of itself, and it cannot afford to scorn information about them that comes from persons it regards with distaste and does not entirely trust—even from persons deeply implicated in the crimes under review. Though it would be agreeable to adhere to the view of Lord Langdale, who ruled in a famous nineteenth-century judgment, that "a witness has no business to concern himself with the merits of the case in which he is called," we must realize that in many cases no such witness exists.

Because truth often turns up where it is the least expected, and because we have a steady need of truth from whatever source, we have progressively reduced the number of factors disqualifying witnesses and progressively increased our reliance on the power of the witness's oath, the perjury laws, and cross-examination. Up to now, though, we have not accommodated ourselves to the idea of witnesses who make a business of being witnesses. It may be that the time has come when we must do so. It may be that internal security is our over-riding need and that we must accept this device for coping with it. But if this is the case, it would seem as if the problem ought to be squarely faced. The Department of Justice should, in that event, abandon its present furtiveness and give a full public accounting of the terms and conditions upon which it purchases testimony. It should recognize, as Justice Holmes did in his weighing of the merits of wire-tapping, that the government is caught in a conflict of competing "objects of desire"—the desire to catch criminals and the desire to maintain governmental integrity. ("We have to choose," Holmes said, "and for my part I think it a less evil that some criminals should escape than that the government should play an ignoble part.") There may be an equitable and decent way of resolving the conflict, but no conflict can be resolved without first acknowledging that it exists.

THE LARGEST QUESTION

IN ANY serious weighing of the issues, it would be necessary, also, to recognize that more is at stake than justice to individuals. That is, of course, the largest question of all in any free and open society. But it is not the only one. When the federal government subsidizes a group such as its present corps of professional witnesses, it finds itself, willy-nilly, subsidizing a special political interest. Many of the larger categories of cases tried under federal law involve political principles, political ideas, political organizations. The Communist cases manifestly do, and not the least of the effects of the government's policy has been to give those professional witnesses who are also professional politicians and ideologues an opportunity to exert a considerable influence on public opinion and public policy in matters on which they have a special, if not an eccentric, outlook.

It should not strain credulity to suggest that if there has been prevalent in recent years a somewhat distorted view of the dimensions of the problem of domestic Communism the fault can in large part be charged to the account of the Department of Justice and its professional witnesses.

No man, for example, has had any greater influence on the public view of the Communist problem than Louis F. Budenz. On the basis of his reputation as the government's leading witness in Smith Act cases and before Congressional committees, he has established an almost universal acceptance of himself as a high authority and of his books, articles, lectures, and television discourses as bearing some imagined seal of official approval. Elizabeth Bentley, J. B. Matthews, Benjamin Gitlow, Howard Rushmore, Bella Dodd, and Joseph Kornfeder run not very far behind. (Whittaker Chambers has also been enormously influential, but of him it must be said that his writings lend more authority to his testimony than his testimony lends to his writings. He is not, therefore, of this company.)

Lesser witnesses have established lesser reputations on the strength of their endorsement by the government. Moreover, they have had and are having a direct influence on policy and law—not through appeals to public opinion but through direct appeals to the governing powers. Paul Crouch tells the Senate what to do about Hawaii and how the Army should be run. Matthew Cvetic is called by the Senate Rules Committee to advise on the thorny question of rules for Congressional investigations. Maurice Malkin, the ex-convict, himself eligible for deportation and denaturalization, is called before the Senate Subcommittee on Naturalization and Immigration to make recommendations. (He thought there were too many avenues of appeal. He said that once it is proved that anyone is a member "of a certain organization, he should be deported without further hearings of any sort.") Almost the entire membership of the Department corps was summoned before the Internal Security Subcommittee to help produce the enormous and enormously influential report, "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments"—a document that more perhaps than any other has formed the prevailing image of Communist infiltration in the nineteen-thirties and forties. The kept witnesses have been given an opportunity to foul American due process and quite a bit else besides.

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 21, 1956, concerning the Southern Regional Council.

For your information, the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Walter

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

CONFIDENTIAL

Confidential Memo

From: SRC Atlanta

To: ~~Friends of SRC~~ Norman Jungersen Ala C H-R

Re: Anonymous attack on SRC ~~xxx~~ (unsigned pamphlet, "Communist, Negroes & Integration)

There follows a section by section commentary on ~~xxxxxx~~ this attack.

I. Introduction

~~1.~~ 1. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ As a general introduction to the subject of "Communist infltration" and this type of attack see the attached ~~column by Ted Lippman from the Atlanta Constitution of December 22, 1961, and the~~ editorial from the (Greenville, Mississippi) Delta-Democrat Times of August 25, 1957.

2. The FBI, the Justice Department and other federal agencies keep a very close watch on the activities of Communist individuals and groups and those suspected of subversive activities. At no time has the SRC been listed by the FBI, on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations or on the similar list issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

By contrast the U.S. Attorney General's listing of subversive organizations includes the "Ku Klux Klan". Under the very questionable and illogical procedure of guilt by association it might be assumed that the present governor of Alabama was suspect since it is generally known that he received the full and public support of the KKK when elected.

(Source:U.S. Depratment of Justice, "Organizations Designated Under Executive Order # 10450" & House un-American Activities Committee "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, re-issued".)

3. It is a well known fact that the Communist party in the U.S. has been active in seeking support. Negro citizens As no less an authority than J. Edgar Hoover has repeatedly testified, it is a fine commentary on the good sense and deep patriotism of this group of Americans that the Communist have failed so completely in this effort. (Source: Masters of Deceit, J. Edgar Hoover; Henry Holt & Co NY 1958 1958)

4. The pamphlet, Communist, Negroes & Integration" ~~is prepared~~ gives ~~in a skillful way with~~ the impression of substantial documentation. Yet it is interesting that no individual or organization is identified as author or sponsor. It is a highly questionable proceedure to accept at face value any document for which its author(s) will not accept public responsibility. Particularly, when such a document raises serious questions as to the loyalty of established citizens and organizations.

By contrast, this memo is being prepared by the staff of SRC for use by ~~our~~ your friends who do not have the information herein readily available. It is not done to dignify the irresponsible charges made by a person or person who would refuse to associate themselves with their serious charges.

This memo is interested exclusively in SRC and SRC board and staff. We do not subscribe to the methods and charges in the "report" and do not presume to speak in defense of, or to place guilt on, any other organizations or individuals mentioned.

Section II - U.S. House of Representatives, Sub-Committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

1. This section of the "report" does not refer to SRC. However, it is of interest that this hearing was held in Atlanta, site of the offices of the SRC, and that no member of the board or Staff of SRC was called to testify.

There is in the SRC files a letter from Congressman Francis E. Walter which states "....the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General."
(Source: Letter, Congressman Walter to George S. Mitchell, copy attached)

Section III- Southern Conference for Human Welfare:

1. As the "report" states, the SCHW was formed - in a spirit of great hope and promise - in 1938. Not until 1944 - some 6 years later - was any question seriously raised about the organization. During that time a number of outstanding and loyal Americans were a part of it. To question their motives or loyalty is

absurd. For a fur her interpretation, see the attached editorial from The Atlanta Constitution of May 12, 1953.

2. This section of the report refers to a November 1938 meeting of the SCHW in Birmingham. Mrs. Roosevelt did speak and the President of the United States did send a letter to the meeting. This in itself should give an indication of the nature of that meeting. ~~and the organization~~.

Thereafter - and as an excellent example of the methods of this "report" - the unknown author(s) begin to choose only those facts which fit the purpose at hand.

Since serious charges are being made, under the guise of fact, would not it have been more fair to list all the major participants of this meeting?

From the same source as that listed in the "report" we learn that among those people conveniently ommitted as having participated in the November 20-23, 1938 meeting of the SCHW, are the following:

Judge Louise O. Charlton - General Chairman (Judge, Birmingham, Ala., U.S. Commissioner and Member of State Democratic Exectuve Committee.)

Mrs. William Hughes Tarpley - Vice Chairman, Publicity Committee (president, Jefferson County (Ala.) League of Women Voters)

W. Cooper Green - Chairman, Finance Committee (Postmaster, Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. Luther Patrick - Chairman, Sponsorship and Participation Committee (Congressman, Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. John H. Bankhead - Honorary Chairman, Farm Tenancy Section (~~tx~~ U.S. Senator, Democrat, Alabama)

John Temple Graves, II. - Co-chairman, Race Relations Section (The late Mr. Graves is most widely known as a writer and newspaper columnist in Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. Bibb Graves - Chairman, Frieght Rate Differentials (At that time Mr. Graves was Governor of the State of Alabama)

The Hon. Hugo L. Black - recepient of Award - (Justice, U.S. Supreme Court)

~~The Hon W. Cooper Green - Member of Rules Committee (Mayor of Birmingham, Ala.)~~

From the listing of these prominent and honorable citizens of Alabama one could prove - as readily and as illogically - that the Democratic party of Alabama was subversive. Does more need to be said of the methods used in this report?

(Source - Report of Proceedings of the SCHW - Birmingham, Ala., Nov.20-23, 1938)

3. As late as 1945 (March 24) at a Washington meeting of the SCHW there appeared as speakers or at the speakers table the Vice-President of the United States, a number of Senators ~~and~~, Congressmen and members of the Cabinet and no less a "Suspect" person than the Hon. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

~~(Source: Southern Patriot, Nashville, Tennessee, May, 1954)~~

Section IV - Southern Conference Education Fund

No mention of SRC

Section V - The Southern Regional Council

1. ~~xxxxx~~ The description of SRC ~~beginning~~ history and functions are largely correct; having been taken in good part from SRC reports.

2. The National Americanism Committee of the American Legion did attack SRC in its publication The Firing Line of May 15, 1957. The attack, like the "report" - except that its authors took responsibility for it - was erroneous and misleading. SRC promptly issued a detailed reply. Copy attached.

Some members of the American Legion were and are in opposition to this sort of attack ~~activity~~. For instance, in 1958, the American Legion of Minnesota appointed a new Subversive Activities Committee composed of a member of the state Selective Service Commission, the Sheriff of Hennepin County and the Chief of police of St. Paul. This committee issued a report, published in the Legion's official journal without dissent, which said in part:

".....your Committee refuses to be a part of unsupported attack on individuals or organizations. We feel that such practices are unfair, undemocratic and in effect, subversive in themselves because they are contrary to America's fundamental precept of innocence until guilt has been proved under due process of law.

"The American Legion, nationally and in Minnesota, has sacrificed some of its prestige and esteem by its zeal in declaring things to be un-American. All too often we have adopted the technique of the dictators when the machinery of democracy would have better served the cause."

3. The SRC does not have available records of the proceedings of the Florida

erroneous

Legislative Investigating Committee - 1959 and 1961. However, no member of the board or staff of SRC were called to testify and no records of SRC activities were requested. Under these circumstances, it is most unlikely that any serious investigation of SRC could have been conducted.

4. Prior to his association with SRC, Dr. George S. Mitchell was employed by the C. I. O. ~~Any number of loyal Americans are.~~ (See back for insert)

5. The Southern Regional Council does issue a monthly magazine, New South. Stetson Kennedy did write an article for New South in late 1946. At th t time Stetson Kennedy had written for a number of national publications and had at least two books published by reputable houses. Mr. Kennedy's article on voting in the South is on file for anyone who wishes to read it. A factual analysis of the contributors to the magazine would reveal a distinguished group of Southerners; ~~one of the most recent being the chief of police of Lexington, Kentucky.~~

6. The SRC has received no support from the Fund for the Republic since 1958. However, all references to this support are accurate - though not complete - and the Council is most grateful to the Board of the Fund for this support. Anyone interested in this aspect of the "Report" might find it of interest to read the full report of the Fund. These reports are public and readily available. They show, for instance, that practically every major religious body in the U.S. received aid from the Fund for the Republic, including the Southern Baptist.

7. The Rev. Robert Hughes was the director of the Alabama Council through 1960. Mr. Hughes is now a Methodist missionary in Africa.

8. Frederick B. Routh, formerly Assistant Director of SRC, was at a meeting at Highlander Folk school in 1957. During that year, Mr. Routh probably attended thirty or more conferences and meeting. None of his other appearances proved that Mr. Routh - or SRC - was Baptist, Catholic, Democrat, Republican, or Rotarian, yet he appeared before groups in each category during 1957. His valuable services to his country

Insert

Earlier Dr. Mitchell, a respected economist, was employed by Columbia University & the U.S. Government. Dr. Mitchell was a Rhodes scholar & the first recipient of the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South.

in military and civilian life needs no documentation here. Mr. Routh is currently executive director of the Michigan FEPC, an official state agency.

9. This section of the "report" ends with a list of persons connected with SRC. Following is a list of these individuals, date of service on the SRC Board, and an identification of them.

Albert W. Dent - 1944 - present. President, Dillard University, New Orleans, La., (See Who's Who - current edition)

Rufus E. Clement - 1944 - present. President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. (See Who's Who - current edition)

(Note: current Chairman of the Executive Committee of SRC is Mr. John Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.)

Marion A. Wright - 1944- presnet. Attorney, retired. Former president, University of South Carolina Alumni Association and U. of S.C. Law Alumni Assoc.

Horace M. Bond - 1944-45. Dean, School of Education, Atlanta University.

Dr. Charlotte H. Brown - 1944-53. Current employment unknown.

Louis E. Burnham - 1945-49. Curent employment unknown.

Clark Foreman - 1944-49. at present, Director, Emergency Civil Liberties Union

Charles S. Johnson (Deceased) 1944-56. President, President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. (See Who's Who, 1956)

Benjamin E. Mays - 1944-present. President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. (See Who's Who - current)

F. D. Patterson - 1944-53. former President Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Currently Director Phelps-Stokes Fund (See who's who - current)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly - 1944-46-currently SRC director of Women's Work, formerly director Methodist Womens Division of Christian Service. By Appointment of President Truman, member of Presidents Committee on Civil Rights.

Rufus B. Atwood - 1945 - 58. President, Kentucky State College (See Who's Who - current)

John M. Ellison - 1948-54. Chancellor, Va. Union Univ., Richmond, Va.

H. C. Trenholm - 1954 - present. President, Alabama State College, Montgomery. (See Who's Who - current)

Miss Josephine Wilkins - 1944-present. Past president, Georgia League of Women Voters

E. C. Peters (deceased) 1956-59 Met odist missionary and President of Paine College Augusta, Ga., (See Who's Who - 1957)

C.G. Gomillion 1958-present. Dean, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.
(See Who's Who, current)

Paul R. Christopher - 1949-present. Regional Director, AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tenn.

Aubrey Williams - 1945 -50 Publisher, Southern Farm & Home, Montgomery, Ala.

(See back for insert)

Section VI - Directors of SRC

Most of the individuals listed in this section have been referred to in Section V

though the accident of that meeting is otherwise incorrect.

Among those not mentioned are:

Leslie W. Dunbar. Mr. Dunbar is Executive Director of SRC. He ~~did speak~~ spoke at Miles College on May 9. 1961. It is of interest that the "report" can find no further comment to make about Mr. Dunbar.

The Rev. C. H. Oliver. Mr. Oliver is prominently associated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations although he is not has never been "Chairman". ~~The SRC is at a loss to explain the information that is reported to have been "sent" Mr. Oliver, although it has no reason to contradict that information.~~

The members (Board of Directors) of the Southern Regional Council are loyal and dedicated Americans. By contrast to unsupported and irresponsible charges it seems appropriate to conclude this section with the full text of a telegram from President John F. Kennedy, sent on the occasion of SRC's annual meeting in 1961. (True copy attached) (repeat telegram)

VII. Alabama Council on Human Relations

The Alabama Council on Human Relations (ACHR) is fully capable of defending itself. However, it may be of vaue to stress the following:

1. The ACHR is not "The Alabama Organ of the SRC." The SRC does give financial assistance to the ACHR but the Alabama Council is completely autonomous with its own directors, staff, and members. Some years ago SRC determined, when helping these state councils become established, that all should be completely independent. This was done with the thought that not only could Southerners best solve their own problems - but that responsible citizens of each state and community could best assess their own needs; the region being an area of great contrast in which no single program or policy could be apprpriate for all.

Insert: Since the founding of SPRC in 1944 it is of interest that out of approximately 300 distinguished Southerners who have served on the board this "report" feel that it could comment on only 19. And, those 19 are discussed without any reference to dates of service.

2. Mr. Hughes was jailed in Bessemer, Alabama. His confinement was the result of his refusal to cooperate with the methods of the grand jury. The "report" does not mention the fact that the Rev. Mr. Hughes was later released and that no charges were or have been brought against him or the ACHR. His appearance was as a witness called in a suit against the New York Times and did not legally concern itself with the ACHR or its membership.

3. Koinonia Kiononia Farms is not - so far as we know - listed by any of the organizations concerned with subversive activity. Mr. Conrad Browne's comment on being "Communist" should have been reproduced without benefit of dots and dashes. It might lead to better evaluation.

4. We are not familar with Cluade Williams of Helena, Alabama though we note that he is said to be only a member and none of the long section devoted to him indicates any influence Mr. Williams has on the ACHR programs or policy.

5. The ACHR is a tax exempt organization. This means of course, that the Internal Revenue Service has carefully surveyed its operations and methods and ruled accordingly.

6. The Rev. Norman C. Jimmerson is the current director of ACHR. He is a Baptist Minister. He was formerly employed as Chaplain of Hopewell Prison, Virginia. If these are the most serious charges that can be brought again the Rev. Mr. Jimmerson, then he must indeed be "as clean as a hounds tooth."

Conclusion:

SRC has not been happy about preparing this memo, for to do so gives a dignity to the anonymous "report" which it does not deserve. However, we have done so in the interest of our friends and supporters in Alabama.

As a final though we would like to agree with the concluding sentence of the report."

"There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue to associate with these organizations unless said association is knowingly intended."

We wholeheartedly agree.

We have been organized as dedicated and concerned Southerners; dedicated to the belief that the region's problems can be solved by the best of its people and deeply concerned with the enormity and seriousness of the racial problems of the region. An association with these organizations should be in full awareness of and dedication to these ideals. Such is the right - and indeed the duty - of concerned and responsible members of a democratic society.

In October of 1961 Mr. J. Edgar Hoover concluded a report prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with these observations:

"Unfortunately there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentr te on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against co unism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them."

End.

THE PROGRESSIVE

SPRING BOOKS

A TALE OF TWO TERRORS
Maurice J. Goldbloom

FAILURE IN LITTLE ROCK
Colbert S. Cartwright

PROGRESS ALONG THE POTOMAC
David S. Williams

50 CENTS JUNE 1958

50th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

FCC58-936
PUBLIC NOTICE
63585
October 1, 1958

USE OF BROADCAST FACILITIES BY CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE
(Revised)

On September 8, 1954, the Commission issued a Public Notice (FCC 54-1155) entitled "Use of Broadcast Facilities by Candidates for Public Office." Experience has shown that this document has been of great assistance to candidates and broadcasters in understanding their rights and obligations under section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended. Since the above date, many interpretations of section 315 and of its rules have been issued by the Commission. These interpretations have been reviewed carefully; cumulative and repetitious rulings have not been reported while significant rulings have been added to this document. At the same time, a small number of editorial and other revisions have been made with respect to some of the interpretations previously issued.

The information contained herein does not purport to be a discussion of every problem that may arise in the political broadcast field. It is rather a codification of the determinations of the Commission with respect to the problems which have been presented to it and which appear likely to be involved in future campaigns. The purpose of this report is the clarification of licensee responsibility and course of action when situations discussed herein are encountered. In this way, resort to the Commission may be obviated in many instances, and time—which is of such importance in political campaigns—will be conserved. We do not mean to preclude inquiries to the Commission when there is a bona fide doubt as to a licensee's obligations under section 315. But it is believed that the following discussion will, in many instances, remove the need for such inquiries and that licensees will be able to take the necessary prompt action in these cases involving election campaigns in accordance with the interpretations and positions set forth below.

It is to be emphasized that this discussion relates solely to obligations of broadcast licensees under section 315 of the Communications Act and is not intended to treat with the wholly separate question of the treatment by broadcast licensees in the public interest of political or other controversial programs or discussions not falling within the specific provisions of that section. With respect to the responsibilities of broadcast stations for insuring fair and balanced presentation of programs not coming within section 315, but relating to important public issues of a controversial nature including political broadcasts, licensees are referred to the Commission's Report, "Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees" (Vol. 1, Part 3, R. R. 91-201) and the cases cited therein. In this respect it is particularly important that licensees recognize that the special obligations imposed upon them by the provisions of section 315 of the Communications Act with respect to certain types of political broadcasts do not in any way limit the applicability of general public interest concepts of political broadcasts not falling within the provisions of section 315 of the Communications Act. On the contrary, in view of the obvious importance of such programming to our system of representative government it is clear that these precepts, as set forth in the Report referred to above, are of particular applicability to such programming.

We have adopted a question-and-answer format as an appropriate means of delineating the section 315 problems. Wherever possible,[1] references to Commission decisions or rulings are made so that the researcher may, if he desires, profit by the more thorough or expansive statement of the Commission's position found in such decisions. Copies of rulings not otherwise available may be found in a "Political Broadcast" folder kept in the Commission's Public Reference Room. Citations in "R. R." refer to Pike and Fischer, Radio Regulations.

I. *The statute.* Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, provides as follows:

SEC. 315. (a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station: *Provided,* That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.

(b) The charges made for the use of any broadcasting station for any of the purposes set forth in this section shall not exceed the charges made for comparable use of such station for other purposes.

(c) The Commission shall prescribe appropriate rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this section.

II. *The Commission's rules and regulations with respect to political broadcasts.* The Commission's rules and regulations with respect to political broadcasts coming within section 315 of the Communications Act are set forth in §§ 3.120 (AM), 3.290 (FM), 3.590 (Non-Commercial Educational FM), and 3.657 (TV), respectively. These provisions are identical (except for elimination of any discussion of charges in § 3.590 relating to non-commercial educational FM stations) and read as follows:

Broadcasts by candidates for public office—(a) *Definitions:* A "legally qualified candidate" means any person who has publicly announced that he is a candidate for nomination by a convention of a political party or for nomination or election in a primary, special, or general election, municipal, county, state or national, and who meets the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold the office for which he is a candidate, so that he may be voted for by the electorate directly or by means of delegates or electors, and who

(1) Has qualified for a place on the ballot or

(2) Is eligible under the applicable law to be voted for by sticker, by writing in his name on the ballot, or other method, and

(i) Has been duly nominated by a political party which is commonly known and regarded as such, or

(ii) Makes a substantial showing that he is a bona fide candidate for nomination or office, as the case may be.

(b) *General requirements.* No station licensee is required to permit the use of its facilities by any legally qualified candidate for public office, but if any licensee shall permit any such candidate to use its facilities, it shall afford equal opportunities to all such other candidates for that office to use such facilities; provided, that such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast by any such candidate.

(c) *Rates and practices.* (1) The rates, if any, charged all such candidates for the same office shall be uniform and shall not be rebated by any means direct or indirect. A candidate shall, in each case, be charged no more than the rate the station would charge if the candidate were a commercial advertiser whose advertising was directed to promoting its business within the same area as that encompassed by the particular office for which such person is a candidate. All discount privileges otherwise offered by a station to commercial advertisers shall be

[1] A few of the questions taken up within have been presented to the Commission informally—that is, through telephone conversations or conferences with station representatives. They are set out in this Report because of the likelihood of their recurrence and the fact that no extended Commission discussion is necessary to dispose of them; the answer in each case is clear from the language of section 315.

available upon equal terms to all candidates for public office.

(2) In making time available to candidates for public office no licensee shall make any discrimination between candidates in charges, practices, regulations, facilities, or services for or in connection with the service rendered pursuant to this part, or make or give any preference to any candidate for public office or subject any such candidate to any prejudice or disadvantage; nor shall any licensee make any contract or other agreement which shall have the effect of permitting any legally qualified candidate for any public office to broadcast to the exclusion of other legally qualified candidates for the same public office.

(d) *Records; inspection.* Every licensee shall keep and permit public inspection of a complete record of all requests for broadcast time made by or on behalf of candidates for public office, together with an appropriate notation showing the disposition made by the licensee of such requests, and the charges made, if any, if request is granted. Such records shall be retained for a period of two years.

In addition, the attention of licensees is directed to the provisions of §§ 3.119 (b), 3.289 (b) and 3.654 (b) which provide in identical language:

(b) In the case of any political program or any program involving the discussion of public controversial issues for which any records, transcriptions, talent, scripts, or other material or services of any kind are furnished, either directly or indirectly, to a station as an inducement to the broadcasting of such program, an announcement shall be made both at the beginning and conclusion of such program on which such material or services are used that such records, transcriptions, talent, scripts, or other material or services have been furnished to such station in connection with the broadcasting of such program: provided, however, that only one such announcement need be made in the case of any such program of five minutes' duration or less, which announcement may be made either at the beginning or the conclusion of the program.

III. *Programs coming within section 315.* In general, any use of broadcast facilities by a legally qualified candidate for public office, imposes an obligation on licensees to afford "equal opportunities" to all other such candidates for the same office.

A. *Types of uses.*

1. Q. Does section 315 apply to one speaking for or on behalf of the candidate, as contrasted with the candidate himself?

A. No. The section applies only to legally qualified candidates. Candidate A has no legal right under section 315 to demand time where B, not a candidate, has spoken against A or in behalf of another candidate. (Felix v. Westinghouse Radio Stations, 186 F. 2d 1, cert. den. 341 U. S. 909.)

2. Q. Does section 315 confer rights on a political party as such?

A. No. It applies in favor of legally qualified candidates for public office, and is not concerned with the rights of political parties, as such. (Letter to National Laugh Party, dated May 8, 1957.)

3. Q. Does section 315 require stations to afford "equal opportunities" in the use of their facilities in support of or in opposition to a public question to be voted on in an election?

A. No. Section 315 has no application to the discussion of political issues, as such, but is concerned with the use of broadcast stations by legally qualified candidates for public office.

B. *What constitutes a "use" of broadcast facilities entitling opposing candidates to "equal opportunities"?*

4. Q. If a legally qualified candidate secures air time but does not discuss matters directly related to his candidacy, is this a use of facilities under section 315?

A. Yes. Section 315 does not distinguish between the uses of broadcast time by a candidate, and the licensee is not authorized to pass on requests for time by opposing candidates on the basis of the licensee's evaluation of whether the original use was or was not in aid of a candidacy. (WMCA, Inc., 7 R. R. 1132.)

5. Q. Must a broadcaster give equal time to a candidate whose opponent has broadcast in some other capacity than as a candidate?

A. Yes. For example, a weekly report of a Congressman to his constituents via radio or television is a broadcast by a legally qualified candidate for public office as soon as he becomes a candidate for reelection, and his opponent must be given "equal opportunities" for time on the air. Any "use" of a station by a candidate, in whatever capacity, entitles his opponent to "equal opportunities." (Station KNGS, 7 R.R. 1130.)

6. Q. If a candidate appears on a variety program for a very brief bow or statement, are his opponents entitled to "equal opportunities" on the basis of this brief appearance?

A. Yes. All appearances of a candidate, no matter how brief or perfunctory, are a "use" of a station's facilities within section 315.

7. Q. If a candidate is accorded station time for a speech in connection with a ceremonial activity or other public service, is an opposing candidate entitled to equal utilization of the station's facilities?

A. Yes. Section 315 contains no exception with respect to broadcasts by legally qualified candidates carried "in the public interest" or as a "public service." It follows that the station's broadcast of the candidate's speech was a "use" of the facilities of the station by a legally qualified candidate giving rise to an obligation by the station under section 315 to afford "equal opportunities" to other legally qualified candidates for the same office. (Letter to CBS (WBBM), dated October 31, 1952; Letter to KFI, dated October 31, 1952.)

8. Q. If a station arranges for a debate between the candidates of two parties, or presents the candidates of two parties in a press conference format or so-called forum program, is the station required to make equal time available to other candidates?

A. Yes. The appearance of candidates on the above types of programs constitutes a "use" of the licensee's facilities by legally qualified candidates and, therefore, other candidates for the same office are entitled to "equal opportunities." (Letter to Harold Oliver, dated October 31, 1952; Letter to Julius F. Brauner, dated October 31, 1952.)

9. Q. Are acceptance speeches by successful candidates for nomination for the candidacy of a particular party for a given office, a use by a legally qualified candidate for election to that office?

A. Yes. Where the successful candidate for nomination becomes legally qualified as a candidate for election as a result of the nomination. (Progressive Party, 7 R. R. 1300.)

10. Q. Does section 315 apply to broadcasts by a legally qualified candidate where such broadcasts originate and are limited to a foreign station whose signals are received in the United States?

A. No. Section 315 applies only to stations licensed by the FCC. (Letter to Gregory Pillon, dated July 19, 1955.)

11. Q. If a station owner, or a station advertiser, or a person regularly employed as a station announcer were to make any appearances over a station after having qualified as a candidate for public office, would section 315 apply?

A. Yes. Such appearances of a candidate are a "use" under section 315. (Letters to KUGN, dated April 9, 1958; to KTTV, 14 R. R. 1227; and to Kenneth Spengler, 14 R. R. 1226b, respectively.)

12. Q. When a station, as part of a newscast, uses film clips showing a legally qualified candidate participating as one of a group in official ceremonies and the newscaster, in commenting on the ceremonies, mentions the candidate and others by name and describes their participation, has there been a "use" under section 315?

A. No. Since the facts clearly showed that the candidate had in no way directly or indirectly initiated either filming or presentation of the event, and that the broadcast was nothing more than a routine newscast by the station in the exercise of its judgment as to newsworthy events. (Letter to Allen Blondy, 14 R. R. 1199.)

IV. *Who is a legally qualified candidate?*

13. Q. How can a station know which candidates are "legally qualified?"

A. The determination as to who is a legally qualified candidate for a particular public office within the meaning of section 315 and the Commission's rules must be determined by reference to the law of the state in which the election is being held. In general, a candidate is legally qualified if he can be voted for in the state or district in which the election is being held, and, if elected, is eligible to serve in the office in question.

14. Q. Need a candidate be on the ballot to be legally qualified?

A. Not always. The term "legally qualified candidate" is not restricted to persons whose names appear on the printed ballot; the term may embrace persons not listed on the ballot if such persons are making a bona fide race for the office involved and the names of such persons, or their electors can, under applicable law, be written in by voters so as to result in their valid election. The Commission recognizes, however, that the mere fact that any name may be written in does not entitle all persons who may publicly announce themselves as candidates to demand time under section 315; broadcast stations may make suitable and reasonable requirements with respect to proof of the bona fide nature of any candidacy on the part of applicants for the use of facilities under section 315. (§§ 3.120; 3.290, 3.657; Socialist Labor Party, 7 R. R. 766; Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 7 R. R. 1189; Press Release of November 26, 1941 (Mimeo 55732).)

15. Q. May a station deny a candidate "equal opportunities" because it believes that the candidate has no possibility of being elected or nominated?

A. No. Section 315 does not permit any such subjective determination by the station with respect to a candidate's chances of nomination or election. (Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 7 R. R. 1189.)

16. Q. May a person be considered to be a legally qualified candidate where he has made only a public announcement of his candidacy and has not yet filed the required forms or paid the required fees for securing a place on the ballot in either the primary or general elections?

A. The answer depends on applicable state law. In same states persons may be voted for by electorate whether or not they have gone through the procedures required for getting their names placed on the ballot itself. In such a state, the announcement of a person's candidacy—if determined to be bona fide—is sufficient to bring him within the purview of section 315. In other states, however, candidates may not be "legally qualified" until they have fulfilled certain prescribed procedures. The applicable state laws and the particular facts surrounding the announcement of the candidacy are determinatives. (Letter to Senator Earle C. Clements, dated February 2, 1954.)

17. Q. Must a station make time available upon demand to a candidate of the Communist Party, or a candidate who is a member of the Communist Party, if it has afforded time to that candidate's opponents for the office in question?

A. If the person involved is a legally qualified candidate for the office he is seeking, section 315 requires that "equal opportunities" be afforded him. It will be recognized that who is a legally qualified candidate is

dependent upon federal, state, and local law pertaining to the elective process and is not based upon provision of the Communications Act or the rules of the Commission.

The question of the specific applicability of these principles, in the light of the enactment of the Communist Control Act of 1954, to candidates of the Communist Party or who are members of the Communist Party has not yet been determined.

18. Q. When is a person a legally qualified candidate for nomination as the candidate of a party for President or Vice President of the United States?

A. In view of the fact that a person may be nominated for these offices by the conventions of his party without having appeared on the ballot of any state having presidential primary elections, or having any pledged votes prior to the convention, or even announcing his willingness to be a candidate, no fixed rule can be promulgated in answer to this question. Whether a person so claiming is in fact a bona fide candidate will depend on the particular facts of each situation, including consideration of what efforts, if any, he has taken to secure delegates or preferential votes in state primaries. It cannot, however, turn on the licensee's evaluation of the claimant's chances for success. (Letter of May 28, 1952 to Julius F. Brauner.)

19. Q. Has a claimant under section 315 sufficiently established his legal qualifications when the facts show that after qualifying for a place on the ballot for a particular office in the primary, he notified state officials of his withdrawal therefrom and then later claimed he had not really intended to withdraw, and where the facts further indicated that he was supporting another candidate for the same office and was seeking the nomination for an office other than the one for which he claimed to be qualified?

A. No. Where a question is raised concerning a claimant's legal qualification, it is incumbent on him to prove that he is in fact legally qualified. The facts here did not constitute an unequivocal showing of legal qualification. (Letter to Lar Daly, dated April 11, 1956; letter to American Vegetarian Party, dated November 6, 1956.)

20. Q. If a candidate establishes his legal qualifications only after the date of nomination or election for the office for which he was contending, is he entitled to equal opportunities which would have been available had he timely qualified?

A. No, for once the date of nomination or election for an office has passed, it cannot be said that one who failed timely to qualify therefor is still a "candidate." The holding of the primary or general election terminates the possibility of affording "equal opportunities", thus mooting the question of what rights the claimant might have been entitled to under section 315 before the election. (Letter to Socialist Workers' Party, dated December 13, 1956; letter to Lar Daly, 14 R. R. 713, appeal sub. nom. Daly v. U. S., Case No. 11,946 (C. A. 7th Cir.) dismissed as moot Mar. 7, 1957; cert. den. 355 U. S. 826.)

21. Q. Under the circumstances stated in the preceding question, is any post-election remedy available to the candidate, before the Commission, under section 315?

A. None, insofar as a candidate may desire retroactive "equal opportunities." But this is not to suggest that a station can avoid its statutory obligation under section 315 by waiting until an election has been held and only then disposing of demands for "equal opportunities." Idem.

22. Q. When a state Attorney General or other appropriate state official having jurisdiction to decide a candidate's legal qualification has ruled that a candidate is not legally qualified under local election laws, can a licensee be required to afford such "candidate" "equal opportunities" under section 315?

A. In such instances, the ruling of the state Attorney General or other official will prevail, absent a judicial determination. (Telegram to Ralph Muncy, November 5, 1954; letter to Socialist Workers' Party, dated November 23, 1956.)

V. *When are candidates opposing candidates?*

23. Q. What public offices are included within the meaning of section 315?

A. Under the Commission's rules, section 315 is applicable to both primary and general elections, and public offices include all offices filled by special or general election on a municipal, county, state or national level as well as the nomination by any recognized party of a candidate for such an office.

24. Q. May the station under section 315 make time available to all candidates for one office and refuse all candidates for another office?

A. Yes. The "equal opportunities" requirement of section 315 is limited to all legally qualified candidates for the same office.

25. Q. If the station makes time available to candidates seeking the nomination of one party for a particular office, does section 315 require that it make equal time available to the candidates seeking the nomination of other parties for the same office?

A. No, the Commission has held that while both primary elections or nominating conventions and general elections are comprehended within the terms of section 315, the primary elections or conventions held by one party are to be considered separately from the primary elections or conventions of other parties, and, therefore, insofar as section 315 is concerned, "equal opportunities" need only be afforded legally qualified candidates for nomination for the same office at the same party's primary or nominating convention. (KWFT, Inc., 4 R. R. 885; Letter to Arnold Petersen, 11 R. R. 234; Letter to WCDL, April 3, 1953.)

26. Q. If the station makes time available to all candidates of one party for nomination for a particular office, including the successful candidate, may candidates of other parties in the general election demand an equal amount of time under section 315?

A. No. For the reason given above. (KWFT, Inc., 4 R. R. 885.)

VI. *What constitutes equal opportunities?*

27. Q. Generally speaking, what constitutes "equal opportunities?"

A. Under section 315 and §§ 3.120, 3.290, and 3.657 of the Commission's rules, no licensee shall make any discrimination in charges, practices, regulations, facilities, or services rendered to candidates for a particular office.

28. Q. Is a licensee required or allowed to give time free to one candidate where it had sold time to an opposing candidate?

A. The licensee is not permitted to discriminate between the candidates in any way. With respect to any particular election it may adopt a policy of selling time, or of giving time to the candidates free of charge, or of giving them some time and selling them additional time. But whatever policy it adopts it must treat all candidates for the same office alike with respect to the time they may secure free and that for which they must pay.

29. Q. Is a station's obligation under section 315 met if it offers a candidate the same amount of time an opposing candidate has received, where the time of the day or week afforded the first candidate is superior to that offered his opponent?

A. No. The station in providing "equal opportunities" must consider the desirability of the time segment allotted as well as its length. And while there is no requirement that a station afford candidate B exactly the same time of day on exactly the same day of the week as candidate A, the time segments offered must be comparable as to desirability.

30. Q. If candidate A has been afforded time during early morning, noon and evening hours, does a station comply with section 315 by offering candidate B time only during early morning and noon periods?

A. No. However, the requirements of comparable time do not require a station to make available exactly the same time periods, nor the periods requested by candidate B. (Letter to D. L. Grace, dated July 3, 1958.)

31. Q. Is it necessary for a station to advise a candidate or a political party that time has been sold to other candidates?

A. No. The law does not require that this be done. If a candidate inquires, however, the facts must be given him. It should be noted here that a station is required to keep a public record of all requests for time by or on behalf of political candidates, together with a record of the disposition and the charges made, if any, for each broadcast. (§§ 3.120 (d), 3.290 (d), 3.657 (d).)

32. Q. If a station offers free time to opposing candidates and one candidate declines to use the time given him, are other candidates for that office foreclosed from availing themselves of the offer?

A. No. The refusal of one candidate does not foreclose other candidates wishing to use the time offered. However, whether the candidate initially declining the offer could later avail himself of "equal opportunities" would depend on all the facts and circumstances. (Letter to Leonard Marks, 14 R. R. 65.)

33. Q. If one political candidate buys station facilities more heavily than another, is a station required to call a halt to such sales because of the resulting imbalance?

A. No. Section 315 requires only that all candidates be afforded "equal opportunities" to use the facilities of the station. (Letter to Mrs. M. R. Oliver, 11 R. R. 239.)

34. Q. If the candidate has received free time for a period of time and subsequently a second candidate announces his candidacy, is the second candidate entitled to equal facilities retroactive to the date when the first candidate announced his candidacy?

A. Normally, yes. Once the station has made time available to one qualified candidate, its obligation to provide equal facilities to future candidates begins. A candidate cannot, however, delay his request for time and expect to use the "equal opportunities" provision to force a station to turn over most of the last few pre-election days to him in order to "saturate" pre-election broadcast time. (Letter to Congressman Hunter, dated May 28, 1952; Letter to Congressman Frelinghuysen, 11 R. R. 245.)

35. Q. If a station has a policy of confining political broadcasts to sustaining time, but has so many requests for political time that it cannot handle them all within its sustaining schedule, may it refuse time to a candidate whose opponent has already been granted time, on the basis of its established policy of not cancelling commercial programs in favor of political broadcasts?

A. No. The station cannot rely upon its policy if the latter conflicts with the "equal opportunities" requirement of section 315. (Stephens Bctg. Co., 3 R. R. 1.)

36. Q. If one candidate has been nominated by Parties A, B, and C, while a second candidate for the same office is nominated only by Party D, how should time be allocated as between the two candidates?

A. Section 315 has reference only to the use of facilities by persons who are candidates for public office and not to the political parties which may have nominated such candidates. Accordingly, if broadcast time is made available for the use of a candidate for public office, the provisions of section 315 require that "equal opportunities" be afforded each person who is a candidate for the same office, without regard to the number of nominations that any particular candidate may have. (Letter to Thomas W. Wilson, dated October 31, 1946.)

37. Q. If a station broadcasts a program sponsored by a commercial advertiser which includes one or more qualified candidates as speakers or guests, what are its obligations

with respect to affording "equal opportunities" to other candidates for the same office?

A. If candidates are permitted to appear without cost to themselves, on programs sponsored by commercial advertisers, opposing candidates are entitled to receive comparable time, also at no cost. (Letter to Senator Monroney, 11 R. R. 451.)

38. Q. Where a candidate for office in a state or local election appears on a national network program, is an opposing candidate for the same office entitled to equal facilities over stations which carried the original program and serve the area in which the election campaign is occurring?

A. Yes. Under such circumstances an opposing candidate would be entitled to time on such stations. (Letter to Senator Monroney, dated October 9, 1952.)

39. Q. Where a candidate appears on a particular program—such as a regular series of forum programs—are opposing candidates entitled on demand to appear on the same program?

A. Not necessarily. The mechanics of the problem of "equal opportunities" must be left to resolution of the parties. And while factors such as the size of the potential audience because of the appearance of the first candidate on an established or popular program might very well be a matter for consideration by the parties, it cannot be said, in the abstract, that "equal opportunities" could only be provided by giving opposing parties time on the same program. (Letter to Harold Oliver, dated October 31, 1952; Letter to Julius F. Brauner, dated October 31, 1952.)

40. Q. Where a station asks candidates A and B (opposing candidates in a primary election) to appear on a debate-type program, the format of which is determined by the station but with no restrictions as to what issues or matters might be discussed, and candidate A accepts the offer and appears on the program and candidate B declines to appear on the program, is candidate B entitled to further "equal opportunities" in the use of the station's facilities within the meaning of section 315 of the act? If so, is any such obligation met by offering candidate B, prior to the primary, an opportunity to appear on a program of comparable format to that on which candidate A appeared, or is the station obligated to grant candidate B time equal to that used by candidate A on the program in question unrestricted as to format?

A. Since the station's format was reasonable in structure and the station put no restrictions on what matters and issues might be discussed by candidate B and others who appeared on the program in question, it offered candidate B "equal opportunities" in the use of its facilities within the meaning of section 315 of the act. The station's further offer to candidate B, prior to the primary, of its facilities on a "comparable format" was reasonable under the facts of the case, consistent with any continuing obligation to afford candidate B "equal opportunities" in the use of the station which he may have had. (Letter to Congressman Bob Wilson, dated August 1, 1958.)

41. Q. In affording "equal opportunities", may a station limit the use of its facilities solely to the use of a microphone?

A. A station must treat opposing candidates the same with respect to the use of its facilities and if it permits one candidate to use facilities over and beyond the microphone, it must permit a similar usage by other qualified candidates. (Letter to D. L. Grace, dated July 3, 1958.)

42. Q. Can a station contract with the committee of a political party whereby it commits itself in advance of an election to furnish substantial blocks of time to the candidates of that party?

A. Neither section 315 nor the Commission's rules prohibit a licensee from contracting with a party for reservation of time in advance of an election. However, substantial questions as to a possible violation of section 315 would arise if the effect of such prior commitment were to disable a licensee from meeting its "equal opportunities" obligations under section 315. (Letter to Congressman Karsten, dated Nov. 25, 1955.)

VII. *What limitations can be put on the use of facilities by a candidate?*

43. Q. May a station delete material in a broadcast under section 315 because it believes the material contained therein is or may be libelous?

A. No. Any such action would entail censorship which is expressly prohibited by section 315 of the Communications Act. (Port Huron Bctg. Co., 4 R. R. 1; WDSU Bctg. Co., 7 R. R. 769.)

44. Q. If a legally qualified candidate broadcasts libelous or slanderous remarks, is the station liable therefor?

A. In Port Huron Bctg. Co., 4 R. R. 1, the Commission expressed an opinion that licensees not directly participating in the libel might be absolved from any liability they might otherwise incur under state law, because of the operation of section 315, which precludes them from preventing a candidate's utterances. In two recent decisions, the courts have agreed with the Commission's holding in the Port Huron case, holding that since a licensee could not censor a broadcast under section 315, Congress could not have intended to compel a station to broadcast libelous statements of a legally qualified candidate and at the same time subject itself to the risk of damage suits. (Farmers Educational & Cooperative Union of America v. WDAY, Inc., ___ N. D. ___, 89 N. W. 2d 102 (Petition for cert. filed); Lamb v. Sutton, ___ Fed. Supp. ___ (D. C. Tenn., 1958.))

45. Q. Does the same immunity apply in a case where the Chairman of a political party's campaign committee, not himself a candidate, broadcasts a speech in support of a candidate?

A. No. Licensees "are, therefore, not entitled to assert the defense that they are not liable because the speeches could not have been censored without violating section 315 and that accordingly they were not at fault in permitting the speeches to be broadcast." (Felix v. Westinghouse Radio Stations, 186 F. 2d 1, cert. den. 341 U. S. 909.)

46. Q. If a candidate secures time under section 315, must he talk about a subject directly related to his candidacy?

A. No. The candidate may use the time as he deems best. To deny a person time on the ground that he was not using it in furtherance of his candidacy would be an exercise of censorship prohibited by section 315 (WMCA, Inc., 7 R. R. 1132).

47. Q. If a station makes time available to an office holder who is also a legally qualified candidate for re-election and the office holder limits his talks to non-partisan and informative material, may other legally qualified candidates who obtain time be limited to the same subjects or the same type of broadcast?

A. No. Other qualified candidates may use the facilities as they deem best in their own interest. (Letter to Congressman Allen Oakley Hunter, 11 R. R. 234.)

48. Q. May a station require an advance script of a candidate's speech?

A. Yes, provided that the practice is uniformly applied to all candidates for the same office using the station's facilities, and the station does not undertake to censor the candidate's talk. (Letter to H. A. Rosenberg, Louisville, Ky., 11 R. R. 236.)

49. Q. May a station have a practice of requiring a candidate to record his proposed broadcast at his own expense?

A. Yes. Provided again that the procedures adopted are applied without discrimination as between candidates for the same office and no censorship is attempted. (Letter to H. A. Rosenberg, Louisville, Ky., 11 R. R. 236.)

VIII. *What rates can be charged candidates for programs under section 315?*

50. Q. May a station charge premium rates for political broadcasts?

A. No. Section 315, as amended, provides that the charges made for the use of a station by a candidate "shall not exceed the charges made for comparable use of such stations for other purposes."

51. Q. Does the requirement that the charges to a candidate "shall not exceed the charges for comparable use" of a station for other purposes apply to political broadcasts by persons other than qualified candidates?

A. No. This requirement applies only to candidates for public office. Hence, a station may adopt whatever policy it desires for political broadcasts by organizations or persons who are not candidates for office, consistent with its obligation to operate in the public interest. (Letter to Congressman Diggs, Jr., dated March 16, 1955.)

52. Q. May a station with both "national" and "local" rates charge a candidate for local office its "national" rate?

A. No. Under §§ 3.120, 3.290 and 3.657 of the Commission's rules a station may not charge a candidate more than the rate the station would charge if the candidate were a commercial advertiser whose advertising was directed to promoting its business within the same area as that within which persons may vote for the particular office for which such person is a candidate.

53. Q. Considering the limited geographical area which a member of the House of Representatives serves, must candidates for the House be charged the "local" instead of the "national" rate?

A. This question cannot be answered categorically. To determine the maximum rates which could be charged under section 315, the Commission would have to know the criteria a station uses in classifying "local" versus "national" advertisers before it could determine what are "comparable charges." In making this determination, the Commission does not prescribe rates but merely requires equality of treatment as between 315 broadcasts and commercial advertising. (Letter to Congressman Simpson, dated Feb. 27, 1957.)

54. Q. Is a political candidate entitled to receive discounts?

A. Yes. Under §§ 3.120, 3.290 and 3.657 of the Commission's rules political candidates are entitled to the same discounts that would be accorded persons other than candidates for public office under the conditions specified, as well as to such special discounts for programs coming within section 315 as the station may choose to give on a non-discriminatory basis.

55. Q. Can a station refuse to sell time at discount rates to a group of candidates for different offices who have pooled their resources to obtain a discount, even though as a matter of commercial practice, the station permits commercial advertisers to buy a block of time at discount rates for use by various businesses owned by a single advertiser?

A. Yes. Section 315 specifically provides that a station need not permit the use of its facilities by candidates, and neither that section nor the Commission's rules require a station to sell time to a group of candidates on a pooled basis, even though such may be the practice with respect to commercial advertisers. (Letter to WKBT-WKBH, dated Oct. 14, 1954.)

56. Q. If candidate A purchases ten time segments over a station which offers a discount rate for purchase of that amount of time, is candidate B entitled to the discount rate if he purchases less time than the minimum to which discounts are applicable?

A. No. A station is under such circumstances only required to make available the discount privileges to each legally qualified candidate on the same basis.

57. Q. If a station has a "spot" rate of two dollars per "spot" announcement, with a rate

reduction to one dollar if 100 or more such "spots" are purchased on a bulk time sales contract, and if one candidate arranges with an advertiser having such a bulk time contract to utilize five of these spots at the one dollar rate, is the station obligated to sell the candidates of other parties for the same office time at the same one dollar rate?

A. Yes. Other legally qualified candidates are entitled to take advantage of the same reduced rate. (Letter to Senator Monroney, dated October 16, 1952.)

58. Q. Where a group of candidates for different offices pool their resources to purchase a block of time at a discount, and an individual candidate opposing one of the group seeks time on the station, to what rate is he entitled?

A. He is entitled to be charged the same rate as his opponent since the provisions of section 315 run to the candidates themselves and they are entitled to be treated equally with their individual opponents. (Report and Order, Docket 11092, 11 R. R. 1501.)

59. Q. Is there any prohibition against the purchase by a political party of a block of time for several of its candidates, for allocation among such candidates on the basis of personal need, rather than on the amount each candidate has contributed to the party's campaign fund?

A. There is no prohibition in section 315 or the Commission's rules against the above practices. It would be reasonable to assume that the group time used by a candidate is, for the purposes of section 315, time paid for by the candidate through the normal device of a recognized political campaign committee, even though part of the campaign funds was derived from sources other than the candidates' contributions. (Letter to Edward de Grazia, dated Oct. 14, 1954.)

60. Q. When a candidate and his immediate family own all the stock in a corporate licensee and the candidate is the president and general manager, can he pay for time to the corporate licensee from which he derives his income and have the licensee make a similar charge to an opposing candidate?

A. Yes. The fact that a candidate has a financial interest in a corporate licensee does not affect the licensee's obligation under section 315. Thus, the rates which the licensee may charge to other legally qualified candidates will be governed by the rate which the stockholder candidate actually pays to the licensee. If no charge is made to the stockholder candidate, it follows that other legally qualified candidates are entitled to equal time without charge. (Letter to Charles W. Stratton, dated March 18, 1957.)

IX. *Issuance of interpretations of section 315 by the Commission.*

61. Q. Under what circumstances will the Commission consider issuing declaratory orders, interpretive rulings or advisory opinions with respect to section 315?

A. Section 5 (d) of the Administrative Procedure Act, Title 5, U. S. C. A., provides that "The agency is authorized in its sound discretion, with like effect as in the case of other orders, to issue a declaratory order to terminate a controversy or remove uncertainty." However, agencies are not required to issue such orders merely because a request is made therefor. The grant of authority to agencies to issue declaratory orders is limited, and such orders are authorized only with respect to matters which are required by statute to be determined "on the record after opportunity for an agency hearing." See Attorney General's Manual on the Administrative Procedure Act, pp. 59, 60; also, In re Goodman, 4 Pike & Fischer R. R. 98. In general, the Commission limits its interpretive rulings or advisory opinions to situations where the critical facts are explicitly stated without the possibility that subsequent events will alter them. Rather, it prefers to issue such rulings or opinions where the specific facts of a particular case in controversy are before it for decision. (Letter to Pierson, Ball & Dowd, dated June 18, 1958.)

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

FCC 60-1050
PUBLIC NOTICE
92294
September 8, 1960

SUPPLEMENT TO USE OF BROADCAST FACILITIES BY CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE (Revised)

On October 1, 1958, the Commission issued its Public Notice (FCC 58-936) revising its earlier Public Notice (54-1155) on the "Use of Broadcast Facilities by Candidates for Public Office." This document set forth in question and answer form Commission rulings and interpretations with respect to section 315 of the Communications Act. It is the purpose of this Supplement to apprise licensees and other interested parties of important changes in the law and the Commission's rules governing political broadcasts which have occurred since the last revision of the Public Notice on this subject, and of additional significant rulings thereunder.

Statutory changes. On September 14, 1959, section 315(a) of the Communications Act, 47 U.S.C. 315(a), was amended[1] to exempt appearances by legally qualified candidates on certain types of news programs from the "equal opportunities" requirements of section 315. Section 315(a), as amended, provides as follows:

SEC. 315(a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting stations: *Provided,* That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate. Appearance by a legally qualified candidate on any—

(1) bona fide newscast,

(2) bona fide news interview,

(3) bona fide news documentary (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary), or

(4) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto),

shall not be deemed to be use of a broadcasting station within the meaning of this subsection. Nothing in the foregoing sentence shall be construed as relieving broadcasters, in connection with the presentation of newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries, and on-the-spot coverage of news events, from the obligation imposed upon them under this Act to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance.

On August 24, 1960, Senate Joint Resolution 207 was signed by the President. Said Resolution reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That that part of section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, which requires any licensee of a broadcast station who permits any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station to afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, is suspended for the period of the 1960 presidential and vice presidential campaigns with respect to nominees for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as relieving broadcasters from the obligation imposed upon them under this Act to operate in the public interest.

(2) The Federal Communications Commission shall make a report to the Congress, not later than March 1, 1961, with respect to the effect of the provisions of this joint resolution and any recommendations the Commission may have for amendments to the Communications Act of 1934 as a result of experience under the provisions of this joint resolution.

Changes in rules. On July 31, 1959, the Commission amended §§ 3.120, 3.290, 3.590 and 3.657 of its rules (FCC 59-797) by adding two new subsections, reading as follows:

(e) A request for equal opportunities must be submitted to the licensee within one week of the day on which the prior use occurred.

(f) A candidate requesting such equal opportunities of the licensee, or complaining of non-compliance to the Commission, shall have the burden of proving that he and his opponent are legally qualified candidates for the same public office.

In light of the above amendments to the Act and the rules, the rulings in the Commission's Public Notice of October 1, 1958, insofar as they are inconsistent with said amendments, are modified accordingly.

Additional rulings.

A. Q. A Philadelphia TV station had been presenting a weekly program called "Eye on Philadelphia." This program consisted of personalities being interviewed by a station representative. Three candidates for the office of Mayor of Philadelphia, representing different political parties, appeared on the program. Would a write-in candidate for Mayor be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

A. No, since it was ascertained that the appearances of the three mayoralty candidates were on a bona fide, regularly scheduled news interview program and that such appearances were determined by the station's news director on the basis of newsworthiness. (Telegram to Joseph A. Schafer, November 2, 1959.)

B. Q. A local weathercaster who was a candidate for re-election for Representative in the Texas Legislature was regularly employed by an AM and TV station in Texas. His weathercasts contained no references to political matters. He was identified over the air while a candidate as the "TX Weatherman." Would his opponent be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

---

[1] Public Law No. 86-274, 86th Cong., 73 Stat. 557. Section 2(a) of Public Law No. 86-174 declares it to be the intention of Congress "to reexamine from time to time the amendment to section 315(a) * * * to ascertain whether such amendment has proved to be effective and practicable." To assist Congress in such re-examinations, Section 2(b) requires the Commission to report annually to Congress regarding "(1) the information and data used by it in determining questions arising from or connected with such amendment, and (2) such recommendations as it deems necessary in the public interest."

A. No. The Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit ruled that the weathercaster's appearance did not involve anything but a bona fide effort to present the news; that he was not identified by name but only as the "TX Weatherman"; that his employment did not arise out of the election campaign but was a regular job; and that the facts did not reveal any favoritism on the part of the stations or any intent to discriminate among candidates. (Letter to KWTX Broadcasting Co., March 16, 1960; Brigham v. FCC, 276 F. 2d 828 (C.A. 5), April 19, 1960.)

C. Q. A sheriff who was a candidate for nomination for U.S. Representative in Congress conducted a daily program, regularly scheduled since 1958, on which he reported on the activities of his office. He terminated each program with a personal "Thought for the Day." Would his opponent be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

A. Yes. In light of the fact that the format and content of the program were determined by the sheriff and not by the station, the program was not of the type intended by Congress to be exempt from the "equal opportunities" requirement of Section 315. (Letter to Station WCLG, April 27, 1960.)

D. Q. Certain networks had presented over their facilities various candidates for the Democratic nomination for President on the programs "Meet the Press", "Face the Nation" and "College News Conference." Said programs were regularly scheduled and consisted of questions being asked of prominent individuals by newsmen and others. Would a candidate for the same nomination in a state primary be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

A. No. The programs were regularly scheduled, bona fide news interviews and were of the type which Congress intended to exempt from the "equal opportunities" requirement of Section 315. (Letter to Andrew J. Easter, April 28, 1960; letters to Charles V. Falkenberg, May 12 and June 13, 1960.)

E. Q. A candidate for the Democratic nomination for President was interviewed on a network program known as "Today." It was shown that this was a daily program emphasizing news coverage, news documentaries and on-the-spot coverage of news events; that the determination as to the content and format of the interview and the candidate's participation therein was made by the network in the exercise of its news judgment and not for the candidate's political advantage; that the questions asked of the candidate were determined by the director of the program; and that the candidate was selected because of his newsworthiness and the network's desire to interview him concerning current problems and events. Would the candidate's opponent be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

A. No, since the appearance of the candidate was on a program which was exempt from the "equal opportunities" requirement of Section 315. (Telegram to Lar Daly, July 6, 1960.)

F. Q. A candidate for the Democratic nomination for President appeared on a network variety show. A claimant for "equal opportunities" showed that his name had been on the ballots in the Democratic presidential primary elections in two states; that the network had shown him a film on a program concerned with the various 1960 presidential candidates; and that he was continuing his efforts as a candidate for the Democratic nomination. Would the claimant be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

A. Yes, since the appearance of the first candidate was on a program which was not exempt from the "equal opportunities" requirement of Section 315 and the claimant had shown that he was a "legally qualified" candidate for the nomination for the same office. (Telegram to NBC, July 6, 1960.)

G. Q. A former President expressed his views with respect to a forthcoming national convention of his party. A candidate for that party's nomination for President called a press conference to comment on said views, which conference was broadcast by two networks. Would said candidate's opponent for the same nomination be entitled to "equal opportunities?"

A. No, since the appearance of the first candidate was on a program which was exempt from the "equal opportunities" requirement of Section 315. (Telegram to Falkenberg & Falkenberg, July 7, 1960.)

Adopted: September 7, 1960.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
[SEAL] BEN F. WAPLE,
Acting Secretary.

SERVICE
This is a full rate message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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JAMES M DABBS, PRESIDENT SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

PLEASE CONVEY MY GREETINGS TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. IN WORKING TO MAKE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY A REALITY IN ALL PARTS OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF ALL AMERICANS. IN PROMOTING GOODWILL AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLE OF ALL RACES, COLORS AND CREEDS, THE COUNCIL IS SERVING NOT ONLY THE SOUTH BUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY. IN SUPPORTING EFFORTS TO SECURE THE FULL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, INCLUDING ABOVE ALL THE PRIMARY RIGHT TO VOTE, YOU ARE HELPING TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF AMERICA.

CORDIALLY

JOHN F KENNEDY

CIVIL LIBERTIES

NUMBER 193

MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION NOV. 1961

41st ANNUAL REPORT

The Union's 1960-61 Annual Report is on the press and will be mailed to all members in December. CIVIL LIBERTIES will not appear next month but will resume publication in January.

Union Sees Danger in Questioning Teachers

Dangers inherent in disclosures made by college teachers when questioned about individual students by government security agents or private employers are dealt with in an ACLU policy statement published in the October 7th issue of *School and Society*.

Prepared by the Union's Academic Freedom Committee, headed by Professor Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University, and approved by the Board of Directors, the statement represents more than a year's study.

"Habituation to this proliferating process of interrogation and response," says the ACLU, "has tended to obscure possible dangers to education. . . . Those who think of education primarily as the delivery of information by teachers to students will find no danger here. But if probing, sharing, and hypothesizing are regarded as essential; if education requires uninhibited expression and thinking out loud; if tentative and spontaneous ideas are to be encouraged as conducive to learning, then disclosures of expressed opinion . . . can become a threat to the educational process. . . .

"Ordinarily, questions relating to what the student has demonstrated as a student—for example, the ability to write in a certain way, to solve problems . . . to reason consistently, to direct personnel or projects—pose no threat to educational privacy. But, questions relating to the student's loyalty and patriotism, his political or religious or moral or social beliefs and attitudes, his general outlook, his private life, may well jeopardize the teacher-student relation."

Reprints Available

Reprints of the statement are available from the Union's national office at 5¢ each postpaid. Quantity prices are lower. Single copies will be sent *free* on request to Contributing Members (dues of $5 or more) so identifying themselves.

Congress Acts on Number of Anti-Civil Liberties Measures

In a study completed early this month, the ACLU finds that in its recently-completed first session the 87th Congress acted on a number of anti-civil liberties bills. The heaviest adverse pressure occurred in the anti-crime and internal security fields.

Anti-Crime Legislation

While recognizing the growing problem of organized crime, the Union urged—sometimes successfully—that unconstitutional procedures not be adopted in anti-racketeering legislation. One example was a bill—signed into law by the President—to broaden federal jurisdiction over persons who cross state lines to avoid state prosecution. The ACLU asked, without success, that the bill be changed to avoid double jeopardy—trying a man in the federal and state courts for the same crime. The Attorney General did, however, promise to use this increased power sparingly.

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Maybe It Will Go Away If We Put Out the Light?"

Anti-Gambling Bills

Another bill signed by President Kennedy forbids use of wire communications—telephone and telegraph—for gambling, and provides for discontinuance of their use upon mere notice by a law enforcement officer that they are being so used. The ACLU objected, saying that a citizen could be deprived of the use of his phone without a hearing to establish that it was actually being used for illegal purposes.

Another measure prohibiting the interstate transportation of gambling paraphernalia was passed by Congress and signed by the President, with an amendment suggested by the Union. As originally worded, it would have allowed newspapers like *The New York Times* which report racing results to be classed as gambling paraphernalia. Warning of the danger to freedom of the press, the ACLU successfully urged an amendment exempting the press.

Immunity for Witnesses

A bill granting immunity to witnesses in labor racketeering cases was approved by the Senate but has not yet passed the House. While acknowledging its constitutionality, the ACLU opposed the measure as one more example of undermining the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination and said it was a "sign of government insecurity," since it implies our inability to bring wrongdoers to justice in accordance with traditional criminal due process.

Wiretapping

The Union voiced strong opposition to a number of bills pending in the Senate to permit wiretapping. Calling for a ban on all

(Continued on page 2)

Civil Rights Commission Urges Legislative Action

The Civil Rights Commission, whose life was extended for another two years in the closing days of Congress's recent session, has issued four powerful calls for action during the past few weeks:

1. It asked for legislation declaring a sixth-grade education conclusive evidence of literacy, so that a would-be voter could not be put to any further tests of his ability to read or "interpret."

2. It called for a law directing every segregated school district to produce within six months a plan for desegregation.

3. It urged President Kennedy to issue an executive order banning racial discrimination in federally aided housing and by federally supervised mortgage lenders.

4. It asked Congress to enact laws ending racial discrimination by labor unions.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

NUMBER 193, NOVEMBER 1961

Published monthly, except in July, August, and December, by the

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

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Entered as second-class matter June 20, 1938, at the Post Office in New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Re-entered as second-class matter October 11, 1949, at the New York Post Office under the same Act. Subscription: by membership $2, $5, $10, $25, and up, of which 50¢ is for one year of CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Editor*

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946, AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF

CIVIL LIBERTIES

published monthly (except July, August, and December) at New York, N.Y., for October 1, 1961.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Editor—Jeffrey E. Fuller, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Managing Editor—None.

Business Manager—Mrs. Marie M. Runyon, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership, or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

American Civil Liberties Union, incorporated under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Ernest Angell, Chairman, Board of Directors; B. W. Huebsch, Treasurer; Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director; all at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

No Stock.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue) 47,572.

(Signed) JEFFREY E. FULLER
Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1961.

MELVIN L. WULF
Notary Public, State of New York. No. 31-4353350, Qualified in New York County. Commission expires March 30, 1963.

[SEAL]

Congress Acts on Anti-Civil Liberties Bills

(Continued from page 1)

wiretapping, the ACLU said it violates the Fourth Amendment guarantee against illegal search and seizure, endangers personal privacy, and creates opportunities for extortion and shakedowns. "To make such practices lawful," said the Union, "is to move closer toward a police state. . . ."

Immigration

After strong opposition, including the ACLU's, had been expressed to an immigration bill making judicial review of deportation orders more expensive and inconvenient and in some cases banning it entirely, it was tacked on to a separate bill liberalizing the admission of alien orphans.

Right to Strike

A measure making it a federal crime to obstruct or delay messages over any commercial communication system used for military or civil defense purposes, the Union felt, could easily be interpreted to limit the First Amendment rights of employees of such a system to strike or peacefully picket. At the ACLU's urging, an exemption for lawful strike activity was written into the bill—which the President later signed into law.

District of Columbia Bills

A number of bills which would adversely affect due process rights in the District of Columbia passed the House but are expected to die in the Senate. One opposed by the Union would limit an insanity defense appeal to the century-old McNaghten Rule which makes a defendant criminally responsible if he "could distinguish right from wrong," and rejects the ruling in the Durham case that an accused is not responsible if his crime "was the product of mental disease. . . ."

Another bill would overrule the Mallory decision of the U.S. Supreme Court by permitting confessions obtained during illegal detention of a suspect to be given in evidence. The ACLU argued that a man must be brought promptly before a judicial officer after arrest to prevent the use of the third degree.

Internal Security Measures

Several measures aimed at increasing internal security were passed by the House, but it is still too early to determine whether they will receive Senate approval and become law. One would amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 by barring members of organizations required to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board. While not opposing security check-ups for scientists working with classified data, the ACLU said it was "unwarranted and unwise" to extend such investigation to the "general run of scientists who apply for NSF fellowships."

Strengthening the Smith Act

The Union also registered strong disapproval of a bill passed by the House to amend the Smith Act by defining "organize" to include continuing recruiting activities. The Supreme Court, in its 1956 Yates decision, had interpreted the word to cover only the actual organizing of the Communist Party after World War II. Still opposing the Smith Act as an unconstitutional abridgement of freedom of speech and association, the ACLU said the new amendment would make it worse.

Disclaimer Affidavit Remains

The National Defense Education Act remained as before, with the widely-criticized disclaimer affidavit still in it. The Union backed a number of bills eliminating the onerous loyalty provision, but they failed.

Censorship

A House bill to amend the definition of obscenity to include publications in the District of Columbia mainly devoted to scandals, lechery, assignation, intrigue, immoral conduct, etc., passed the House, but this expanded definition was dropped in the Senate. The ACLU said it would allow police officers to be "monitors of our literary and artistic tastes."

The Union also objected to a measure creating a Commission on Obscene and Noxious Matters and Materials which passed the Senate and is now pending in the House. The bill, the ACLU charged, would in effect create a national censorship board.

Little Civil Rights Legislation

The 87th Congress has done very little in the area of civil rights. It extended the Civil Rights Commission for two years and put off until the second session the question of amending the Senate's rules on cloture so that filibusters could not block consideration of minority rights measures.

UTAH MEETING

The ACLU of Utah recently held a meeting at which the HUAC's film "Operation Abolition" was shown and discussed. Up to 100 people were expected, but three times that number came.

"Besides the large audience," reported the Utah affiliate's Secretary, Mrs. Pat Coontz, "we were cheered by the fact that two churches and at least one PTA have shown the movie, preceded by a speaker who analyzes it. . . . Remarkable, isn't it, how many people can say 'No' after one has the courage to? We were told prior to our meeting that there'd be a riot, we'd be red-baited, threatened in our jobs, etc., and etc. Nothing yet. Our only casualty was our literature table. Have you ever been run over by 300 people? They took everything—bulletins, membership envelopes, yearly reports, bulletins from other affiliates—I literally have nothing left."

NYCLU Protests Bans By N.Y. City Colleges

The NYCLU last month asked the State Supreme Court to order the Board of Higher Education to continue to rent an auditorium at Hunter College to *National Review*, a strongly conservative weekly. The New York ACLU acted after the magazine's editor, William F. Buckley, Jr., was informed by Hunter College that, because of their controversial nature, the National Review Forums could not be held this year—as they have been, at Hunter College, for several years.

The NYCLU explained that it is representing *National Review* because it feels that "the City and its agencies should be fostering, rather than restricting, free speech, and that the responsible administrators of municipal colleges should not assume the role of censors."

The Union's New York affiliate also protested the ban imposed by all municipal colleges on speeches by known Communists. The colleges' Administrative Council said its decision was based on recent rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court upholding the federal law which makes membership in the Communist Party a crime.

Arizona ACLU Hits Tucson 3-Year "War on Vagrants"

In a recent report, the Arizona ACLU sharply criticized Tucson's three-year-old "War on Vagrants," a special campaign for broader and more rigorous enforcement of state vagrancy statutes and city loitering ordinances intended, in the words of Police Chief Bernard Garmire, to reduce the number of "not-so-well-heeled tourists."

The ACLU affiliate points out that "neither the loitering ordinance nor the vagrancy statute makes provision for trial by jury. In fact, in Tucson if the person arrested pleads not guilty he will ordinarily be incarcerated, awaiting trial, for a considerably longer term than he would spend serving the customary sentence for the offense." It said, further, that "for the vagrant, the possibility of being released on bail is virtually precluded since, according to the statute, a vagrant is a person with no address, no money, and no visible means of support. No particular acts are described for this offense—merely the status of poverty and lack of connections."

FOUR LEADERS MOURNED

The ACLU noted with sorrow in October the passing of four affiliate leaders:

Henry C. Berlin, Treasurer of the C.L.U. of Massachusetts.

Harold K. Guinzburg, a member of the N.Y.C.L.U. Board.

Edward Meyerding, former Executive Director of the Illinois Division.

Donald Paterson, Associate Director of the Minnesota Branch.

HISTORY'S LESSON

Because communism thrives on turmoil, the party is continuously attempting to exploit all grievances—real or imagined—for its own tactical purposes. It is, therefore, almost inevitable that, on many issues, the party line will coincide with the position of many non-Communists. The danger of indiscriminately alleging that someone is a Communist merely because his views on a particular issue happen to parallel the official party position is obvious. The confusion which is thereby created helps the Communists by diffusing the forces of their opponents.

Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them.

—the concluding paragraphs of "The Communist Party Line," a report prepared last month for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by J. Edgar Hoover.

California Vagrancy Laws Repealed; New Act Passed

California's vague and often abused vagrancy laws—long under attack by the Northern California ACLU—have been repealed. A law punishing disorderly conduct recently replaced them.

In signing the new bill, Governor Brown said, "Our vagrancy laws were without doubt the most often abused and at the same time the most difficult ones with which to obtain a conviction in court." A former San Francisco District Attorney illustrated the Governor's point by explaining that his office dismissed between 1700 and 1800 vagrancy charges a year—about 70% of all such cases in San Francisco. However, thousands of persons were thus given arrest records that could not be erased.

The Northern California ACLU believes that the new disorderly conduct law is not as subject to abuse by police as the vagrancy laws—but that some of its sections may still jeopardize civil liberties.

Help Needed in National Office

Members in the New York area are needed as volunteers to help with clerical tasks in the Union's national office. Call Mrs. Louise Floyd, ORegon 5-5990, to arrange hours most convenient to you.

Virgin Islands Applies Bias Law to Private Eating Clubs

A unique civil rights law has been adopted by the Virgin Islands Legislature, bringing for the first time in U.S. jurisdiction private clubs under anti-discrimination statutes. Clubs licensed to sell food and liquor are held to be places of public accommodation and, while they may choose their members, are not permitted to deny to others services publicly licensed. The population of the Islands is largely Negro, but most of the private clubs are for whites only.

The ACLU, which has long aided efforts for expanded home rule in the Virgin Islands, has expressed to the commission enforcing the new law its interest in watching the effect of this novel legislation.

CHARTER EUROPEAN FLIGHTS AGAIN OFFERED TO MEMBERS

Last summer's flights were so successful that the Union is again planning charter flights to Europe for ACLU members living in three states. C.A.B. regulations require that an organization with an enrollment of over 10,000 may offer such flights only on a state basis. Thus the trips are being planned for three of the Union's most populous states —Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania — and members of affiliates in these states may now apply for reservations for themselves and their immediate families (spouse and dependent children.)

Round trip fare—New York-London, London-New York—will be approximately $285 per person. Tentative dates:

Massachusetts—Leave June 25, return July 23
Pennsylvania—Leave July 16, return August 13
New York—Leave July 26, return September 3

All flights will probably be via BOAC jet-prop Brittania. Accommodations will be as on tourist flights; meals will be first-class. Children under two travel free—bassinets provided. For older ones, full fare will be charged, since cost is figured on a per-capita basis.

The ACLU national office is now accepting flight reservation deposits of $100 per person, on a first-come-first-served basis. Balance of payment will be due May 1, 1962. Until that date, deposit is refundable—less a $5 service charge. After final payment date, no refund can be made unless there is a waiting list. When sending in your deposit, *please use the coupon below so that your check will be clearly identified as a flight deposit.*

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Enclosed is my $100 deposit on an ACLU charter flight to Europe in 1962. *Please make check payable to ACLU-Flight Account.*

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

ACLU FLIGHT APPLICATION

CIVIL LIBERTIES *around the nation*

South Carolina: When asked how he felt about N.A.A.C.P. Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall's appointment as a federal judge last month, South Carolina's Governor Ernest Hollings replied: "I'm just as glad Martin Luther King doesn't have a law degree."

Minnesota: Richard Wyman, an English teacher in Wrenshall, Minn., was reinstated on October 27, one week after he had been dismissed for having his students read "1984."

Massachusetts: Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., founder of the John Birch Society, told the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston last month that "not yet more than one-half of one per cent" of the Catholic priests in the U.S. are Communist sympathizers.

Texas: Under a new Abilene, Texas, ordinance, both parents and theatre operators are liable to fines up to $200 for allowing children to see movies rated "objectionable."

New York: Radio station WMCA has filed suit in federal court challenging the apportionment of seats in the New York State Legislature as favoring rural districts.

Tennessee: The Tennessee Supreme Court upheld the revocation of the Highlander Folk School's charter and ordered that the privately-owned adult interracial school be closed; the U.S. Supreme Court has refused to review. A new charter will be applied for soon.

Ohio: Robert K. Carr, president of Oberlin College, warned incoming students in September that academic freedom does not include the freedom to dress like "beatniks."

District of Columbia: The House Government Information Subcommittee discovered recently that 33 out of 37 federal agencies permit telephone monitoring and that 17 do not always require that the outside party be warned that what he is saying is being taken down.

Michigan: State Attorney General Paul L. Adams recently ruled that Bible instruction in the public schools violates both the state and federal constitutions.

Indiana: Governor Matthew W. Welsh of Indiana recently attacked U.S. ultra-conservatives as "super patriots" who pose as serious a threat to the country's freedom as Communists.

Washington State's ACLU Acts in Deportation Case

The power of the Attorney General to deport an alien to a country in which she was not born and has never visited is being tested in federal court in the state of Washington. The local ACLU has filed an amicus brief challenging the proposed deportation of Mrs. Hazel Anna Wolf who, under the 1952 immigration law, lost her status as a naturalized American for alleged membership in the Communist Party during 1938 and 1939.

At issue is the constitutionality of a clause in the 1952 law which allows the Attorney General to deport a denaturalized person to any country which will accept him if his native country refuses to do so.

For Mrs. Wolf it will mean that although Canada and the United States are the only countries in which she has lived, she will at 63 be forced to spend the rest of her years in England, where she has never been.

In its brief the Washington ACLU argues that the law violates the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment and that deportation is being used as a punishment.

WIRIN HONORED

Almost a thousand Southern California ACLU members joined in paying tribute to A. L. Wirin Sept. 17 on his completing three decades of service as Counsel to the Union, both in the national office and in Los Angeles, at a garden party at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Julian Sieroty in Beverly Hills.

TO PEACE CORPS

William A. Delano, a member of the Union's national Board of Directors since 1957, last month was appointed General Counsel to the Peace Corps—and has resigned from the Board.

BOOK NOTES

PLEASE ORDER THESE WORKS FROM BOOK STORES OR PUBLISHERS, *not* FROM ACLU.

THE PRESIDENCY AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, by Richard P. Longaker. 253 pp. Cornell University Press, $4.50

In this volume of the Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty, Professor Longaker examines the role played by the Chief Executive in assisting or hindering civil liberty and civil rights. After a lucid discussion, the author concludes that though the political power is imposing, it has been sacrificed to accommodate competing political interests.

—M. L. W.

KILLERS OF THE DREAM, by Lillian Smith. 253 pp. W. W. Norton & Company. $4.50

In this profound and beautiful book, first published twelve years ago and re-issued this month in a new and expanded edition, Miss Smith, a member of the ACLU's National Committee, examines the tragedy of racism in the South.

A CENTURY OF CIVIL RIGHTS, by Milton R. Konvitz. With a Study of STATE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, by Theodore Leskes. 301 pp. Columbia University Press. $6.00

A significant analysis of civil rights developments since the Civil War by Professor Konvitz of Cornell and Theodore Leskes of the American Jewish Committee staff.

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY, by Alan Barth. 224 pp. Viking Press. $4.50

A member of the Union's National Committee, Mr. Barth effectively presents the thesis that civil liberties are being imperiled in the nation's fight against crime.

CIVIL LIBERTIES
Published monthly, except in July, August, and December, by the
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Rm.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
108

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

347

NOVEMBER 1961 — NUMBER 193

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

December 22, 1961

MEMORANDUM TO: PAUL RILLING

FROM: CHARLES MORGAN, JR.

Attached is the document being used against at least one and possibly three well known white members of the Alabama Council. Please (at your earliest convenience) mark on the margins of this document any notations which you consider appropriate, write me with respect to any ideas you may have, note which of the Board members listed were actually Board members, and, if known, which of them were not members of organizations attributed to them.

It would also be appreciated if you would advise me as to any members of the Board, past or present, who are not here listed whose names might bolster our position. I would also like to know the time of retirement or death of each of the members who are no longer on the Board whose names are listed.

Received information with reference to this in the morning mail. Thank you very much.

Kindest regards and best wishes to everyone for a Merry Christmas and a good New Year.

Chuck

Ted Lippman

Quote by Maddox Doesn't Hold Up

WASHINGTON—In his advertisement in last Saturday's Atlanta Constitution, Lester Maddox made this statement: "The Communists are dedicated to, and have publicly stated, their intention to destroy the South and America by bringing about complete racial integration." Is that true?

The day before I read that sentence, I had lunch here with two very active anti-Communists. One is Gene Methvin, a native of Vienna, Ga., who had been digging into the Communist conspiracy for about two years. The other is Donald L. Miller, editor of Freedom's Facts, who has been fighting Communists for 20 years.

We had been talking about just what Maddox wrote about. Both Methvin and Miller had said that there had been very little Communist infiltration of the Negro movement toward civil rights or, if you prefer, integration.

So, when, the next day, I saw Maddox's statement, I called Miller and Methvin and asked them if that could be true. It seems it couldn't be.

"No Communist ever said that. It doesn't exist in Communist literature," Methvin said.

Methvin has made an exhaustive study of Red literature. He should know. But, there has been a lot of Communist literature. It is possible he might have overlooked something.

Just to be sure, I called the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (which is headed by Sen. Eastland of Mississippi), asked researcher Ben Ma[illegible] knowledged leader in this area. Was such a statement true?

"It sounds," he said, "wholly mythical."

The issue of civil rights is one that Communists would love to take over and use for their own cause. They have not been able to, according to these three experts, despite the fact that they have tried. Now and then Communists more interested in strife than in rights have gotten into the movement. But for the most part, to use Mandel's words, "the Negro leaders have kept the Commies at arm's length."

As a matter of fact, the Communists have been more successful in "using" the Klan, the Citizens Councils and the Lester Maddoxes of the South than they have in using Negro organizations and leaders. In 1959 Moscow printed a handbook that called on Communists to get the racial radicals to take up the anti-Communist line. Reds figured if known irresponsibles, like Maddox, could be duped into being anti-Communist as well as anti-Negro, it would discredit the honest, knowledgeable anti-Communists.

If Maddox really read such a [illegible]ment as the one he quoted, [illegible] a plant.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
December 22, 1961

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Radio Station WSFM (Birmingham, Alabama)

REGARDING:

Libelous charges against SRC claiming it to be Communist.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Criticisms - Alabama (Note: complete file on Radio Station WSFM pulled from for George Barrett on Friday, July 27, 1962 Barrett has all this material with him in Nashville structuring a letter to send Mr. Melonas)

Returned

VETERANS' NEWS

"The Price of Liberty Is Eternal Vigilance"

VOL. 4 — NO. 3 ATLANTA, GEORGIA AUGUST, 1962

17 Years A

An Editorial . . .

The Atlanta political machine is out to get Marvin Griffin. The wealthy brain washed bankers and their Negro bloc vote would be extended to the entire state, if "Johnny come lately" Carl Sanders is elected.

This is the same crowd that put Ivan Allen in as Mayor of Atlanta. The fact that the mayors office was bought has never been successfully denied.

This crowd is supported by the Southern Regional Council and the Urban League, another radical Negro integration organization, aimed at the destruction of our Southern way of life. Other organizations who are not known for their Southern sympathies like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Yankee owned Atlanta Newspapers edited by Southern scallawags such as Eugene Patterson and Ralph McGill. It is well known that this crowd is behind the candidacy of the captive candidate Carl Sanders. This crowd must not be allowed to get control of our state government. Former Governor Marvin Griffin can and will win this election come September 12. Eugene Patterson's prediction notwithstanding. Mr. Griffin made Georgia one of its greatest Governors.

Communist in high post with King's mixing group

Birmingham News Washington Bureau 10/26/62

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—A Communist has infiltrated to the top administrative post in the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He is Jack H. O'Dell, acting executive director of conference activities in Southeastern states, including Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. From his birth in Detroit in 1923 until as late as 1958, he was known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell. O'Dell, by whatever name, operates as a concealed member of the national committee of the Communist party, U. S. A., according to a highly authoritative source.

Until a few weeks ago, O'Dell was regional consultant to the conference staff, which has head-

EXCLUSIVE

quarters in Atalnta. He became acting director recently. Main functions of the staff are to set up voter registration schools, "workshops" for promotion of civil rights activities and public meetings.

AFTER ATTENDING Xavier University, New Orleans, La., O'Dell for several years was a sailor in the Merchant Marine. In July, 1950, however, he was expelled from the National Maritime Union at Galveston, Tex. The union took exception to his circulation of pro-Soviet peace petitions attacking the government of the United States.

On April 12, 1956, identifying himself as Hunter Pitts, O'Dell, a New Orleans waiter, he testified before the Senate internal security subcommitte. He invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether he was a Southern district organizer for the Communist Party.

Robert Morris, counsel for the subcommittee, said information had been received that O'Dell was in fact, a district organizer for the Communist Party in New Or-

Turn to Page 10, Column 4

Communist

Continued from Page 1

leans; that O'Dell gave "directives to the professional group" in that city, and that he operated under three different names—the two other names being John Vesey and Ben Jones.

It was learned that hundreds of documents seized at O'Dell's residence, 2319 Louisiana Ave., by New Orleans police clearly established his key position in the Communist movement in the South.

ON JULY 30, 1958, identifying himself as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a Montgomery, Ala., insurance man, he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in an Atlanta hearing. An Associated Press story reported that O'Dell "tried unsuccessfully to turn the hearing into a discussion of mistreatment of Negroes in the South."

O'Dell invoked the First and Fifth Amendments and declined to answer committee questions about his Communist activities.

In recent years, it was learned, O'Dell has tried to remain in the background in carrying out his Communist Party assignments.

Officers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are the Rev. Dr. King, president; the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, formerly of Birmingham, Ala., secretary, and the Rev. Ralph Abernethy, formerly of Montgomery, Ala., treasurer.

Dr. King has said that the organization's budget for this next year is $300,000. This does not include a $100,000 grant from the Field Foundation, to be used exclusively for voter registration. At least half the expected $300,000 will come from outside the South, King has said. He has explained, too, that he takes no salary from the conference, but "volunteers service as part of my ministry." He is minister of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta. He has been president of the conference since its organization in New Orleans in 1957.

Is U. S

Arkansas Gazette.

Registered U. S. Patent Office

VOL. 140—NO. 90. LITTLE ROCK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1959.—TWENTY-SIX PAGES. ★ ★ ★ ★ PRICE 5c

Little Rock Forecast

Partly cloudy and colder today and tonight. A high of 55 is forecast today and a low of 35 tonight. Yesterday's high was 74, the low 49.

(Details, Weather Map, Page 11B.)

In the News

Arthur Godfrey will replace Edward R. Murrow, who is taking a year's leave of absence, as host of the "Person to Person" television show, the Columbia Broadcasting System announced at New York, commenting that "over the years Arthur has more than amply demonstrated that he is one of the most charming and skillful interviewers in broadcasting."

Jesus Sosa Blanco, 51, a major in the Batista army, was convicted at Havana for the second time and sentenced to death by a revolutionary war crimes tribunal which had granted him a new trial on his appeal from a conviction before a jeering crowd of thousands of Cubans in Havana's Sports Palace.

Bachittar Singh, chairman of the New Delhi Transport Committee in India's capital, said he hired women as bus conductors because he had found them to be more honest than men.

Pope John XXIII has sent an apostolic blessing requested by dictator Benito Mussolini's widow for the repose of his soul, Vatican sources said.

Rev. Alphonse Riesser, 56, a Swiss Roman Catholic priest, apparently has been kidnaped by nationalist rebels in Algeria, authorities reported after finding his car near Seddouk, Northeast Algeria, where he had gone to celebrate mass.

Gen. George C. Marshall, 78, famed soldier and statesman who suffered a stroke January 15, has grown "moderately weaker," his doctors said at Fort Bragg, N. C.

Stanley Arnold, Democratic state senator, introduced a bill in the California legislature at Sacramento which would require a hunter who shot another hunter to file a written report with the Fish and Game Department in 48 hours.

Joe Billy Hobbs, city marshal of Wilmer, Tex., who weighs 270 pounds, shot himself in the thigh while practicing a fast draw with his six-gun.

Oscar (Bud) Boetticher Jr., 44, a movie director, wanted to "live like a bachelor" despite the fact he was the father of two children, his wife, Emily, 34, testified at Los Angeles in winning a divorce.

Fenton R. Mathews, an antique dealer who demanded a jury trial after receiving a $1 overtime parking ticket, had to pay $33 in court costs at Birmingham, Mich., when he was found guilty and paid up with a check which had this notation typed on the back: "Parking meter payment to public servants, Birmingham, Mich., 1959, for hollow achievement. May this pack of American Christians

Bills Opposed By Labor Get Final Approval

House Okays Ban On 'Strike Benefits,' Clears Way for Suits

By ERNEST VALACHOVIC
Of the Gazette Staff

Two Senate bills which labor unions oppose strongly went through the House yesterday and on to Governor Faubus.

Passed were SB 3 which makes labor unions liable to lawsuits and SB 221 to deny to strikers unemployment insurance benefits.

It's Up to Governor

Governor Faubus must decide whether to approve the bills. He saw a delegation yesterday from the Arkansas State AFLCIO, which urged him to veto SB 3, but this was before the House vote on SB 221. Organized labor has opposed this measure as strenuously as it did the other.

Mr. Faubus said he advised the labor delegation to submit an analysis on their views on SB 3 and that he would have his own analysis prepared.

Racial Issue Injected

The House voted for SB 3 after a heated debate into which the racial issue was injected. The vote was 52 for and 36 against.

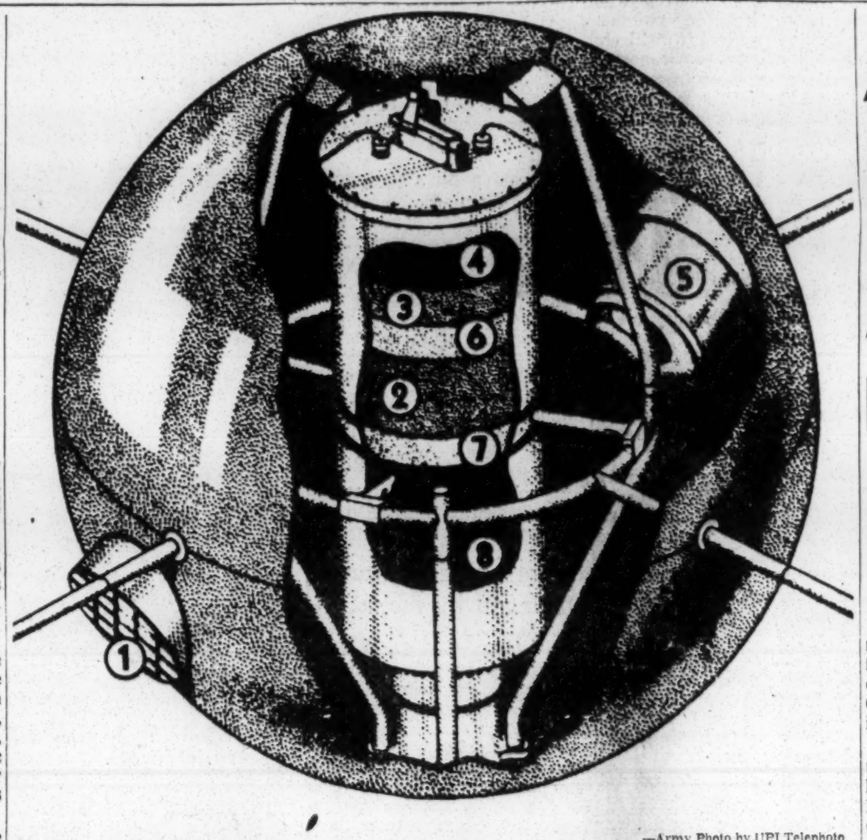
Representative John P. Bethell of Prairie County, arguing for the bill, said national labor unions were discouraging the relocation in the South of many industrial plants and were encouraging racial unrest in the South as a part of this program.

Bethell said Walther Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, was a vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and that the NAACP had been helped financially by national unions.

Stiles Opposes It

Representative Dewey D. Stiles of Hot Spring County contended that the bill was discriminatory. He said the relationship between labor and management was good and the bill could only create some bad feeling.

"This is something to harass



—Army Photo by UPI Telephoto

Here is a cutaway of the United States' first weather satellite launched yesterday at Cape Canaveral, Fla. The experiment depends on two photoelectric cells which scan the earth's surface and cloud masses. The data is stored on a tape recorder, which may be "interrogated" from earth every orbit—126 minutes. Principal parts are: (1) The photocell light shield, (2) Recorder, (3) Interrogation radio receiver, (4) Meteorological data transmitter, (5) Photocell, (6) Data electronics, (7) Tracking transmitter, (8) Mercury cell batteries.

Perfect Rocket Shot Puts 'Weatherman' Into Orbit

Washington, Feb. 17 (AP).—An American satellite carrying a miniature, mechanical weather observer flashed into orbit of the earth today. It is equipped to report on the earth's cloud cover and thus help spot storm clouds or tornadoes.

The satellite, Vanguard II, may whirl through space for years or centuries. But the batteries for its weather eyes—a pair of photoelectric cells—can operate continuously only for two weeks.

At first it may take two weeks to process the information relayed to scientists by the 20-inch, 21½-pound globe.

Yet the launching of the satellites was a big stride toward using man-made moons to help improve weather forecasts. Farther in the future is a possibility that satellites will help humans

Two hours and 20 minutes later, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced at Washington that Vanguard II was in orbit.

NASA Director T. Keith Glennan said the artificial moon was circling the earth every 126 minutes at altitudes varying from 335 to 2,050 miles. The speed varies

Senate Okays Limit on Area Of Planning

With one vote to spare, the Senate passed a bill yesterday shrinking the planning jurisdiction of Arkansas cities to their city limits.

The bill (SB 172) by Senator Artie Gregory of North Little Rock passed 19-13 and went to the House.

It would amend Act 186 of 1957 which gives cities authority to plan for future expansion five miles beyond their boundaries.

Senator Max Howell of Little Rock, pushing the bill for Gregory, said it had been endorsed by "some members" of the Little Rock and North Little Rock plan-

Alford Blames Reds For Unrest; Queried About Faubus' Past

Lawmaker Jabs At Ashmore; Editor Replies

Washington, Feb. 17 (AP).—Representative Dale Alford today referred to Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, as a "renegade journalist."

Alford, a former member of the Little Rock School Board, has supported Governor Orval E. Faubus' action in using National Guard troops to prevent court-ordered integration at Little Rock Central High School. The Little Rock congressman had Mr. Faubus' behind-the-scenes support when he defeated Democratic incumbent Brooks Hays as a write-in candidate in the November general elections.

The Gazette has criticized Alford and the Arkansas governor.

Mentions 'Communist'

Alford, in a House speech, mentioned that Ashmore was a director of a foundation providing funds for an organization which Alford said was set up by a Communist.

This drew a defense of Ashmore from two House members in a subsequent colloquy.

And at Little Rock, Ashmore declared that the charge was "wholly erroneous and the record which so proves it was available to Dr. Alford when he prepared his speech."

Under questioning on the House floor, Alford indicated that he did not intend to imply that the Gazette editor was a Communist.

'Renegade' Blast

What Alford said concerning

Publicity Sought For Alford Talk

Gazette Washington Bureau
1202 National Press Building

Washington, Feb. 17.—Representative John Bell Williams (Dem., Miss.) said today he had grave doubts that Representative Dale Alford's charges that Communists were behind racial agitation would be communicated through the press "because a paper curtain has been drawn around the Southern side of this controversy."

Other Southern congressmen demanded that the press give wide publicity to Alford's remarks.

The press complied—but it wasn't easy. Alford had only one copy of the speech and he gave that to the Washington correspondent of the Arkansas Democrat.

The Little Rock congressman's office was deluged with telephone calls from reporters requesting a text of the speech. But additional copies weren't made available until 5:45 p. m. (EST)—3 hours and 15 minutes after Alford finished speaking.

House Averts Bitter Fight Over U of A

A bitter fight involving the University of Arkansas was averted at the last minute in the House yesterday.

The uneasy peace came when Representative J. H. Moody of White County withdrew HR 16 which propounded a series of racial and policy questions at University officials.

Moody pulled the resolution at the suggestion of Representative Charles L. Durrett of Union Coun-

Southerners Applaud Talk On Race Issue

By ELIZABETH CARPENTER

Gazette Washington Bureau
1202 National Press Building

Washington, Feb. 17. — Representative Dale Alford told the House today that Communists were responsible for the racial troubles in Arkansas and the South. He said Communists and their dupes had "flitted in and out" of Arkansas for years.

Alford promptly was confronted with an observation that his "documentation is not as complete as it might be." Representative Frank Thompson (Dem., N. J.) noted that the Little Rock congressman, in detailing accusations of what he called a Communist conspiracy to create racial unrest, had failed to mention Commonwealth College.

Thompson asked Alford if he was aware that the now-defunct school at Mena, Ark., had been cited by the United States attorney general as a "subversive organization" and that "the present chief executive" of Arkansas—Governor Orval E. Faubus—had attended Commonwealth.

Alford said he had knowledge of such information. He had, he said, lived as a child "not many miles" from the institution.

But he said that Commonwealth existed "nearly 40 years ago—I believe that is correct"—and that Mr. Faubus was there "only several days." He contended that little was known about the College at the time Mr. Faubus went there and that the governor had stated "several times" that he left the College when he discovered the nature of its teachings.

Fort Bragg, N. C.

Stanley Arnold, Democratic state senator, introduced a bill in the California legislature at Sacramento which would require a hunter who shot another hunter to file a written report with the Fish and Game Department in 48 hours.

Joe Billy Hobbs, city marshal of Wilmer, Tex., who weighs 270 pounds, shot himself in the thigh while practicing a fast draw with his six-gun.

Oscar (Bud) Boetticher Jr., 44, a movie director, wanted to "live like a bachelor" despite the fact he was the father of two children, his wife, Emily, 34, testified at Los Angeles in winning a divorce.

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Governor William G. Stratton of Illinois revealed at Springfield that he and New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller discussed the 1960 presidential campaign in a secret political huddle Saturday, concluding that their state administrations would have to write much of the record on which the Republicans would run in 1960.

Senator Theodore Francis Green (Dem., R. I.), 91, who resigned recently as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.), was designated as chairman-emeritus of the Committee, which lauded him for his initiative and statesman-ship."

Senator Stephen M. Young (Dem., O.), who calls civil defense a waste because he feels there is no defense against nuclear weapons except the threat of retaliation, cited as an example a new civil defense booklet which recommends the building of basement shelters with a two-week supply of food, a suggestion which brought this reflection from Young: "Those who desire and can afford to spend money and follow these directions will be helping grocers and building contractors. Otherwise it is difficult to see any good that is accomplished."

John Thomas Freeman, 40, a native of Oklahoma City who is described as a drug addict and a heavy drinker with a 22-year crime record, was added at Washington to the FBI's roll of "10 most wanted men."

Buddy James, 30, a onetime name band singer and saxophone player, will leave Hartford, Ct., soon to become a Roman Catholic missionary under the name of Rev. James V. Perrone, his legal name.

On the Inside

Amusements	7B
Arkansas Traveler	1B
Billy Graham	4B
Business & Farm Review	11B
City News	7B
Comics	5B
Crossword Puzzle	4B
Daily Record	5B
Dear Abby	11A
Dr. Van Dellen	4B
Editorials	4A
Goren on Bridge	4B
In the Courts	12B
Markets	11B
North Little Rock	9A
Obituaries	12A
Our Town	1B
Questions and Answers	5B
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River Bulletin	11B
Sports	2-3B
Uncle Ray's Corner	4B
Weather Map	11B
Women's News	10-11A

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Stiles Opposes It

Representative Dewey D. Stiles of Hot Spring County contended that the bill was discriminatory. He said the relationship between labor and management was good and the bill could only create some bad feeling.

"This is something to harass labor in Arkansas," Stiles said. "There is no good in it and no need for it. If we are going to pass a bill of this type, why not fix it so we could sue all organizations?"

Stiles was joined by Representative Mattie L. Hackett of Lafayette County. She contended that the bill could only result in bitterness and resentment on the part of labor groups and sympathizers.

"Discrimination doesn't belong on the floor of the House of Representatives," she said. "A union is a union of people, it is no different from a bar association, medical society or teachers organization." She was applauded.

Lined up with Bethell to speak for the bill was Representative Harry B. Colay of Columbia County. Representative Glenn F.

(See LABOR on Page 3A.)

—Army Photo by UPI Telephoto

Here is a cutaway of the United States' first weather satellite launched yesterday at Cape Canaveral, Fla. The experiment depends on two photoelectric cells which scan the earth's surface and cloud masses. The data is stored on a tape recorder, which may be "interrogated" from earth every orbit—126 minutes. Principal parts are: (1) The photocell light shield, (2) Recorder, (3) Interrogation radio receiver, (4) Meteorological data transmitter, (5) Photocell, (6) Data electronics, (7) Tracking transmitter, (8) Mercury cell batteries.

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Yet the launching of the satellites was a big stride toward using man-made moons to help improve weather forecasts. Farther in the future is a possibility that satellites will help humans with the control of weather.

Dr. Richard Porter, head of the United States satellite panel for the International Geophysical Year, said today's launching was "the beginning of a new era in weather research." President Eisenhower congratulated "all who participated in the successful launching."

The basketball-size satellite is streaking along with Russia's huge Sputnik III and three American satellites. Its two electronic eyes peer out of its shiny shell. Other delicate instruments are packed inside the sphere.

A remodeled version of the Vanguard rocket, which was a $100,000,000 fizzle in six or seven earlier tries, shot the satellite into orbit. Cape Canaveral, Fla., was the launching spot.

The 72-foot rocket surged upward without a hitch. All three stages fired smoothly.

Two hours and 20 minutes later, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced at Washington that Vanguard II was in orbit.

NASA Director T. Keith Glennan said the artificial moon was circling the earth every 126 minutes at altitudes varying from 335 to 2,050 miles. The speed varies from 14,000 to 18,000 miles an hour, with the satellite traveling faster when it is closer to the earth.

Trailing along behind was the 50-pound third stage of the rocket.

Vanguard II isn't as far out in space as Vanguard I, and hence is in denser atmosphere. The first Vanguard, a grapefruit-size moonlet launched last March, is expected to last perhaps 1,000 years.

Glennan said the new satellite swung 34 degrees north and south of the Equator on each circuit of the earth. On that basis, Vanguard II should be able to check every day on nearly a fourth of the earth's sunlit surface. Most of the area will be north of the Equator.

Better Than Expected

Dr. Joseph Sirey, another NASA official, told newsmen that early calculations "indicated that the performance is somewhat in excess of what we had expected."

He said the satellite reached the point in its orbit nearest the earth a little after noon, when it was north of the equator. This means, he said that conditions are particularly good for recording cloud cover over the sunlit portion of the world.

The photelectric cells the scientists said should be able to distinguish between clouds, oceans, snow-covered ground and other features. That is because the reflection from each type of surface is different.

How It Works

The information is handled this way:

The reflections are converted into electrical signals which are tape recorded by the satellite. When ground stations give a signal, the stored information is transmitted to them and again recorded on tape.

The tapes will be rushed to Army Signal Corps experts at Fort Monmouth, N. J., and fed into machines that will convert the data into crude pictures. The films can be patched together, much as a large aerial photograph is made up.

With reference to the potential value of the system, Dr. Edgar Cortright of NASA said scientists hoped to get more specific information on the height and layers of clouds, on rain and snow, and to develop techniques for locating electrical storms.

Launchings are planned for three more Vanguards. One will have a bigger third stage, designed to launch a 42-pound satellite.

The next launching is scheduled to carry aloft a device to measure the earth's main magnetic field and record its fluctuations.

Coin Machine Man Describes Beating, Deal Forced on Him

Washington, Feb. 17 (AP).—A Brooklyn man told senators today he was beaten mercilessly until he agreed to sign away the biggest part of his holdings in a coin machine business.

Weeping as he spoke, Sidney Saul testified to the Senate rackets committee that three strongarm men cornered him in a Brooklyn restaurant December 19, 1957.

While they fed coins into a jukebox to smother the sound of his pleas, Saul said, one of the trio pummeled him without letup. He said other customers in the place seemed to ignore what was going on.

Saul named his assailant as Ernest (Ernie Kippy) Filocomo. As he told it, Filocomo "didn't stop—he was like a wild man." Twice, Saul said, another member of the group stopped the beating so he could be revived with coffee. And once, the witness said, this second man—identified as Charles Panarella—wiped blood from Saul's ears, mouth and nose with a wet towel.

"I didn't cry—I just pleaded." Saul told the committee. "My nose was completely out of shape. It was shaped like a horseshoe, a complete 'U.' As a matter of fact, it is still out of shape now. One eye was closed * * * I couldn't chew food for almost three weeks."

—UPI Telephoto

SIDNEY SAUL

In the end, Saul said, he agreed to the demands of his assailants for three-fourths of his interest in a route of 26 machines. But he did not make clear whether he kept that agreement. His occupation was listed at today's hearing as a salesman.

Besides Filocomo and Panarella Saul listed the other member of the group as Anthony (Dutch) Tuzio. He said the three are awaiting trial in Brooklyn for the alleged assault.

Committee Counsel Robert F. Kennedy said the men Saul accused have passed up an invitation to testify. He said they had not been subpoenaed because of the pending trial. Placed in committee evidence was a staff investigator's report that Tuzio recently was freed after serving a sentence for murder. The report said Filocomo and Panarella also had long criminal records.

Saul said he has been under police protection since the beating 14 months ago. He related the beating to what he said were repeated efforts by various persons to cut themselves in for a share of his business as a coin machine distributor.

No More Public Land

Alexandria, La., Feb. 17 (UPI).—Homesteading finally is on the way out in Louisiana. On February 24 the state will auction off 1,500 acres still in the public domain.

Senate Okays Limit on Area Of Planning

With one vote to spare, the Senate passed a bill yesterday shrinking the planning jurisdiction of Arkansas cities to their city limits.

The bill (SB 172) by Senator Artie Gregory of North Little Rock passed 19-13 and went to the House.

It would amend Act 186 of 1957 which gives cities authority to plan for future expansion five miles beyond their boundaries.

Senator Max Howell of Little Rock, pushing the bill for Gregory, said it had been endorsed by "some members" of the Little Rock and North Little Rock planning commissions and by "the Real Estate Board."

Waves Letters

Gregory waved a sheaf of letters he said he had received in support of the bill

After it was introduced January 30, several groups and persons came out against the proposed planning limitation. Among them were the Little Rock City Manager Board, the North Little Rock planning director, the Little Rock Real Estate Board and the Arkansas Home Building Association.

Senator Morrell Gathright of Pine Bluff said the Pine Bluff Planning Commission opposed it.

Senator Robert Hays Williams of Russellville, a member of the Russellville Planning Commission, spoke against it. He said the present law limited cities to "putting its plans on a map" and did not allow them to put into law zoning regulations outside city limits.

Supported by Screeton

Senator Jerry Screeton of Hazen defended Gregory's bill, saying he "couldn't conceive" a city's having power outside its boundaries.

Here's the Senate vote on HB 172:

For (19)

Bates	Milum
Bearden	Riales
Bradley	Screeton
Clark	Shackleford
Gregory	Shelton
Hendrix	Slack
Howell	Stafford
Hurst	West
Johnston	Yates
Jones	

Against (13)

Allen	Levine
Anderson	Smith
Bell	Wade
Eldridge	Williams of Grant
Elrod	Williams of Pope
Fagan	
Gathright	
Harvey	

Absent or Not Voting (3)

Dodson (ill)	White
Penn	

Vietnam Frontier Attack Reported

Saigon, Feb. 17 (AP). — The South Vietnam government news agency today reported attacks by two armed bands of Cambodians at points in South Vietnam near the Cambodian border.

The report said a band of 60 attacked an agricultural development center near the frontier on January 29, apparently to destroy tractors. Local defense units repulsed the invaders, the account said.

On February 4 another band reportedly shot up a small restaurant, killing a South Vietnam army lieutenant and several civilians dining in the cafe. The report said the Cambodians withdrew toward the nearby border.

Faubus action in using National Guard troops to prevent court-ordered integration at Little Rock Central High School. The Little Rock congressman had Mr. Faubus' behind-the-scenes support when he defeated Democratic incumbent Brooks Hays as a write-in candidate in the November general elections.

The Gazette has criticized Alford and the Arkansas governor.

Mentions 'Communist'

Alford, in a House speech, mentioned that Ashmore was a director of a foundation providing funds for an organization which Alford said was set up by a Communist.

This drew a defense of Ashmore from two House members in a subsequent colloquy.

And at Little Rock, Ashmore declared that the charge was "wholly erroneous and the record which so proves it was available to Dr. Alford when he prepared his speech."

Under questioning on the House floor, Alford indicated that he did not intend to imply that the Gazette editor was a Communist.

'Renegade' Blast

What Alford said concerning Ashmore was:

"One of the incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is Harry Ashmore, the renegade journalist who is editor of the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, and who has profited quite materially in the capitalistic line by writing detrimental articles about his native Southland.

"This same Harry Ashmore was, and still is, a director of the foundation which provided approximately a half-million dollars to finance and operate the Southern Regional Council."

Discusses Jackson

Earlier, Alford had discussed James E. Jackson Jr., whom he identified as a Moscow-trained Negro. Jackson, he said, was credited with forming the Southern Regional Council. This Council, he said, had auxiliary groups known as state councils on human relations.

Ashmore's Statement

Ashmore said Alford's "innuendoes are as demonstrably false as the only alleged fact he presented in his remarks about me."

His statement continued:

"He [Alford] charged that I am associated with a foundation which has financed a Southern organization which in turn has employed one James E. Jackson Jr., a Negro with a Communist record.

"This is wholly erroneous, and the record which so proves it was

(See EDITOR on Page 2A.)

marks.

The press complied—but it wasn't easy. Alford had only one copy of the speech and he gave that to the Washington correspondent of the Arkansas Democrat.

The Little Rock congressman's office was deluged with telephone calls from reporters requesting a text of the speech. But additional copies weren't made available until 5:45 p. m. (EST)—3 hours and 15 minutes after Alford finished speaking.

House Averts Bitter Fight Over U of A

A bitter fight involving the University of Arkansas was averted at the last minute in the House yesterday.

The uneasy peace came when Representative J. H. Moody of White County withdrew HR 18 which propounded a series of racial and policy questions at University officials.

Moody pulled the resolution at the suggestion of Representative Chadd L. Durrett of Union County who said he opposed "a show" as set up under Moody's proposal.

Moody agreed and said he intended to seek a 7-member committee to investigate the allegations he made in his original resolution.

In this measure he asked University officials to explain their 5,000-member staff for 5,300 students, participation of university professors in interracial meetings and in a meeting at which atheism was discussed, alleged mixing of races and sexes in dormitories during the past two summer terms and about the alleged employment of a draft dodger.

Hits at 'Bad Apples'

Moody said his resolution was not a smear against the University. He said he felt if any of these allegations are true the House and the people deserved to know about it.

"I'd like to have the opportunity to purge a few bad apples out of that institution," Moody said after warning the House it cannot afford to let its defenses down against unAmerican concepts and those advocating them.

Durrett Applauded

Durrett said he didn't question Moody's sincerity and that the allegations warranted investigation, but not in a public name-calling before the House.

"There is another method than this to aid our dirty linen, if dirty linen there is," Durrett said. "A smaller committee should

(See U OF A on Page 2A.)

out of Arkansas for years.

Alford promptly was confronted with an observation that his "documentation is not as complete as it might be." Representative Frank Thompson (Dem., N. J.) noted that the Little Rock congressman, in detailing accusations of what he called a Communist conspiracy to create racial unrest, had failed to mention Commonwealth College.

Thompson asked Alford if he was aware that the now-defunct school at Mena, Ark., had been cited by the United States attorney general as a "subversive organization" and that "the present chief executive" of Arkansas—Governor Orval E. Faubus—had attended Commonwealth.

Alford said he had knowledge of such information. He had, he said, lived as a child "not many miles" from the institution.

But he said that Commonwealth existed "nearly 40 years ago—I believe that is correct"—and that Mr. Faubus was there "only several days." He contended that little was known about the College at the time Mr. Faubus went there and that the governor had stated "several times" that he left the College when he discovered the nature of its teachings.

1954 Campaign Recalled

Thompson reminded Alford that Commonwealth still was in existence in 1940. And Representative Wayne L. Hays (Dem., O.) observed that Mr. Faubus was enrolled long enough "to be elected president of the student body" and "long enough to later swear in a political campaign that he never attended the College."

Mr. Faubus' attendance at Commonwealth was raised as a campaign issue in the summer of 1954 by Francis A. Cherry, the incumbent governor whom Mr. Faubus defeated.

On August 1, 1954, Mr. Faubus said in speeches at Bald Knob, Tuckerman, Newport, and Searcy that "I have never been a student or faculty member at the school [Commonwealth] and never have attended a class there."

Two days later, he admitted that he had visited Commonwealth in the spring of 1935 and was "elected president of the Student Association." But he contended that he never enrolled and went home without paying his tuition or attending a class.

More recently, Mr. Faubus said that he left Commonwealth after hearing a member of the faculty attack the institution of marriage.

In February 1935, an Arkansas legislative committee investigated Commonwealth and listed it as "subversive." The United States attorney general's office drew the same conclusion a few years later.

Commonwealth, Alford said, attracted students from the "hill section" of Arkansas "where the economic status of the people was very low." Mr. Faubus was born and reared in Madison County, in Arkansas's hill section. Alford said Commonwealth's appeal was to farm youth to whom it offered an education in exchange for work on the College's farm.

Refers to Lorches

Alford's speech was made at the close of the day's session. He had reserved 50 minutes for it.

There is a Communist conspiracy, he said, to create racial unrest and so divide the country that it could be made part of a one-world government operated from Moscow.

Alford said he was "alarmed at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of communism" and that he is concerned that the Justice Department yields, as he put it, to the pressure of such "an organization as the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.]"

He said "a few good Negro citizens have become pawns of this international conspiracy without being conscious, in the beginning, of its vicious intent of creating mass agitation to divide and conquer."

Alford named several persons whom he identified as Commun-

(See ALFORD on Page 2A.)

Reassessment Probe Reveals Utility Taxes Cut by Millions

The legislature's Joint Committee on Reassessment heard an estimate yesterday that the state's utilities and railroads were saving millions of dollars a year in property taxes under a 1956 change in the method of figuring their assessments.

It was suggested that the other taxpayers were paying more to take up the slack. A further suggestion hovering in the background was that the utilities and railroads had not lowered their rates to pass their tax savings on to the consumers.

Earl Berry, assistant director in charge of utilities in the Arkansas Assessment Co-ordination Department, agreed under questioning that the utilities and railroads had been able to reduce their total assessments in Arkansas "possibly" $60,000,000 to $80,000,000. One legislator, Representative Marion H. Crank of Little River County, estimated that would save them $6,000,000 a year in taxes.

Another Committee member, Representative Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, said he believed the reduction in assessments would run nearer $100,000,000 to $120,000,000.

An essential question not answered yesterday was whether the utilities and railroads deserved this tax break.

These and other questions—like the exact amount of the savings to the utilities—are to be explored further by a special subcommittee of Van Dalsem, Crank and Senator Robert Hays Williams of Russellville. The subcommittee is to meet with Berry, study the matter and report its findings Tuesday.

An overall question becoming more pressing each day is whether the mass of questions being raised by the Committee can be answered, and answered well enough, to save the reassessment program. There is a feeling on the Committee that if the "right" answers are not forthcoming the legislature will kill the appropriation for the Assessment Co-ordination Department. That would kill the program unless

(See PROGRAM on Page 2A.)

Page Five

Reds Cited For Stirring Race Unrest

WASHINGTON —(UPI)— Rep. Dale Alford (D-Ark) told the House Tuesday that Communists are stirring up racial discord in the South and have been since 1928.

The Little Rock segregationist said Communists and their dupes have "flitted in and out" of his state for years.

He noted that an Arkansas investigating committee charged that Communists were behind Little Rock's School crisis.

Alford also charged that James Jackson, whom he identified as a Southern regional director of the Communist Party, had made a survey of activity needed to divide Arkansas residents.

He said a woman identified as a Communist was seen with a Negro girl outside Central High School during the 1957 integration dispute.

Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ) recalled that Arkansas Gov. Orval E. Faubus once attended Commonwealth College, which Thompson said had been cited as subversive. Thompson said Faubus would be "indicted" for this under Alford's reasoning.

Charlotte Observer 2/18/59

Washington Post 2/18/59 Page A-13

Alford Tells House Reds Stir South's Racial Strife

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

Rep. Dale Alford (D-Ark.) yesterday delivered the House speech which he had said would present evidence that subversive elements were behind the South's school and other racial troubles.

Some Southern members praised the speech as "well documented," "courageous" and "long overdue." Some Northern members said they were still waiting for the evidence, suggested that Alford tried to establish guilt by association and expressed "regret" that he had brought communism into the difficult race problem.

Alford, write-in victor over Brooks Hays last fall and an outspoken segregationist supporter of Gov. Orval E. Faubus, told the House that Communists have been stirring up racial strife in the South for 30 years. He made these statements:

• James Jackson, now a Communist Party official, once made a survey of Arkansas for the Party to devise ways to set the races against each other.

• Grace Lorch, a white woman who comforted a Negro school girl when she ran the gauntlet of jeering white adults at Little Rock's Central High School, was identified nine years ago at a hearing as a Communist organizer, Alford said. He said the Little Rock episode was "staged." (The FBI which investigated Little Rock has never said Communists were behind its school trouble.)

• Daisy Bates, head of the Arkansas National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is a national official of NAACP. Many of NAACP's national officials have "records of Communist activity," said Alford.

• Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette, which opposed Faubus and urged compliance with court desegregation orders, is a director of the Fund for the Republic which has given half a million dollars to the Southern Regional Council which an American Legion publication said contained some members who had belonged to Communist-front organizations. The Council is a bi-racial Southern group dedicated to furthering political and economic equality. It has denied the Legion charge.

• Carl Braden, convicted in Louisville in 1954 for fomenting racial strife, is "roaming the South" as field secretary of the Southern Conference Education Fund, successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare which the Un-American Activities Committee had called a Communist front.

Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D., N. J.) recalled that Gov. Fabus once attended Commonwealth College in Arkansas, which has been cited as subversive. He said Faubus would be "indicted" for this under Alford's reasoning. Alford said Faubus stayed "only a few days" and left when he found out what it was like. Rep. Wayne Hays (D., Ohio) said Fabus stayed long enough to be elected president of the student body.

Rep. John V. Lindsay (R., N. Y.) said there was no excuse for putting "responsible men like Harry Ashmore in the same bed with Communists."

Alford file

Article from Nashville Tennesseean
Dictated by Telephone from Will Campbell's Office - 2/19/59

"ALFORD BLAMES REDS FOR SOUTH'S TROUBLES"

By: Gordon Brown

Representative Dale Alford, (Dem.-Ark.), Little Rock segregationist charged in the House yesterday that Communists are responsible for racial trouble in the South.

There is a Communist conspiracy, he said, to create racial unrest. He said that it is a part of a one-world government operated from Moscow. Alford's speech made at the close of the day's session, and for which he had reserved fifty minutes, provoked a lively discussion among some Northerners and Southerners.

Alford said he is "alarmed at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of Communism and that he is concerned that the Justice Department yields," as he put it, "toward pressure of such an organization as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Negroes Called Pawns

He said, "a few good Negro citizens have become pawns of this international conspiracy without being conscious in the beginning of its vicious intent of creating mass agitation to divide and conquer."

At one point in his talk, Alford mentioned Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette of Little Rock. He referred to him as "the renegade editor of the Arkansas Gazette who has benefited quite materially from the Capitalists' line by writing detrimental articles about his Southland."

Alford said Ashmore was an incorporator of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and that he was a director of a foundation which raised funds for the Southern Regional Council.

Previously, Alford had said that the Southern Regional Council was founded by James E. Jackson whom he identified as a "Moscow-trained Negro." "Jackson,"he said, "is now in Moscow."

Another Defends Ashmore

Later, Representative John V. Lindsey, (Rep.-N.Y.), said there is no doubt that Communists have used racial unrest to further their cause. "But," he said, "that is no excuse for the type of indictment that has occurred where responsible men, such as Harry Ashmore, are placed in the same boat with members of the Communist Party."

Alford said that in referring to Ashmore he had "stated nothing relative to Communism."

But Representative Wayne Hays, (Dem.-Ohio), observed that as he understood Alford's reference, "I got the impression it was not favorable to Mr. Ashmore."

In Little Rock, Ashmore said, "Dr. Alford's innuendos are as demonstrably false as the only alleged fact he presented in his remarks about me."

Editor Refutes Remarks

Ashmore said Alford's remarks about the Southern Regional Council and Jackson were wholely erroneous and the record which so proves it was available to Dr. Alford

when he prepared his speech.

"The only foundation with which I have any connection is the Fund for the Republic," Ashmore said. "I am a member of its board of directors."

"The Fund for the Republic in past years has made grants to the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, a reputable organization which is concerned, as all Southerners must be, with a resolution of our racial problems. This is the organization Dr. Alford refers to."

- END -

Enclosures:
Draft of House speech
Richmond Times-Dispatch Reprint
Chatt. Times Editorial (12/20/58)
Firing Line Analysis -
Hodding Carter Editorial - Aug. 25/57
News & Courier Editorial - June 25/57 "SRC & RED RECORDS"
HCFltr. to Tom Waring - June 28/57

VIA AIR MAIL

February 20, 1959

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
1107 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doug:

Here is what I am sending Dick Bolling. The draft may be over-written and stylistically unsuited to use in the House, but I think all the necessary rebuttal is there.

Many thanks for calling Bolling and for your willingness to see the matter through with him.

I called Wilma Stokely yesterday; the article on Magnolia McCarthyism is still uncommissioned, and she said she would write you at once. Also, I'm enclosing the newspaper article on Bill Gordon, who may also be writing you about the possibility of doing a Reporter piece.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL February 20, 1959

Honorable Richard Bolling
Member of Congress
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dick:

As one old-time AVCer to another, I'm most grateful for your willingness to help us counteract the charges made against the Council by Dale Alford. As Doug Cater will have explained, we are especially concerned for two reasons. First, Alford's speech is bound to be reprinted from the Record and used over the South to confuse and intimidate those who are beginning, however cautiously, to take a positive stand for compliance. Secondly, the use of such allegations as Alford makes has become virtually epidemic in the South in the past few months; this is a measure of desperation, of course, but it can take a heavy toll failing firm counteraction.

The draft I am enclosing may be completely unusable, but it will at least give you the line of argument that we feel is called for. The editorials from the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the Chattanooga Times might well be inserted in full into the Record. The other enclosures are merely to give you more detailed background on the McCarthyist campaign against the Council.

Whatever you decide you can do will be of tremendous help to the Council and to many other

Southerners who feel similarly.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

cc: Douglass Cater (with same enclosures)

Encls: Draft of House speech
Richmond Times-Dispatch Reprint
Chatt. Times Editorial (12/20/58)
Firing Line ~~&&&&&~~ Analysis
Hodding Carter Editorial - Aug. 25/57
News & Courier Editorial - June 25/57 "SRC & RED RECORDS"
HCF Ltr. to Tom Waring - June 28/57

In his remarks of February 17 on the floor of the House of Representatives, Rep. Dale Alford advanced the thesis that the racial difficulties of his state and the South generally are the results of Communist agitation. The burden of his statements was that efforts to facilitate desegregation and compliance with court rulings are part of a gigantic Communist plot. Surely such a charge can assist no one but the Communists themselves, who like nothing better than to appear in the fraudulent guise of champions of justice and progress.

There is no question that international Communist propaganda benefits from discord and disruption within this country. It benefits, too, from the persistence of racial discrimination and segregation. America is weakened, intentionally or not, by those who perpetuate racial injustices and those who seek to exploit our remaining racial problems, even at the cost of violence. No thoughtful person can believe accusations that the Communist cause is served by those individuals and groups that are working soberly to promote interracial harmony, compliance with law, and the orderly elimination of segregation and discrimination from American life.

The gentleman from Arkansas has made damaging and unwarranted accusations against just such constructive efforts in the South. The charges which he made against the Southern Regional Council -- and by extension against

Harry Ashmore -- have long since and repeatedly been refuted. Yet their use once again on the floor of the House will provide the extremists with more spurious ammunition to be directed against those whose moderate views they oppose.

The Southern Regional Council is a respected organization of white and Negro Southerners founded in 1944 as the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Its founders and its subsequent leaders have been men and women of unchallengeable integrity. Its incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of The Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, distinguished educator of the University of North Carolina. The organization's stated aim is the achievement of "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included outstanding Southerners from all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. His successor was Marion A. Wright, widely known attorney and civic leader of Linville Falls, N. C. The current president is James McBride Dabbs, farmer and author of Mayesville, S. C.

As Ralph McGill wrote recently: "The Southern Regional Council is a highly respected and efficient organization, on no attorney general's list and free from any taint of being any sort of 'front' ....The council has been attacked strongly by the Klan groups and the White Citizens Councils as being an instrument of desegregation. The men who signed its charter of incorporation, including a Methodist bishop and university teachers, have been harried and subject to abuse." (Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 9/7/58)

The attacks upon the Council by these extremist groups have taken the form of the unfounded accusations echoed a few days ago in the House. They were originated by a few discredited professional witnesses, employed by segregationist state committees to impeach those Southerners who dared speak out for compliance with the law of the land. So spurious was the web of association spun by these paid accusers, so malicious were their untruths, distortions, and innuendoes that even some ardent segregationists have repudiated their testimony.

For example, the highly conservative Richmond Times-Dispatch, on August 21, 1958, devoted a lengthy editorial to the refutation of charges against the Southern Regional Council -- the very same charges that were repeated within the past few days by the gentleman from Arkansas. This staunchly segregationist newspaper said, in part:

"... the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.... The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no 'offshoot' of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it."

As to the second charge against the Council -- allegedly based on a statement by the Daily Worker -- the Times-Dispatch commented:

"As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this.... he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet."

And the editorial concludes: "While we disagree strongly and completely with its [the Council's] present position on this [racial] issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Another respected Southern newspaper, The Chattanooga Times, has commented as follows on these same unprincipled charges:

"The Arkansas Legislative Council, concluding that a Communist plot is substantially responsible for the Little Rock desegregation crisis, has aired some charges so grossly unjust as to recall the McCarthyist nightmare. There was J. B. Matthews, himself a former Communist-front leader, declaring that the Southern Regional Council had Red sympathizers in its ranks. Just 20 years ago, Mr. Matthews was accusing Shirley Temple of aiding the Bolsheviks... The SRC, as is well known, is made up of foremost Southern educators, clergymen, business, labor and professional leaders... Now the Arkansas Legislative Council, with never a peep about the role of its own Gov. Faubus, concludes on the word of former Communists, who are professional name callers, and others, most of them from out of the region, that little more than a Red plot is the cause of their difficulties."

On the one hand, then, we find the Southern Regional Council, an organization of responsible Southerners dedicated to the solution of racial problems; an organization founded and led by men whose character and patriotism are above serious question; an organization that commands the support of the major religious bodies and the respect of many leading newspapers in the South and elsewhere; an

organization whose unblemished history and activities are extensively recorded in newspaper files and other public records, available to any sincere inquirer.

On the other hand, we find a handful of desperate extremists and their hired witnesses seeking by whatever means they can contrive to destroy the reputation of this organization and all others who speak for obedience to law. Regardless of one's position on segregation or civil rights, the principles of elementary fairness and decency demand that the record be set straight.

MF - Alford file

Alford's Blasts Don't Contribute To State Prestige

By Elizabeth Carpenter
Gazette Washington Correspondent

CONGRESSMAN Dale Alford may be thrilling a small and undistinguished network of Southern hotheads on the floor of the House of Representatives but he is also jeopardizing the political prestige of Arkansas in that body.

His speech on the alleged subversive elements behind the Little Rock school crisis—largely a rehash of Senator Jim Eastland's fodder—allied him completely with the small group of agitators on Capitol Hill who are trying so frantically to change the complexion of the NAACP from black to rosy Red.

The NAWPS, they are laughingly called, by their colleagues in the cloakroom: Native American White Protestant Southerners!

But while Dr. Alford's speech may have brought joy to the hearts of men like Mississippi Representatives John Bell Williams and Bill Colmer, who cheered him on from the sidelines, it is extremely doubtful if his benefactors—Representatives Wilbur Mills of Kensett and Oren Harris of El Dorado — were overjoyed at the spectacle.

Arkansans in Washington

Dr. Alford is holding his seat — precarious, at best — because of the powerful influence and high standing of Representatives Mills and Harris who stuck their neck out for him. So far they have managed to hold off an investigation of his unusual 7½ day paste-in election which the House Administration Committee was called upon to make.

He is not making it any easier for them. Washington has heard the "I-have-here-in-my-hand documentation" routine before. As the Washington Post & Times Herald commented: "There was another fellow who made similar noises awhile back and both the Senate and the country got pretty tired of his stuck whistle."

Representative Wayne Hays (Dem., O.) put it even blunter to Alford. A member of the House Administrations Committee which has shelved the Alford investigation, Representative Hays told him, "I am trying to keep an open mind on you but there is such a thing as overpleading your case. As far as I'm concerned you've already done it."

Hays told the Gazette that "definitely" the next time the House Committee meets (the third week in March), someone will make the long-delayed motion for the investigation to be held.

As Alford talks himself into an investigation, friends of Mills and Harris are becoming considerably more worried over their support of the Little Rock man.

After all, they have quite a bit at stake. Both have worked long and hard to reach their positions of esteem in the Congress. Unlike Dr. Alford, they didn't wait until they had reached 43 years of age and have the support of a comfortable income to decide to devote themselves to public service. And they didn't win their seats by any 7½-day wonder campaigns. They have become skilled practitioners of the art of government by the long, hard climb. They have promising futures in the House that is sure to add lustre to the state.

It is too bad that their own prestige should be jeopardized. It it — as a Southern congressman put it so well — a sad day for Arkansas.

FROM THE DESK OF

Will D. Campbell

Friends in Domino:

This is going to the "Folk". Inform me immediately if the prophetic moment develops because of the reading of your statement in Congress, a later story, etc.

Friday
Washington City Church of the Brethren
- Fourth and N. Carolina Ave, S. E.
Washington

Sunday - Tuesday morning
c/o Joe Earl Elmore
Earlham College
Richmond, Ind.

FROM THE DESK OF

Will D. Campbell

Tuesday
c/o Charles M. Judd, vice president
Breneman - Hartshorn Manufacturing Co.
2045 Reading Rd.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Back here Wednesday.

"Chase out D, man of God." J.O.L.

WDC

MEMORANDUM

TO: Denominational Social Action Secretaries

FROM: Will D. Campbell

SUBJECT: Proposed News Release

DATE: February 25, 1959

Enclosed is a copy of a news story reporting Congressman Dale Alford's maiden speech in the United States House of Representatives. It received wide coverage throughout the nation.

There seems to be a current wave of this kind of Southern McCarthyism. Some of us have felt that there is a need for something to be said in protest which would at least indicate that there is an awareness of what is going on.

The denominational social action secretaries seem to represent an homogeneous group who might agree upon a common statement.

The enclosed draft represents the thinking of several Nashville based individuals; viz. Dr. A. C. Miller, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention; the Reverend J. Nets Rollins, Staff Representative, Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. and myself. The Reverend Cornelius Tarplee and the Reverend James Lawson have agreed to sign it, if they agree to the text. It is not intended as a finished statement.

Will you join us in such a release? We would release it as individuals with affiliation listed only for purposes of identification. Of course, you are invited to make criticisms, corrections, comments, or to change any part of it.

Time is of the essence if it is to be news worthy... You may call me collect if you care to discuss it. Otherwise, will you please wire your agreement along with suggestions for change.

WDC:ddw

Enclosure

means formidable. But no one will deny that it will take a long time. Two things are required: education and time.

One can of course provide education and institutions which will foster the growth of social consciousness. But the process is necessarily a slow one. I admit, however, that we have not the time to do so considering the existence of other voices, the Communists, promising better things in quicker time than democracy can offer. The competition is therefore very stiff indeed and I think time is, in this case, not on our side.

Southern Regional Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 2, 1959

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, a sense of fairness impels me to insert the following editorials from two respected southern papers. These editorials from the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the Chattanooga Times discuss certain attacks on the good name of the Southern Regional Council and deserve the careful attention of every fair-minded citizen regardless of his views:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Aug. 21, 1958]

A RACE AGENCY AND THE FACTS

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in the Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons, of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944 was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as Communist front." He also said: "The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a cofounder of the regional council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N.C., in October 1942, on the call of Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and Dr. P. B. Young, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that separate but equal be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well intentioned and patriotic southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Workers that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a cofounder of the Southern Regional Council, there is nothing to support this.

A James E. Jackson is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk Journal and Guide as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a founder is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attoreny, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of separate but equal for 7 years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation—sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

[From the Chattanoga (Tenn.) Times, Dec. 20, 1958]

MATTHEWS AND THE SRC

The Arkansas Legislative Council, concluding that a Communist plot is substantially responsible for the Little Rock desegregation crisis, has aired some charges so grossly unjust as to recall the McCarthyist nightmare.

There was J. B. Matthews, himself a former Communist-front leader, declaring that the Southern Regional Council had Red sympathizers in its ranks.

Just 20 years ago, Mr. Matthews was accusing Shirley Temple of aiding the Bolsheviks. The former chief counsel of the Dies committee is primarily remembered, however, for his July 1953 article in the American Mercury labeling "at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, partyline adherents, and unwilling dupes." The protest, from President Eisenhower and others, was so strong that Senator Joe McCarthy, who by then had carried his campaign of vilification directly to the White House, was forced to fire Mathews, whom he had just hired as executive director of his subcommittee.

In the Little Rock hearings, other familiar names in the business of smear were trotted out. The Southern Regional Council was a frequent target, though no one dared go so far as to impugn its motives as a whole.

The SRC, as is well known, is made up of foremost southern educators, clergymen, business, labor, and professional leaders. A discussion and research group, it was organized in 1943, as a result of Negro leaders' efforts to see that the "separate but equal" doctrine in southern education be made a reality. It grew also out of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen.

Since then it has favored gradual compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, but even so staunchly segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond Times-Dispatch recently said: "The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Now the Arkansas Legislative Council, with never a peep about the role of its own Governor Faubus, concludes on the word of former Communists, who are professional name-callers, and others, most of them from out of the region, that little more than a Red plot is the cause of their difficulties.

have if they are to support the bill. We cannot see the necessity for bribing the public on this legislation. An antiracketeering measure is needed and the people should not have to bargain for it.

The administration bill, S. 748, comes nearer to an effective answer to this need. Provision is not made for bringing unions under antitrust laws or controlling the use of union funds for political purposes but the bill is otherwise an acceptable answer to the problem. S. 748 is already an example of compromise and we feel that it is the least that the American people can be asked to accept.

We are now at a turning point in the control of labor racketeering. Either something effective must be done this year or the racketeers will know that they have a clear field. The working men and women of this country deserve more than that.

Our committee is not able to study legislation in this field and obtain approval as fast as the various bills are being introduced.

However, we believe that S. 748 is a bill with which labor and management can both live and we urge the members of this committee to support this type of labor bill.

Respectfully submitted,

J. REECE FUNDERBURK, JR., D.D.S.
Chairman, Legislative Action Committee, Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, Lancaster, S.C.

Don't Kill the Goose

If labor unions insist that they have a right to a bigger and bigger share of the income of corporations, the Government will lose in two ways:

First, every wage expense is a deduction on which the Government suffers a 52-percent loss of revenue.

Second, the increased revenue from individual income taxes does not make up for all the losses suffered by the Treasury from a drop in corporation profits. In the current fiscal year, for instance, individual income tax receipts, as estimated by the Treasury, have gone up by $2.2 billion at the same time that the corporation taxes have declined by $3.1 billion.

The dependence of the Federal Treasury on the profits of business is not fully appreciated or realized throughout this country. President Eisenhower said on this point at his press conference last week:

"We shouldn't be so prone, I think, to talk about and decry profits in our economy.

"You must remember that the people now expect all sorts of services from the Federal Government, starting with that of national defense and go right on down to the last item that you want to find in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"We tax largely profits. We don't tax industrial activity as such—we tax profits. That is what the income tax is. So if you are trying to get profits down to zero, you are going to have to find some other way of finding Federal revenue, if we are going to this Government, I assure you."

America has achieved her greatest progress under the system of private initiative. Experience proves that Government operation of business projects is wasteful. Also, a big volume of tax dollars that would otherwise be collected is lost to the Treasury.

President Eisenhower has stated the issue plainly: How can there be appropriations for social welfare unless the Government takes in enouhg money from taxes to pay its bills? The President said last week in a speech to the U.S. Savings Bond Conference:

"Now, we have among us those who are calling for heavier and heavier expenditures, saying that these heavier expenditures on the part of the Federal Government would mean and, in effect, would cause, economic expansion. I cannot think of any doctrine or statement that is so false as this one. * * *

"When the Government spends more money than it is getting in the form of taxes, the Treasury must do just exactly what a family or a business would have to do, under similar circumstances: It must go out and borrow whatever is needed to finish paying the bills. When part of the borrowing it must undertake comes from commercial banks, the money supply is increased and the conditions are created for an inflationary price rise.

"Inflation weakens the economy. It brings serious hardships to those of our citizens who are living on pensions or other fixed incomes, and works against those who are unable to bargain effectively for higher wages. Most dangerous of all, inflation weakens the incentive to save. It gives rise to a fear that the dollar will continue to decline in value and that speculation will be the only way to keep ahead of the game."

What is the answer? It is to be found in one word—self-restraint. Business must restrain itself on prices. Labor must restrain itself on wages. The spenders in Congress must restrain themselves on appropriations for social welfare.

Steady growth and a stable dollar are certain to result from such restraint.

But what must be borne in mind above all else is that profits derived from private business are necessary to support the Government. We must never kill the goose that lays the golden egg."

Curtailing Foreign Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 2, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, as usual, opposition to the present administration on reciprocal trades and the Buy American Act, draws editorial comment, as well as a batch of misinformation, which serves to further confuse the minds of the public as to the realities of the situation. I am submitting for the RECORD today two editorials appearing in local papers which would appear to cover the subject to the uninformed, but to those of us who have made a thorough study of the situation the answer is not so simple. I submit, therefore, Mr. Speaker, my reply to these editors and their editorials:

OPEN LETTER TO THE PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE

FEBRUARY 27, 1959.

To the EDITOR.

DEAR SIR: I don't write Letters to the Editor very often. When I do, it's because either the information is in error, or I am badly informed.

On Wednesday, February 25, your editorial appears to put my fight for the awarding of large contracts to foreign governments in a bad light.

Personally, I've been an advocate for liberal trade policies. However, I always felt that the promises of every President, every Secretary of State, and every Secretary of Commerce—since the passage of the original reciprocal trade bills and the foreign aid legislation—were being kept.

Every assurance was and is still being given that no arguments on trade would be made that would prove to be injurious to any American industry.

The facts do not bear out these assurances:

Most of our troubles are of recent vintage, the Buy American Act has been openly and flagrantly abused since the Presidential order of December 1954, decreasing the American differential allowance from 25 percent to 6 percent.

The escape clause has been invoked 60 times by industry and minor relief has been granted only 19 times and no relief in the other 41 cases.

This record was compiled in spite of the fact that in 31 cases the Tariff Commission ruled unanimously in favor of tariff relief for the injured industries.

Two classic examples are the binocular and watch industries. After many protests against the competition from abroad, they closed shop and are no longer producing in the United States. The prediction is that all the watch industry will fold unless something is done.

These are not isolated cases, they are the rule, and not the exception.

Insofar as your figures for export and import of electrical equipment, the testimony given us is that of all the export business done by American producers all but $200,000 worth was paid for by our own money under mutual aid, ICA, and other Government spending and lending agencies.

Even this market is now threatened by new regulations being put into effect.

I believe a trade agreement has to be mutually beneficial and mutually respected.

In the case of British selling our Government generators and other power-producing

From the desk of . . .

WILL D. CAMPBELL

For your information.

3-6-59

Will

file

1716 WEST END AVE.
NASHVILLE 2, TENN.

March 6, 1959

Honorable Richard Bolling
Member of Congress
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dick:

Our warm thanks to you for introducing into the Congressional Record the two editorials defending SRC and for sending me a clipping so promptly.

I hesitate to trouble you any further about this, but we would like to have reprints of this insert for use by our people over the South. Would it be possible for one of your staff to order 5,000 copies from the Government Printing Office for us? We will remit, of course, as soon as we are advised of the cost.

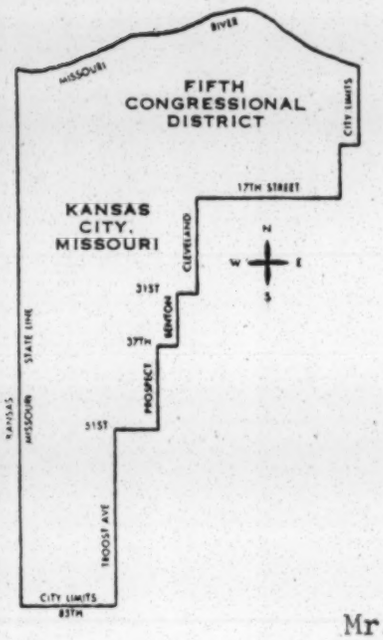
I hope the Council will have an opportunity soon to be of some service to you. We'd like nothing better than to have you call on us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RICHARD BOLLING
5TH DISTRICT, MISSOURI



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEES:
JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT
RULES

LARRY BODINSON
SECRETARY

KANSAS CITY SERVICE OFFICE
811 GRAND AVENUE
VICTOR 2-4798

March 3, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Fleming~~: Harold,

Yesterday I introduced into the Congressional Record the two editorials, one from the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the other from the Chattanooga Times. I am enclosing a clipping from the Record for your information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dick Bolling

Richard Bolling

VIA AIR MAIL February 27, 1959

Honorable Richard Bolling
Member of Congress
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dick:

I was glad to have a chance to talk with you this morning and thank you personally for your willingness to help.

With regard to the "police-record" charges against Daisy Bates, I am enclosing copies of two newspaper stories -- from the Arkansas Gazette and the New York Times -- in which Mrs. Bates' reply to the charges is quoted.

I take it Mrs. Bates' connection with the NAACP needs no documented defense, since J. Edgar Hoover and others have been repeatedly quoted in rebuttal to the charges Alford makes against the NAACP.

Alford's only other remark about Mrs. Bates was that her husband, L. C. Bates, serves on the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. As far as I know, this is true -- as it is of a number of reputable Negro leaders. While I personally am not very enthusiastic about SCEF, Alford's

use of this relationship strains the guilt-by-association technique.

I am also enclosing a current list of the Southern Regional Council's board members, showing their principal identifications.

Do let me know if any further questions arise.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

cc: Douglass Cater with encls.

Encls: SRC Board List
Ark. Gazette Article - 12/18/57 "Citizens Council Circulates Handbill on 'Arrest Record' of State NAACP Leader."

NYTimes Article - 12/18/57 "Negro Suspended at Central High"

P. S. Also enclosed, a statement issued by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations - for your background file.

February 19, 1959

Mr. John R. Buckley
Administrative Assistant to the
Honorable Dante B. Fascell
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Many thanks for your prompt response to my request for the remarks of the gentleman from Arkansas. A number of statements the gentleman makes are demonstrably false. I was interested to note that Mr. Hays of Ohio, Mr. Thompson of New Jersey, and Mr. Lindsay of New York noted this.

Best wishes to you and Dante, and to the rest of the staff.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Memo from the Desk of . . .

LDP
MM

DANTE FASCELL, Member of Congress

4th District of Florida

Alford file

February 18, 1959

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

As per your request....

Regards.

John R. Buckley
Administrative Assistant

Return to HCF

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

mination on the part of many Members of this Body, I feel that this Congress offers the best opportunity the citizens of the District have ever had for home-rule legislation. It is my sincere hope that the legislation which I am sponsoring will be given early hearings by the District Committee and will be reported out of Committee in the near future so that the total House membership will have an opportunity to vote on this critically important measure.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to give back to the people of the District of Columbia something that Congress "temporarily" took away from them 80 years ago—their right to run their own local affairs.

I do not think any Member of this House would challenge the basic principle of this legislation—that local government belongs to local people. But my concern is practical, as well as one of principle.

Congress has a national responsibility. Every year, the burden of our work as a national legislature becomes heavier. We do justice neither to the Nation as a whole, nor to the people of Washington in particular, when we take time from our duties to try to function as a city council for the District.

In spite of the demands of great national issues and their duties to their own constituents, the members of the District Committee have given unselfishly of their time and energy to the many details of the municipal government of the District. Yet in spite of their fine service, I believe they would agree that Washington, as a city, faces serious municipal problems which need the vigor and the local concern that only a full-time, elected city government possesses. It is simply too much to ask busy Members of this House, more familiar with their own States and districts, and properly more concerned with them, to provide an adequate full-time government for the District. I am sure that the members of the District Committee believe with me that the best government is self-government.

I do not think any of us who has lived long in Washington, who reads local papers, who talks to local people and who observes for himself, can doubt the real problems that exist here. I hope every Member of this House has had an opportunity to read a recent article on Washington from the highly respected Kiplinger Changing Times magazine, which I believe has been reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is convincing evidence of the need for a vigorous local government, elected by the people, with their support and with power to tackle the problems of this city.

These are facts that need no argument; we can see them around us. The decay of the core city is a fact that should, and I am sure does, concern every merchant with a stake in doing business in Washington. The spreading blight of slums in Washington is a sad spectacle in the Nation's Capital—but it is also a real, practical problem for the people who live here and who must pay the social and economic price for a deteriorating city. I believe the people of Washington are concerned and want the opportunity to tackle these problems. I think they are best equipped to do it, because it is their local community. I think we should give them the chance and the power.

I know that Washington is more than a local community. It is also the Capital of the United States. And while the people of Washington can and should be given the right and opportunity to meet their local problems, and run their local affairs, I think they and we must continue to recognize the great national interest in the District of Columbia. I do not believe Congress can give up the ultimate responsibility and I am sure no one will argue that point. It is not at issue. The legislation being introduced today recognizes the national interest in the District and it recognizes and provides for the responsibility of Congress. It leaves final control over the District where it must remain—with Congress. But it puts the immediate responsibility for local affairs where it too must properly be—with the nearly 1 million people who live in Washington. I believe this legislation is a practical and sound way of realizing the interests and the rights of both the Nation and the local community. It is a practical and sound plan for local self-government within the framework of ultimate congressional responsibility for the Nation's Capital. As such, I believe it will benefit the people of Washington and of the Nation and will reduce the job of Congress, as the ultimate trustee of the District, to a size we can more competently and wisely manage.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to insert in the RECORD a brief history of the municipal government of our Nation's Capital. As will be seen from a reading of this summary, the first government of our Nation's Capital as conceived and implemented by President George Washington was almost identical to the form of government proposed in the bill which I am introducing today. It is in the spirit of the Founding Fathers that this legislation is proposed, and it is with a sincere belief on my part in basic democracy that I sponsor this vital legislation.

The controlling constitutional provision respecting the District is article I, section 8, clause 17:

"Congress shall have power * * * To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District, (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States."

The first government of the city of Washington consisted of a mayor, appointed by the President, and a city council, elected by the people of the city. This was in 1802. In 1812, the city council was permitted to elect the mayor of Washington, and in 1820 and thereafter the mayor was elected by the people. This government continued until 1871.

By an act of Congress, February 21, 1871, the corporations of Washington and of Georgetown were abolished and a territorial form of government, consisting of a Governor and board of public works, and a legislative assembly, was set up. The legislative assembly consisted of a council of 11 members, and a house of delegates of 22 members. The District also had a Delegate in the House of Representatives. The Governor, the Board of Public Works, and the Council were appointed by the President. The 22 members of the house of delegates were elected by the people. The District of Columbia had a Delegate in the House of Representatives until 1875.

This form of government lasted 3 years, or until June 20, 1874, when Congress provided that the District of Columbia should be governed by 3 Commissioners, appointed by the President. This was known as a temporary form of government, and lasted until July 1, 1878, when the present permanent commission government was set up. In the creation of the temporary commission form of government in 1874, and the permanent form in 1878, no provision was made for the franchise and so, for the first time in three-quarters of a century, no part of the District exercised the right of suffrage.

In 1878 the expense of the Federal City was borne jointly by the District and the United States, on a 50–50 basis. In 1922, this was changed to a 60–40 ratio, and in 1938 the share of the United States was changed legally to a lump sum, which today is approximately 14 percent of the general fund.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ALFORD] is recognized for 50 minutes.

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, I humbly beg the indulgence of this distinguished body in my "speaking out," as it were, so soon in the 86th Congress, but I am concerned that our Justice Department yields to pressure from an organization such as the NAACP and strikes out with lightninglike speed within the past month to overturn the will of a majority to satisfy the propagandizing desires of a minority of a minority. We must never forget that majority rule is the democratic way in America—not rule by minority or dictatorship. Are there no rights beholden to the majority?

I wish to preface these remarks with the statement that I am certainly not one of those individuals who looks under the bed at night to ascertain whether a Communist is hiding there.

Frankly, however, I am alarmed at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of the Communist conspiracy—to transform our representative government into a centralized, totalitarian dictatorship, to abolish property rights, and to make this great Nation of ours part of a one-world government, operated from Moscow.

The Director of our respected and most efficient Federal Bureau of Investigation—the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover—has told us that the two great dangers to this country are communism and corruption. May I say here that any inference which might be gleaned from any public utterance which I have ever made must not and should not be construed or interpreted as being uncomplimentary to the FBI and its loyal agents. I am critical of their political superiors, the Justice Department, but until this present moment the Federal Bureau of Investigation is without a peer in its efficiency. Our FBI Director, as we all know, has published a very fine book—a book which I personally believe

should be required reading in every high school in the land. Its title is "Masters of Deceit." In this great contribution to the security of America, he has documented well the Communist objective to destroy the Government of the United States, as well as other representative, free governments of the world. I repeat that Mr. Hoover has told us that the two great dangers to this country are communism and corruption—and I respectfully call your attention to the fact that the Director mentions communism as the first of these two great dangers.

I shall respectfully present today proof that racial agitation is a major weapon of the Communist party—and that many of the racial incidents of the past 25 or 30 years can be traced directly to Communist leadership and direction.

I have here an offset reproduction of a pamphlet, published in 1928, entitled "American Negro Problems." It is a program to promote racial strife in the United States, presented by a representative of Moscow. His original name was Joseph Pogany. He has masqueraded in our country under such aliases as John Pepper, John Schwartz and John Swift. One page 12 of this document, this Communist leader, tells plainly that the propaganda line for work among the Negroes is to emphasize plans for establishment of a Negro Soviet Republic in the South.

America has grown great with the traditional social system that has been maintained until the present time. Our social system with respect to races has been part of the very fiber of our social structure in every section of our country—although more strictly adhered to in some sections because of the large percentage of a particular minority. There was nothing mean or violent or malignant about our social structure; good will among all men was practiced every day in the easygoing boundaries of our social life. The Negro was encouraged in his education and we shared his joy and his sorrow; we were there when he was sick and ready to counsel when called upon. A healthy social system was developed, the like of which has never been known before. Under this system the Negro made more progress than in any other country in the world. We of the Southland were for the Negro with our hearts and not just with bayonets. But, in more recent years, especially since the militant strides of international communism, there have been a few leaders who pushed a few well-meaning people into militant action. I am convinced that a few of our good Negro citizens have become pawns of this international conspiracy without being conscious, in the beginning, of its vicious intent of creating mass agitation to divide and conquer the greatest democracy that has ever appeared on the scene of world history. The white friends were not disturbed at first over the militant march of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Southern people are traditionally and basically friendly, and no intelligent Southern white would ever think of being cruel or unkind. It would have been a sign of improper upbringing. The South, both white and colored, was happy with the evolutionary method of progress, but illegal and military enforcement of destruction of age-old social customs with overnight speed has played into the hands of the Communist Party.

Yes, it was back in the 1920's that Communists began telling Negroes about plans to take over the southern part of the United States, secede from the rest of our country, and establish a "black Soviet." Fantastic? Yes, but not fantasy. This is a well-established fact, documented by the official Communist press by former Communists who have left the party and testified before congressional committees and Government agencies, and by undercover agents of the FBI, who went into the party to obtain proof of its subversive activity. And these same sources have produced the proof that since 1928, when the Sixth World Congress of the party sent out the Communist program for propagandizing the American Negroes, the Communists have been exploiting the Negro to divide the people of the United States.

I am sure that many Members of this House will recall, when Federal troops occupied Little Rock in the fall of 1957, that the television newsreels and press of the Nation carried a scene that purported to show a white woman "befriending and comforting" a young Negro girl who had left her new modern Horace Man High School to enter the 33-year-old Central High School. Of course, the reporters and photographers had no way of knowing that scene was a staged affair. However, an inquiry would have revealed that the white woman was the notorious Grace Lorch—the well-known former Grace Lonergan, a Communist functionary, whose record is in the files of the FBI, the Senate Internal Security Committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Files of both the House and Senate committees mentioned contain evidence that Mrs. Lorch was identified in Boston, 9 years ago, as a Communist organizer, that she attended the Massachusetts Communist Convention in 1943, and that she was a member of the New England District of the Communist Party in 1945. Her yeoman service to the Communist apparatus was so great that she was sent to Arkansas, via Nashville, Tenn., and other points, to help create racial incidents in my State. She and her husband, Lee Lorch, moved into a home in the neighborhood of Daisy Bates of the NAACP.

Grace and Lee Lorch were in Little Rock in the summer of 1957—just before the school crisis in the fall—where Lee Lorch was a teacher at Philander Smith College, a Negro institution. He was placed on the faculty of Philander Smith after having been fired from Fisk University, a Negro college at Nashville, Tenn. Fisk authorities declined to renew his contract after he had hidden behind the first and fifth amendments in refusing to answer questions at hearings regarding his Communist affiliations. Lee Lorch, during the early period he spent in Little Rock, was financed, in part, by an appropriation from Congress, since the National Science Foundation provided a grant of $9,800 made toward the salary of Professor Lorch. The shocking thing about this is that the grant was made after Lorch had been separated from the faculties of City College of New York, Pennsylvania State University, and Fisk University because of his refusal to answer questions concerning his Communist affiliations. Professor Lorch was identified as a Communist in 1950 hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The identification was by two former FBI undercover agents. He and Grace Lorch have figured in other congressional hearings since he was unfrocked in 1950. While teaching at Fisk University in 1954, he declined to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning his Communist affiliations. Withing hours after this defiance, Fisk authorities announced his contract would not be renewed.

Shortly thereafter, Professor Lorch was employed by Philander Smith College in Little Rock, a Negro institution, by its president, M. Lafayette Harris, who is a director of the southern conference educational fund. Public records, on file with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, show that M. Lafayette Harris has been identified in activity of Communist-front groups, no less than a half-dozen times.

Grace Lorch proved she is an expert at racial agitation when she staged the exhibition of alleged friendship by putting her arms around the Negro girl, being very careful to receive the full attention of unsuspecting newsreel cameramen. This is the scene with which you are all so familiar. Grace Lorch performed her assignment well, for she was rewarded for this stunt when the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee transported her to New York and there sponsored a $10 per plate dinner in her honor. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is a shock-troop or commando-type group allied with Communist-dominated civil liberties agitation. The Communists have developed a great money-raising vehicle in their program of race agitation in the South. They encourage and promote racial incidents, create and ballyhoo a hero or heroine, then bring them to the East for a series of rabble-rousing dinners and rallies. Of course they pass the hat around at these meetings to bring in the filthy lucre of this, as they dub us, "imperialistic, capitalistic Nation."

In this objective the Communist bosses have succeeded well. Never before, in the history of mankind, has a nation become so divided by such a propaganda campaign—known in modern-day parlance as psychological warfare.

Let us look at Daisy Lee Bates, the head of the NAACP in Little Rock, and her husband, Lucius Christopher Bates. Records of the Louisiana State police show that they were arrested in Monroe, La., on November 16, 1934. Lucius was convicted of carrying a concealed weapon and was fined $100. Daisy was held for investigation and was released with Lucius when he paid the fine. Back in 1952 before the Bateses became so promi-

nent in the NAACP they were both arrested by Little Rock police and paid fines for gambling. Each was also convicted of contempt of court in North Little Rock. The name of Lucius Bates is listed as a member of the board of directors of an organization known as the Southern Conference Educational Fund which was established after its predecessor, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was declared a Communist-front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947.

This same Daisy Bates is also a national officer in the NAACP, the same organization whose national officers and national committee members, I am reliably informed, have a record of some 2,000 instances of Communist activity; 145 out of 236 national officers and national committee members have records of Communist activity.

Very convincing is the record of James E. Jackson, Jr., a Moscow-trained Negro, who has been in the forefront of Communist organization work in a number of States, both North and South, for some 15 or 20 years or more. Unless he has left Russia in the past few days, this Communist, James Jackson, is even now in Moscow. He went to the Soviet Union several days ago to attend the 21st world congress of the Communist Party. The National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, in its publication, The Firing Line, calls attention to testimony , in the files of the Lousiana Legislative Committee, reflecting that the southern regional council was formed by James E. Jackson, identified as a southern organizer of the Communist Party. Permit me to quote from the May 15, 1957, issue of The Firing Line.

Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist-front organization.

That is the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—the organization which went out of business after it was cited and was placed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. James Dombrowski was executive secretary of SCHW. He holds the same position with the SCEF, which continued in the same headquarters at New Orleans and with the same telephone number that was formerly assigned to the SCHW. After hearings in New Orleans, in 1954, the Senate Internal Security Committee issued a report, stating that the SCEF—and I quote—"is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization," the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

But let us return briefly to the Communist, James Jackson, the man who was credited by the Communist Daily Worker on December 2, 1954, with having formed the Southern Regional Council. Parenthetically, permit me to remind you that Daisy Bates, the head of the NAACP in Arkansas, is a director in the Southern Regional Council setup. This council established 12 auxiliary groups, known as State Councils on Human Relations. These State councils, mind you, were established only in 12 Southern States. Not one chapter was established outside the South.

One of the incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is Harry Ashmore, the renegade journalist who is editor of the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, and who has profited quite materially in the capitalistic line by writing detrimental articles about his native Southland. This same Harry Ashmore was, and still is, a director of the foundation which provided approximately a half million dollars to finance and operate the Southern Regional Council.

I have here with me the highlights of the record of James Jackson, Jr. It shows that he has been an active top Communist Party worker in Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Michigan, New York, California, and other States. One of the titles he held was as southern regional director of the Communist Party. He was also the moving influence behind an organization called the Southern Negro Youth Congress. He once headed communistic activity in Louisiana. And after Pine Bluff, Ark., and Little Rock, Ark., had been designated by Moscow as areas to be colonized for Communist-led race agitation, this James Jackson conducted the Arkansas survey to determine the intensity of agitation necessary to divide the people of my State. His yeoman service brought him advancement to alternate membership of the Communist National Committee. He has conducted Communist training schools and lecture courses in the party's program to brainwash and indoctrinate American Negroes.

James E. Jackson was one of the Communists convicted in New York in July 1956 for violating the Smith Act. Evidence showed he and his comrades had conspired to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence. But his 2-year sentence was set aside by the Warren-Myrdal Supreme Court in August 1958. The Court has freed a number of Communists convicted of conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force, under a ruling that mere teaching of forcible overthrow did not measure up to a call to action. And so, this Communist, Jackson, was freed to return to the South, to help promote race agitation in Arkansas, and to go to Moscow this year as a representative of the Communist Party, U.S.A., at the 21st World Congress of the Communists.

I have in my possession more detailed records concerning the communistic activity of this man, James Jackson. He has spearheaded the organization and promotion of the Communist conspiracy at the Ford Motor Co. in Detroit; served as a delegate and emissary to national and international meetings and conventions of the party; taught in Communist brainwashing and indoctrination schools, and helped to establish and promote front organizations to enlist the unwitting support of well-intentioned, but oft-misguided, dupes.

Traveling about the South today, distributing the doctrine of totalitarian government, is a husband-wife team by name of Carl and Ann Braden. Carl Braden is free to roam the Nation, these days, because of a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that Federal statutes against sedition have preempted State sedition laws. Braden is now a field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which was formed after the SCHW was revealed as a Communist front. As a Communist boss in Louisville, Ky., Carl Braden was indicted on charges of sedition in Jefferson Circuit Court, State of Kentucky. He was convicted in December 1954, subsequently sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and fined $5,000. Evidence at the trial, with the prosecution conducted by State's Attorney Scott Hamilton, showed that Braden purchased a home in a suburban Louisville community occupied exclusively by white families and, then, transferred ownership to a Negro named Wade. It was further shown at the trial that the home was dynamited on June 27, 1954, and the grand jury determined, after visiting the scene of the crime, that the dynamiting was "an inside job" perpetrated to create an incident. The prosecution maintained that Braden was the "common denominator" of the explosion. Shortly after this home purchasing and bombing incident, Carl Braden received a letter from a comrade who signed his name as "Al," otherwise unidentified in the trial record. The letter stated that the latest project of the Bradens—the Wade home acquisition—constituted a "breach in the wall" of what Comrade Al referred to as "the real estate trust." Al told Carl and Ann their project "left us breathless."

Prosecutor Scott Hamilton and Kentucky Attorney General Jo M. Ferguson appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee at Memphis in October, 1957, to urge that Congress pass legislation to restore State antisedition laws. Mr. Hamilton repeated at the hearing the story of the dynamiting in June 1953 of a Negro store at Manchester, Ky. The Commonwealth's attorney was asked by the Internal Security Committee Counsel whether he was "making the point that perhaps the Communists, themselves," were responsible for the bombings. Mr. Hamilton replied: "That is the construction we put on it."

As I stated before, Carl Braden is now working as field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The Supreme Court ruling in the Steve Nelson sedition case in Pennsylvania gave Braden his freedom from conviction in the case of the Kentucky dynamiting. But Comrade Carl has another conviction hanging over him today. Last summer, he was summoned as a witness at hearings in Atlanta of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. There he refused to answer questions concerning his Communist activity. The committee was investigating Communist influences in industrial plants of the South. Braden and his comrade, Frank Wilkinson, a party leader from Los Angeles, were indicted by a Federal grand jury for contempt of Congress. They were tried and convicted at the January term of court in Atlanta.

And while we are on this Atlanta hearing of last July, Mr. Speaker, permit me to respectfully call to the attention of the House the most praiseworthy results obtained by the Committee on Un-American Activities from this investigation. When the committee chairman, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, announced the investigation of Communist infiltration of southern industries, there was immediately instistituted a propaganda campaign ridiculing the suggestion that there might be Communist influences in industrial plants of the South. Editorials of prominent newspapers were published, apparently designed to discourage the investigation. News stories about plans for the hearing were brief, many being buried on the inside pages. But before the hearings were concluded, the story was transfrred to page 1, column 8. The investigation produced evidence that Communist colonizers had taken jobs in industries of our section of the country. One reluctant witness, a Mrs. Madge Cole, who holds a bachelor's degree from Cornell and a master's from Syracuse, was shown to be working on a loom in a Greensboro, N.C., textile plant. She was identified by Armando Pehna, former undercover agent for the FBI, as a colonizer for the party. Her application for a textile worker's job made no reference whatever to her university degrees. Another witness. equally as reluctant, was a young man named William Robertson III, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, where he has also pursued postgraduate studies.

He was employed as a sweeper in a Durham textile mill, and his application for employment also conveniently omitted information about his college training.

The attitude of all the hostile witnesses, with Communist or "front" records, who were summoned to the Atlanta hearings, was that they had been subpenaed because they were supporting the move for forced racial integration.

Mr. Speaker, before I conclude these remarks, I desire to point out that there existed in certain southern colleges and universities Communist cells, where even faculty members, with Communist records, were leaders in race agitation.

Proof of the existence of a Communist cell at the University of Tennessee School of Medicine in Memphis was uncovered at the October 1957, hearings of the Senate Internal Security Committee. Dr. Ralph Franklin, a reputable physician now practicing at Morehouse, Mo., told the committee he had been influenced by a Dr. Vincent Myers to become a comrade while he was studying medicine in Memphis. He said he was shocked into quitting the party after learning of its subversive objectives. I wish to add my commendation of Dr. Franklin for the clean breast he made when he testified and for his patriotic contribution to the security of our country in publicly standing up to reveal ramifications of the insidious Communist conspiracy in our section of the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, while I am alarmed at the seeming general lack of concern by the American people toward this menace of Communist subversion, I am most gratified that we have in this country—in the Congress and in private life, from every section of our great Nation—patient patriots, who refuse to become discouraged.

The Legislature of the great State of Tennessee, only a few days ago, authorized an investigation of Communist influences in Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. This school was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. It is a southern meeting place for persons who have been leaders in race agitation for many years. Many who have gone in and out of Highlander Folk School meetings have records of affiliations with Communist and Communist-front organizations that, when listed, would cover several pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There is an impression among some of our citizens outside the South that leaders of our section, who are dedicated to resistance to forced integration, have sought to raise the issue of Communist influences in race agitation as a smoke screen to hamper the integration movement. Little notice has been taken of the startling revelations by the Louisiana Legislative Committee, the Georgia Commision on Education, the Arkansas Investigating Committee, the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee, and other leadership groups.

I quote in part from the conclusion of the special education committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, which held hearings at the State capitol in Little Rock on December 16 through December 18, 1958:

The basic question presented for determination by this committee is: "Has there been subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest?"

It is a matter of common knowledge that communism thrives where strife, tension, turmoil, and chaos is present. Arkansas became a State of the Union in 1836; peace, progress, and tranquillity marked the attitude of all our people for the next 122 years. This committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on September 2, 1957, was not something that just happened overnight. It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motivating factor the international Communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

The people of Arkansas are basically men of good will. Communism heretofore has always been something that happened elsewhere, but the record reflects that for a number of years fellow travelers, dupes, and those who make a career out of being duped, have flitted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they sowed the seeds of dissension and discord.

The committee has wondered who sent for Clarence Laws, discredited field representative of the NAACP and who was discharged from the Army for security reasons; who sent for Dr. Vernon McDaniel, protege of the notorious Gomillion, who travels in harness with Communists such as Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, James A. Dombrowski; and who sent for Grace and Lee Lorch, identified Communists; and who paid Clarence Laws for his work in Arkansas. In answering these questions, the committee learned which individuals actively worked for a political party whose candidate would not sign a non-Communist affidavit; that known Communists—Farmer and Pushkarsky—worked in such close accord with the candidate and the above individuals that it makes incredible a claim of innocence. One of these individuals was the State president of the NAACP, and her husband, who has been a national director of an organization which is a successor to an organization listed as subversive for a number of years.

To answer these questions one need merely read the transcript of the sworn testimony produced in public at the 3-day hearing. The testimony under oath and the documentary evidence introduced in connection therewith, makes it apparent that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our State.

End of quotation from the conclusion of the special education committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council.

Mr. Speaker, it behooves patriotic American citizens from every section—North, East, West, and South—to take a long, serious objective look at the well-organized, well-financed campaign of the Communist Party to divide the people of our great Nation, destroy our representative form of government and establish a Moscow-dominated totalitarian dictatorship in Washington.

This great Republic was established by our Founding Fathers as an indestructible union of indestructible, sovereign States. So long as we perpetuate the principles of State sovereignty and local self-government, we need have no fear that ideologies from across the sea will destroy us.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FLYNT. I commend the gentleman from Arkansas on his courageous, forthright, and well-documented presentation of the facts he has brought to the attention of the House today. Too many times during recent months an entirely different and an incorrect picture has been painted of the situation which existed and which prevailed in the gentleman's home city of Little Rock, Ark.

It is my hope that those same media of mass communication, newspapers, news magazines, radio, and television, will give to the comments the gentleman has delivered today a reasonable degree of the same prominence and the same publicity which they gave to the dark days when the 101st Airborne Division invaded Central High School in Little Rock, Ark.

I know from my own research that many, if indeed not all, of the instances cited pertaining to these avowed and self-described Communists and Communist sympathizers that the gentleman has named in his speech relate to those who have sought to stir up this agitation where harmony and good will existed before. This, the Communists always try to do.

The gentleman has pinpointed and has, I believe, opened his files on this subject for public inspection to show the Communist and Communist-front affiliations of many of those who played leading parts in creating strife, discord and turmoil in his home city. Those persons named by him and many others have participated in a number of Communist activities and have belonged to, helped organize and helped sponsor countless subversive organizations which are nothing more or less than Communist

fronts which often under the guise of respectability bring in unsuspecting persons whose beliefs are just as far from communistic as day is from night. In many instances, these Communist-front organizations have been denounced and listed as subversive by both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the United States Department of Justice. That infamous group of organizations, spearheaded by these same Communists and Communist sympathizers, when exposed has often gone under cover and risen again and like the Gorgon Medusa grows another snake head as soon as one has been cut off.

Mr. Speaker, I think that it is time that this true and correct picture of well-documented facts be made public to the people of the United States. It is, of course, true that not all persons who favor forced integration are Communists, but it is undeniable that the influence of Communists and Communist sympathizers manifested itself in virtually every instance where strife and turmoil supplants longstanding relations of harmony and good will.

It is well that the lines be drawn so that those of us who believe in America and the American way of life can stand up and be counted. If there are those who sympathize or espouse communism and Communists—then those who desire to do so may take their stand. That is their right, but it should be equally well understood that the underlying principle behind every Communist, every Communist group and the whole Communist ideology is to overthrow and destroy the United States Government and the American way of life.

So let those who may sympathize with communism and Communists know full well of their position—one which if carried to the end aspired to by the Communists would be to destroy every last vestige of individual liberty and freedom not only in this country but throughout the world.

Mr. ALFORD. I sincerely appreciate the remarks of the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Following the next special order, I propose to ask for time, at which time I would like to address some questions on this very important subject to the gentleman, if he will remain.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Arkansas does nothing more during his congressional career, he has already justified the confidence that the people of Arkansas placed in him by electing him to this great body. The speech that he has made is one which has been long overdue in this House.

Like the gentleman from Georgia, however, I have grave doubts as to whether the facts, which he so well documented in his speech, will be communicated through the press and through the other means of public communication to the people throughout the country. I entertain these doubts because a paper curtain has been drawn around the South's side of this story as well as the serious constitutional question involved. The National Broadcasting Co., for instance, devoted, by their own admission, several hours of time on the Dave Garroway show in the morning to the presentation of what they called "Violence in Little Rock" during the Little Rock crisis. Fortunately, there was very little violence in Little Rock, as the gentleman well knows, and what little violence did take place, so I am informed, occurred as a result of the invasion of Little Rock by Federal troops. By the same token, when a frustrated school professor committed suicide in Brooklyn and there followed a daily series of race riots, interracial stabbings, yokings, cuttings, and even homicides as the result of race hatreds generated by conditions in these integrated schools, it was only after protests against such one-sided presentations of the news that NBC finally devoted about 5 minutes to the subject of racial unrest and violence in Brooklyn. As the gentleman knows, the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, which is an official agency of the State of Louisiana, was forced to purchase a full-page advertisement in the New York Herald-Tribune 2 years ago in order to present the South's side of the integration case to the people of that area. They had to buy advertising space because they were unable to break through the paper curtain drawn around their position in the regular news sections of the New York papers. As the gentleman also knows, just a month or so ago a group of patriotic, devoted citizens from Alabama sought to purchase advertising space in the Washington Post and Times Herald in order to print an open letter, which a former president of Chicago & Southern Airlines had written to the President of the United States, giving good and valid arguments in support of the South's case. They were refused the privilege of buying that space in the Washington Post and Times Herald. I believe the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] commented about that in the House about a month ago.

As the gentleman well knows, the South has been the victim of some of the most false, vicious, and malicious propaganda campaigns that this country has ever known. When these obviously biased northern magazines, such as Time and Life, who self-righteously and piously advocate freedom of speech and press, who loudly and aggressively denounce any type of censorship, who advocate that even Communists should have their day in court to present their case, perfunctorily claim to present the point of view of the South, it is usually presented by Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, or Harry Ashmore, all of whom claim to be moderates.

I can assure the House that these men do not speak for the South or the people of the South.

I repeat that the good people of the South have been unable to break through the paper curtain to tell their story to the Nation, because they have been denied access to the means with which to present it. It is my hope, and I am sure it is the hope of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ALFORD] that the several States of the South, as well as States throughout the rest of this country, will assert their sovereignty, as guaranteed to them by the Constitution, to prevent further destruction of our basic and fundamental system of government in this country.

Mr. ALFORD. I thank the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I want to congratulate the gentleman on the very fine, well-written, well-documented story of the South. I think the "doubting Thomases," who wanted to deny you your rightful seat in this House of Representatives, see now that DALE ALFORD won his own election. I do not believe they will care to tangle with you in debate. You have done a good job. We can see now your election was no accident.

Mr. ALFORD. I thank the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. GATHINGS. I just want to say to the gentleman that he won a race that was most remarkable. In a period of 7½ days he put on an outstanding and successful campaign in our State. I concur with the observations of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS]. The people have a right to make their choice which they have done in this instance. You are doing a splendid job here, and I commend you for a fine presentation today.

Mr. ALFORD. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Because there is no question as to the desire of the Communists to agitate differences between races, and to play upon any controversies that have developed, I think the gentleman has rendered an important service in documenting that fact in his address.

I should like to address two questions to the gentleman, because I share the concern of the overwhelming membership of the House that there be found resolutions for these problems that will be in the interest of the tranquility of the Nation and of progress for all of our American citizens.

My first question is: Does the gentleman feel that the possibility of effective communication and cooperation between responsible leaders—as opposed to the type the gentleman has stated—between responsible leaders of both races, has been fatally impaired as a result of the controversies of the last 2 or 3 years?

The second question is this: Having in mind—and I cannot at the moment cite names, but they are of record—having in mind the fact that there have been Negro citizens who have been

Communists, who have become disenchanted with communism, and in one instance I recall from the testimony before the Senate Internal Security Committee have presented a most vigorous and emphatic warning to the fellow citizens of his race as to the false promises and the completely fatal effects to their own race of pursuing the Communist course, I wonder if there has been any effort made by the leaders of both races to bring to the attention of the colored citizens that side of the story, and provide an opportunity for that type of person of their own race to present in their own way and from their own bitter experience the lessons and the disenchantment they have experienced with communism.

Mr. ALFORD. May I say to the gentleman in answer to his first question that I do not think that relationships have been completely severed because of the good will that has existed particularly in our section of the country since the founding of this country. I would like to say in the terms of a distinguished jurist of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Louis, Judge Gardner: "Evolution, not revolution is the answer to our present question."

To the gentleman's second question may I say I am aware of the fact that there are certain leaders such as the gentleman has mentioned, but time does not permit documenting all those facts here. I was trying to make my remarks pertinent to my section of the country. There is a great deal of evidence to support the gentleman's claims.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, may I say with respect to the gentleman's answer to my first question that I am most worried and concerned that good will and cooperation be not completely destroyed and frustrated and I am glad for the assurance he gives.

With reference to the second question, while I realize that it is not entirely apropos the gentleman's remarks, but I trust it is not presumptuous to express the hope that some constructive contributions along this line may be explored and exploited.

Mr. ALFORD. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me briefly?

Mr. ALFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. I should like to join with those who have complimented the gentleman upon his statements here today; at the same time I would like to point out to those who sit in this Chamber and honor the gentleman with their presence this afternoon who are not from this section known as the Southland, that this is not entirely a southern problem; this is a problem that goes to the very foundation and the perpetuation of this glorious young Republic of ours. I do not care whether it is regimentation or centralization in the field of integration or any other field in which our Government operates, it all amounts to the same thing. When the powerful arm of the Federal Government with all of its police power reaches out into every hamlet as well as every metropolitan center in this country and begins the regimentation of the people, it can lead only, in the final analysis, to a totalitarian form of government.

The gentleman has been speaking of communism in this movement. I do not know whether I ought to say this or not, but I am going to say it with some reservations: I must confess that I suspect I have had the high privilege of serving in this House about as long as anyone I see here with the exception, of course, of the gentleman who presides over this House, the Honorable Speaker. I was here when the thing started. Who was the man who walked down this aisle on every possible occasion 10 and 15 years ago to offer amendments on integration? He was neither Republican nor Democrat although he usually sat over on this Democratic side of the aisle. His name was Vito Marcantonio. I say this with some reservation because, unfortunately for him, he has answered the last call that we must all some day answer.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Arkansas has expired.

(By unanimous consent (at the request of Mr. COLMER), Mr. ALFORD was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, it was the gentleman from New York who first offered these amendments repeatedly year after year and advocated forced integration of the races. I think the history of this House reflects the political philosophy of the gentleman to whom I refer.

Finally, let me say for the benefit, not for those who reside in that particular section of our country, the South, but to those of you who live in other sections of this great country, those of you who have witnessed the national prohibition era, the attempt by the strong arm of the Federal Government to regiment man's habits in the field of temperance. I doubt if there are a half dozen men on the floor here today who would favor national prohibition. Yet many of them would use that strong arm of a powerful centralized government—yes, even the Armed Forces—against people with whom they have to associate, with whom they have to live, with whom their children have to attend school. I say to you that I would oppose that type of punitive legislation if there were not a Negro in my once-sovereign State of Mississippi, because it violates every concept of the principles upon which this Government of ours was founded.

While I would prefer that sectionalism were left out of the discussion, I will point out that we were living peacefully down there in the South. The white man was extending a helping hand to his less fortunate colored brothers. This is all a relative problem, you understand. It is no problem where you have a few of one race and many, many of another. But down there in this particular section of our great common country we have a problem that is aggravated. We were getting along very nicely. That period of evolution, referred to by the learned justice whom the gentleman from Arkansas quoted, was going along well. The leaders of the colored people appreciated the help of the white people in this evolutionary period.

What has happened now? I will be perfectly frank with you, Mr. Speaker, I have to search my own soul to prevent animosity from arising in my heart against my colored brother because of some of the things that are going on. I say to my people in Mississippi, as I say to you here and now, if I have to be placed in the category of a Negro hater or a Negro lover, put me in the category of the lover of my less fortunate brothers.

Mr. Speaker, the greatest tragedy of all of this misconceived effort to force integration is the fact that an evil wedge is being driven between the two races. I think future history will record the fact that the Negro will be the biggest loser.

Here is a race of people who were brought to this country against their will. They have made the greatest progress of any race of people in the history of the world under the guidance of their white brothers, their southern white brothers mostly. Now, these self-styled liberals, the politicians, and these other people who would reform us overnight—not the South, the Nation—would take a race of people who just a few generations ago, unfortunately, were—well, I do not want to use the word "savage," but were uncivilized in the jungles of Africa and just a few years ago were serfs in bondage—they would take them and by a statute enacted in this body and in the other body, or by an edict of the Court, place them overnight upon an equality with another race of people who for thousands of years have enjoyed all of the benefits of Christianity, civilization, education, and culture. This is not fair to them and it is not fair to the other race, the white race. Neither is it possible. The Negro must trod the hard and slow path of progress, civilization, and culture—the same road traveled through the centuries by the white man. No waving of a magic wand, no legislation, no Court decree is the answer.

I thank the gracious and respected gentleman from Arkansas for his courtesy in yielding to me.

THE SOUTHERN STORY

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is not often in these days of a paper curtain as tight as the Iron Curtain that the voice of the South can be heard through our land. While the South has a position on grave issues confronting our Nation today, and has clear, logical and intelligent reasons for its position, most of the people of the United States outside the South have no idea what is that position, or why it exists.

The reason for this, Mr. Speaker, is of course that the newspapers of the North and the magazines of national circulation see fit to suppress the story of the South—and even to suppress news in

their own communities, news of racial troubles, of the high incidence of crime and disease among Negroes, which would show the reasons for the southern position.

But Mr. Speaker, this paper curtain now has been penetrated. Through the National Broadcasting Co., and one of its commentators, Mr. Chet Huntley, the southern story—told by one of the South's most articulate and knowledgeable men—has been laid before a nationwide audience.

That the story has been told once is not, of course, sufficient to get it across to the country, Mr. Speaker, but that it has been told at all is a credit to the National Broadcasting Co. and to Mr. Huntley. Mr. Huntley's own views are not those of the South, but he has been fair enough, Mr. Speaker, to let the South have its say.

Reaction to that story, told by Thomas R. Waring, the distinguished editor of the News and Courier, a newspaper in my hometown of Charleston, S.C., has been highly favorable, not just from the South, but from all parts of the country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I will be delighted to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the gentleman will read the annual report of the NAACP put out for the year 1957, he will find that the NAACP claims credit for assisting and acting in an advisory capacity in the production of CBS programs on race relations in the South. I wonder if the legitimate and honorable Citizens Councils of the South or any prosegregation group was called in also as advisers. I can assure you they were not.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. We live too far below the Mason-Dixon line.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I saw the program to which the gentleman refers, and I would like to say to the gentleman that I thought the distinguished editor did a very fine job in presenting his points of view. The other side was presented on that same program.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. In a very dignified way.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. I would say that if we had more of that kind of argument in which both sides respected the other side's view and presented their own, that there would be a lot more possibility of solving some of these problems instead of some of the ways that the problem has been approached.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. That is the first time we have had a chance to get to the eyes and ears of well-meaning and well-intending people throughout the Nation.

I am going to include in my remarks a copy of Mr. Waring's statement on that program, and I ask those gentlemen who are interested to read it and see how tempered, how dignified and how objective was his presentation.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

TEXT OF STATEMENT BY THOMAS R. WARING, EDITOR OF THE CHARLESTON (S.C.) NEWS AND COURIER, ON CHET HUNTLEY SHOW, OVER NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO. NETWORK, FEBRUARY 8, 1959

Mr. Huntley's proposal that the NAACP withdraw from the South would meet with hearty approval, I believe, among most southerners, but not for the reasons Mr. Huntley has expressed. As I understand it, Mr. Huntley believes that mingling of the races could be accomplished with more speed and harmony if the NAACP removed itself. Mr. Huntley has presented legal and other reasons why mixing the races is right. I would like to offer a different viewpoint.

I am a spokesman for no organization or group of people. I am a newspaper editor in a position that offers opportunities to observe and report on people in the region where I live.

I believe it is a fact that the overwhelming majority of southern people are unalterably opposed to mixing races in public schools. They are opposed to it now or later.

They hold this view not on account of hatred or bigotry, as you may have been told. They hold it because they sincerely believe, on the basis of firsthand experience, that separate schools are best for both races.

In presenting this as the view of the majority of southerners, I refer to white southerners, because they are about 75 percent of the population. But the proportion varies greatly. In my home community, for instance, the population is about 50–50. In some neighborhoods, Negroes outnumber whites 10 to 1. In many school districts integration would mean sending white children to Negro schools.

While I do not pose as a spokesman for the colored people, nor pretend to read their minds, I believe that most of them are happy and satisfied. I do not believe the NAACP by any means represents a unanimous feeling among the southern Negroes.

If some southerners are willing to accept token integration rather than shut down their schools it does not mean that they approve, or accept it permanently. Even token integration brings tension and constant threat of disorder, as well as fear of other evils.

If integration is wrong, as we believe it is, we do not concede that a little bit of it is right. The strength of resistance testifies to the depth of this belief. The choice between separate schools and no schools is an agonizing one for people who have spent years developing an education system.

Cordons of police ringed the school at Arlington to enforce admission of four colored children. Not even parents were allowed near the schoolhouse. An Associated Press reporter said the scene presented a picture of "Alcatraz, southern style." The trappings of the police state were mounted within sight of the U.S. Capitol.

It is not alone the entrance of a few colored children at Arlington or elsewhere that created all this furor. White southerners are more accustomed to Negroes than people in other regions. It is the seizure of rights and powers for local self government that makes southern hearts turn cold.

The Supreme Court has rewritten the Constitution it swore to uphold. Chief Justice Holmes, Justice Brandeis, and other liberals accepted the law of the land to mean the States had a right to operate separate but equal schools.

Whether the South closes public schools under threat of mixing, or struggles in some regions with the perils of integration, public education will be damaged.

For white pupils, standards of education will decline. This has been the experience in Washington, D. C., and in other places that have undergone mass integration. The statement is well documented and I haven't time to explore it further.

For colored pupils, the relaxed and familiar conditions of their own schools are lost. Discipline breaks down. We have no blackboard jungles in the South, and we do not want them.

Though not all southern schools, white or Negro, have achieved the highest standards, they have vastly improved in recent years. Southerners have spent billions of dollars on them. They had a contract with the Federal Government that guaranteed separation of the races. They would not have taxed themselves for mixed schools. And nobody knows how long they would continue to support schools they don't control. In any event, public education is bound to suffer.

Local self-government, through division of State and Federal powers, is the keystone of our Republic. It is being torn apart for the sake of a sociological experiment. If a police state is substituted for the Republic, no race will gain.

Once before, in prohibition, the United States experimented with sociology. Prohibition was a failure. It brought on bootlegging and a crime wave. Eventually the people came to their senses. They repealed prohibition. At least, it had the authority of lawful constitutional amendment. This time the experiment is with the lives of children—on the basis of court decrees.

Southerners are concerned for the welfare of both races. They realize the need to educate colored people as well as white. They need colored citizens for manpower in the burgeoning new industries. They want to build the earning power of Negro workers so they can carry more of their share of the economy.

In his inaugual address last month, South Carolina's young Governor, Ernest F. Hollings referred to these problems. He said, and I quote:

"I shall not dwell on the subject of segregation as it affects race relations. We have all heard too much on this subject and there is too much to be done in the days ahead for us to waste our energies and arouse our tempers over a subject upon which we, in South Carolina, are in essential agreement.

"We are fortunate in having a well-nigh boundless store of good will and understanding among all races and beliefs in South Carolina. In our schools, peace patrols the school corridors; unlike New York, we do not need armed guards. The Negroes of our State feel that schools are intended for education. They feel that their Governor and general assembly are doing everything possible to provide them the best educational program and the best opportunity to succeed on an individual basis. Let alone, we shall continue to do this.

"As a practical matter, this can only be done in the segregated pattern, and for those who would by integration destroy the education, culture, opportunity and friendship of both races, I simply state that our position of determined resistance remains unchanged."

Southern people are not, as you may have been told, captives of blind leaders who will not or cannot read the signs of progress.

The people demand that their public schools be separate. We hear sometimes about southern moderates. A moderate is an integrationist who isn't in too big a hurry. Fast or slow, most southerners are convinced that mingling the schools would be disastrous.

What is the aim of integration?

It is not improvement for white pupils. Educational standards in mixed schools would have to be reduced to the lowest common denominator.

It will not improve education for Negro pupils. An atmosphere of tension does not promote learning. Discipline would have to

suffer when any classroom incident is likely to explode into a racial incident.

It would not promote good relations between the races. Both North and South, integration or attempts at it have created racial trouble.

It will not create respect abroad for the United States. Internal squabbles involving troops, police, and constant arguments over rights and freedoms are signs of unstable conditions.

If the aim of integration is to sustain legal and sociological theories, without regard to practical effects on human beings, it is not defensible.

If the aim is to humiliate the white southerners, it is beneath contempt.

If the aim is to raise the status of the Negro, it won't work. The Negro needs many things more than he needs association with white people on an involuntary basis.

While national diplomacy courts favor in foreign countries, on the domestic front the American Government is not seeking to win friends and influence people in Southern States.

I shall not attempt to explore the reasons for those policies. They are in large measure political.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been able to exploit these political forces. It has achieved a balance of power out of all proportion to its actual worth. Millions of white southerners have become an unorganized and oppressed minority.

The NAACP creates division and animosity. Some of its leaders have official records of contacts with subversive organizations. Their names have been published in reports of congressional committees.

With its political allies, the NAACP has set up a virtual censorship on race.

One minor bit of evidence is the removal of dialect from magazines, books, and newspapers. Though Negro dialect is forbidden, a California cartoonist who lampooned the Southern speech of Governor Faubus was singled out recently for some kind of freedom award.

Negro crime in cities is appalling, but the facts are being deliberately disguised in the paper curtain press.

Superior force may overwhelm the South, as it has done before. But troops and police cannot forever suppress millions of resourceful people.

I do not believe the rest of the country wants some of the States to become concentration camps for the sake of mixing white and colored children against their parents' will.

MASTERS OF DECEIT IN THE SCHOOL CRISIS

(Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey asked and was given permission to address the House for 10 minutes and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ALFORD], if his documentation, which I have not seen, is accurate, has performed, I think, a useful service. I am sure that all of us in the House of Representatives are absolutely opposed to communism and to subversion in any of its forms.

The gentleman told the House several days ago that he would present to this body evidence that subversive forces are the real masters of deceit behind this school crisis in the South and the so-called civil-rights issue in America today; and today he has ben discussing these matters.

I wonder if the gentleman could tell the Members of the House whether in his listing of the Communist cells alleged to have existed in certain educational institutions in the South, he is familiar with Commonwealth College, a former educational institution in his State which was cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization.

Mr. ALFORD. May I say to the gentleman from New Jersey that I know that institution well. As a child I lived not many miles from that institution.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Is the gentleman aware that this institution has been listed by many groups as a Communist front and subversive?

Mr. ALFORD. Yes. May I say to the gentleman in answer to his question that this Commonwealth College, which existed nearly 40 years ago, I believe—that is correct?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. It was still in existence, however, as recently as 1940, was it not? Indeed, was it not founded in 1923 and closed in November 1940? Actually, it was cited as a Communist enterprise in 1944 by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and cited by Attorney General Clark in 1949 as Communist.

Mr. ALFORD. I do not know the exact date, but I know that it was practically unheard of by 1940. To answer the gentleman's question, he well knows that 40 years ago or 35 years ago certainly very little was known of the Communist conspiracy in this country.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. That is so; but, as a matter of fact the conspiracy existed, just as it does today. Was it less dangerous then than it is now? I think not.

Mr. ALFORD. May I say to the gentleman why that institution was in Arkansas? It was in a hill section, a very poor section of the State, where the economic status of the people was very low at that time and there was no publicity at that time as to the type of institution it was. It was widely circularized at that time that that institution would offer to boys and girls in the hill section of the country an education if they would merely work on the farms of that area. I am well familiar with it.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Is the gentleman aware that the present Chief Executive of his State attended that college?

Mr. ALFORD. I am well aware of the fact that the gentleman was going to get to the distinguished Governor of our State.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I did not ask the gentleman that. But if you anticipated my remarks, then you must have been aware of the facts regarding your Governor. I'm wondering why you failed to mention these facts yourself, since you are giving us the facts regarding the subversive forces behind the school crisis and the so-called civil rights issue in America today.

Mr. ALFORD. May I say to the gentleman——

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I decline to yield further, if the gentleman will not respond to the question. I did not ask whether the gentleman was aware of my intentions, but whether he was aware that the Chief Executive of his State attended that college.

Mr. ALFORD. May I answer the gentleman?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. ALFORD. The gentleman was there only several days—that is, the distinguished Governor of the State of Arkansas. He has stated many times that after he found out the nature of the group, he left there. He was a poor boy who went to this institution; and I think it is very admirable that this man, the present Governor of Arkansas who, by the way, has a very honorable and outstanding war record and who has served his country well, has been cleared in every way possible by all the security agencies that are necessary. I think it is distinctively due him that I should at this moment call attention to the fact that a Gallup Poll recently listed him as one of the 10 most outstanding men in the world.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I saw that, and I thank the gentleman.

Without having the facts at hand to know how long the Governor attended or under what circumstances, I make the point, however, that in this type of thing one can indict anyone who attended a college or university where there was a cell, perhaps. One can indict, if he is not fair, anyone who attended, especially, an institution which was listed.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Just to show how far you could go with that indictment, Governor Faubus was there long enough to be elected president of the student body, was he not?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes, he was.

Mr. HAYS. He was there long enough to later in a political campaign swear he never attended the college.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. That is my understanding. Governor Faubus is quoted in the Arkansas Gazette of August 1, 1954, as follows:

> I have never been a student or faculty member at the school (Commonwealth College) and never have attended a class there.

Mr. HAYS. That is documented. Understand, I am not saying by the process of guilt by association that the Governor of Arkansas was a Communist, but I am pointing out that by the process of guilt by association the facts are there, and they are there in documentation.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. He must have known a little bit about it or he would not later have denied that he went there.

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I decline to yield at this time. I want to answer the gentleman from Ohio.

I do not subscribe to guilt by association any more in the case of the attendance of the Governor of Arkansas at Commonwealth College, which was listed as subversive, than by implication that

anyone who belongs to the NAACP is subversive because it may have had subversives in it. I simply take this time to call attention to the fact that there are two edges to this sort of a weapon, and that if a person is to be indicted for having gone to the University of North Carolina, where at one time there existed, according to the gentleman from Arkansas, a cell, then thousands upon thousands of students at that great university are under indictment. If the gentleman from Arkansas would indict anyone by this method, then surely he must indict his great friend, Governor Faubus.

Mr. HAYS. I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not charging the Governor of Arkansas with anything at all. I am merely using this as an illustration of what you could do if you set out to prove something by the doctrine of guilt by association.

I am sensitive about this because of some past hearings in this Congress under a committee that was set up allegedly to investigate foundations. They attempted to show that my university was at one time a Communist-front organization, Ohio State University, which, of course, is absurd. I am a little sensitive about this business of saying, "Well, someone went somewhere where there once was a Communist, ergo, he is automatically a Communist." I did not mean any reflection on the Governor of Arkansas. I certainly do not agree with a great many of his opinions, but I say he has a right to have them however much I may disagree with him.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I quite agree with the gentleman from Ohio. I did not take this time to indict the Governor of Arkansas, either. I think that on the basis of simply his attendance such an indictment would be unfair; as a matter off act, it would be outrageous. I do take the time, however, to point out that the gentleman from Arkansas has cited what he thinks, apparently, and which I am looking forward to seeing in the RECORD, is chapter and verse. If by the same motive he is indicting, or by implication or inference his remarks can be used to indict, the Governor, I think the Governor should be cleared.

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. ALFORD. May I say that the distinguished Governor of Arkansas has never denied the fact that he has attended that school. The Governor of Arkansas has never denied the fact that he was elected the first 2 weeks as president of the student body.

May I ask the gentleman to point out anywhere in my remarks today where by inference I declared anyone to be a Communist? I am seeking the truth. It is high time that some patriot in America stood up on the floor of this House instead of playing pure and simple politics. We are asking for the truth for all America.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. That is right. And if we are going to have the truth, let us have all of it. I quite agree with the gentleman. I said at the outset that if his documentation is accurate, he has done a great service. I simply took this time to point out that, perhaps, his documentation is not as complete as it might be. I have already quoted the story in which the Governor denied having attended the school. Later, I understand, he admitted not only attending, but, as you have said, admitted he was elected president of the student body of Commonwealth College.

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. MEYER. It seems to me quite regrettable that when this Nation faces a problem, and we do have a problem, in racial relations and the problem of human justice that instead of attempting to solve these problems with our hearts and with our minds and perhaps with a few laws also, but more in our hearts and in our minds, that we have to drag in the issue of communism into everything that we do. It seems to me it is quite regrettable on both sides. That is about all I have to say.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I agree with the gentleman that it is regrettable. I look forward with great interest to reading the remarks of the gentleman from Arkansas in some detail to see just what was said.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. LINDSAY. I should like to say I agree with the gentleman from Mississippi in that, unquestionably, this is a subject which is not a local responsibility or a sectional responsibility, but it is a national responsibility. It becomes a national responsibility when we view what our brethren abroad think of us when they see racial unrest in this country and argumentation of this sort. But, I would say also that argumentation is necessary and desirable. Undoubtedly, members of the Communist Party have attempted to use racial unrest as a means of furthering their own cause. But, that is no excuse for the type of indictment such as has just occurred, as pointed out by the gentleman from New Jersey, where responsible men such as Harry Ashmore and responsible citizens of a local community who support men such as Harry Ashmore are placed in the same bed, so to speak, with members of the Communist Party. I cannot understand any broad statement to the effect that Harry Ashmore, or his supporters, are being used by members of the Communist Party who may be capitalizing on racial unrest for their own insidious purposes. Such statements beg the point.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Does the gentleman belive that all the members of the NAACP are Communist led because it may be that there are some fellow travelers or other odd-ball characters of that sort in that organization? Although I do not know that there are, nor have I seen a single fact proving that there are such disreputable characters in the NAACP.

Mr. LINDSAY. Of course not. The point that I am trying to make is that I hope the gentleman from Arkansas does not mean to suggest that Harry Ashmore and his supporters are guided by anything except their own idealistic motives, the furthering of the best interests of the community, and the creation of equal justice and opportunity for all.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

INTEGRATION

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to ask for permission to address the House, but some things have developed here so I think we ought not to just end this little discussion on a note of frustration, you might say, until a couple of more things are said. Now, I do not want to prejudge anybody, but I would say from having listened very attentively and very carefully to the remarks of the gentleman from Arkansas—and I want you to know and I would like the gentleman from Arkansas to know and his friends from the South can testify to this—that I have never taken this floor in the 10 years that I have been here to talk about racial relations or talk about segregation or desegregation or to talk about the FEPC or anything that most of my southern friends might consider repugnant. I have voted sometimes in a way that they did not approve of, but I have not demagoged about it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. In just a moment.

I would like to say that I think the cause of the South, from which my mother came and in which I have many relatives, would be far better served by the kind of discussion that was had on television by the distinguished editor of a South Carolina newspaper, than it will be by some of the things that were said here this afternoon.

I believe that we have a problem in racial relations that we must solve. I think the Communists are going to exploit it in the world if we do not solve it. I think there are ways of solving it rather than pointing an accusing finger at people.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to congratulate the gentleman in what he has just said. He has not agitated against the South. I would also like to congratulate the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON], because both of you gentlemen have managed to work this problem out very satisfactorily for yourselves and your districts. I notice both reside in segregated Virginia, rather than the District of Columbia, where you could enjoy what I am sure you will tell your people back home are the "blessings" of a checkerboard-integrated society.

Mr. HAYS. I thought when I yielded to the gentleman that I might get

more than a needle. In my hometown where my daughter will go to school at least half the year, if I am so fortunate as to be reelected to this body, when she is old enough to go to school 2 years hence, is a desegregated school, as it has been since before the War Between the States. I attended a desegregated school in the grades, in high school, and at the university. Some of my colleagues at Ohio State University were members of the Negro race. One in particular is one of the great scientists of this country, one of our great cancer research experts. I am proud to say that he is an alumnus of our outstanding university.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. Not at this time. I will say to the gentleman that Ohio State was and is desegregated. The area in which I live when in Washington is going to be desegregated most any minute, if it has not already.

I want to say right here that I am very proud of the way the State of Virginia has handled the problem when it was faced with something that was repugnant to a great many of the citizens of that great State. I am proud of the fact that while they fought it as far as they could in the courts, because they did not believe in it, when the chips were down and the Governor was faced with the alternative of civil strife or legal compliance, he chose, although he did not like it, to meet the thing in a civilized, lawful, and legal manner.

I want to say to my distinguished colleague from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] that I am not ashamed of the fect that I live in Virginia when Congress is in session. It is well known back home. It was in the paper when we purchased property over there. I do not feel that I should offer him or anybody else any apology for living in Fairfax County.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I, too, am proud of the fact that I live in Fairfax County. I would like to state to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] that my children go to schools which are in the process of integration. They will remain in those schools if they are kept open. I am also very proud of the manner in which the Governor of Virginia has conducted this process. I have absolutely no objection, having gone to integrated schools, to my children going to integrated schools. I am delighted that they are going. I hope they admit more Negro children in northern Virginia to the school which my children attend.

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield.

Mr. ALFORD. I would like at this point respectfully to call attention to the fact that we have gotten a little bit off the subject of my original remarks this afternoon, and to the fact that it has been implied here that we would by inference besmirch someone. The name of Harry Ashmore has been mentioned. I would like respectfully to submit that in no instance did we state anything relative to communism. We related about the national agitation. We sincerely believe in the presentation we made.

Mr. HAYS. I listened very carefully to the gentleman's statement. While I could not repeat exactly what he said I gained the very definite impression that it was not very favorable to Mr. Ashmore. I am going to read the gentleman's statement in the RECORD to see exactly what he did say.

I may be a little guilty of getting off the subject but I have had a great deal of feeling in the matter. As a matter of fact, I notice some Members got off onto the subject of elections, a matter which is properly before the Committee on House Administration. I do not want to prejudge anything said as I said in the beginning, but I do not think too much should be made of getting a little off the subject.

I would like to say to the gentleman with all the sincerity I possess that I believe the way to solve this problem is through the approach that was made on the television program the other night. I would like to congratulate not only the editor of the paper in South Carolina but also the secretary of the NAACP for their very moderate approach to this. I think they both deserve a great deal of credit; and I want to say in the presence of my colleague from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] that I thought his editor made a most moderate approach and a most sensible approach and a most convincing approach to defending his convictions perhaps more moderate, more sensible, and more convincing than anyone I have seen or heard either in this body or anywhere else.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield I just want to thank the gentleman for his very kind, generous, and statesmanlike statement.

TRAVEL EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

(Mr. TOLLEFSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, our Federal expenditures are rising fast enough without being jet propelled.

A businessman friend of mine has just returned from Europe on one of the new jetplanes. He informed me that there were two categories of passengers on the plane—the "deluxe" and the "economy" classes. The round trip fare for the deluxe is $903.40. For the economy class it is $478.70.

Most of the economy class passengers, he informs me, were businessmen who either paid their own way or were on expense account.

Most of the deluxe passengers were U.S. Government personnel. Uncle Sam paid the bill.

While I believe that Government personnel traveling on Government business should do so in average comfort, I doubt that the average citizen would approve their traveling in deluxe fashion. If the economy class is adequate for businessmen—and my friend says it is excellent—then it should be good enough for Federal employees. The savings on a round trip would be $427.70 per person.

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR A COMMITTEE OF INDEPENDENT UNIONS AND UNRECOGNIZED LABOR GROUPS

(Mr. CURTIS of Missouri asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill that would provide for a committee on independent unions and unrecognized groups. This committee for independent unions would be comparable to the House Committee on Small Business.

Today there are two well-defined types of unions; namely, those directly affiliated with the AFL–CIO and those that are not affiliated with that organiaztion.

Of the more than 65 million gainfully employed people in this country, the AFL–CIO claimed from 15 to 16 million. This was prior to the big layoffs that have reduced their membership substantially and extensive automation in industry in recent years. Further reduction resulted from loss of the Teamsters and several other unions that were eliminated for various reasons, including racketeering and unethical practices. With the exception of those left in the AFL–CIO, the remainder of the 65 million American workers are either in independent unions or as yet unorganized.

The proposed resolution would create a committee composed of 21 Members of the House. It would provide the smaller unions with a means whereby their problems could receive desired attention. It is my contention that these smaller unions are not presently receiving the attention which they rightfully deserve due to the fact that the governmental agencies dealing with labor are unduly influenced or dominated by current or former AFL–CIO officials. For example, it has been brought to my attention that the U.S. Department of Labor, where the Advisory Committee is located, is under the domination of the AFL–CIO.

It is my contention, therefore, that there is a present and pressing need for such a committee to deal with and for these independent unions and unrecognized groups. I am hopeful that the Congress will act on this matter.

To illustrate the point of view of small unions, I am placing in the RECORD a portion of the testimony of Roger Rettig, president, National Independent Union Council, which represents many small and independent unions, given before the Joint Economic Committee in its hearings on the President's 1959 Economic Report to the Congress:

STATEMENT OF ROGER M. RETTIG, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL INDEPENDENT UNION COUNCIL, BEFORE THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ON THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT, CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 9, 1959

My name is Roger M. Rettig. At this hearing I will present the position of the National Independent Union Council as president. I

ARKANSAS GAZETTE - 12/18/57

Citizens Council Circulates Handbill on 'Arrest Record' Of State NAACP Leader

By the Associated Press

A handbill purporting to list the arrest record of Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was being distributed at Little Rock yesterday.

The printed handbill bore the notation "paid for and distributed by Capital Citizens Council. Julian Miller, director."

The handbill had a facsimile reproduction of a police record from Arkansas State Police showing that a Daisey Bates (sic), Daisey Lea Bates, Daisy Bates had been arrested five times—once at Monroe, La., for investigation, twice for "contempt of court" at Little Rock, once for failing to register as head of the Little Rock and once for failing to register Little Rock ordinance NAACP in violation of a recent Little Rock ordinance.

Amis Guthridge, attorney for the Citizens Council, said the circular "speaks for itself" when the handbill, which carried a picture of Mrs. Bates with numbers across the front of the photograph, said: "There is a vicious campaign in process at Central High School, whereby the white children are being told that at anytime a white child has trouble with a Negro student that the white students must take care of the Negro leader previously Daisy Bates and be cross-examined by her."

Guthridge asked why it was being distributed. As to where the Citizens Council obtained the police photo, Guthridge said that "there is a vicious rumor that I had forgotten them." Guthridge would say only that they came from a law enforcement agency.

Capt. Leon Gershiner, head of the State Police Records Bureau, said the Citizens Council did not get its information there and that the State Police gave such information only to other law enforcement bodies.

Explanation Given

Mrs. Bates scoffed at the charges and gave the following explanation for each arrest:

"Some of these things were so minor that I had forgotten them. I remember that L. C. (her husband), several relatives and my self were traveling and a service station operator spotted a gun in the car—and he had a permit to carry the gun.

"The only thing the police asked me was my name. I told them 'Daisy.' They were questioning L. C. Bates, and assumed that my name was Bates also. I was only 14 and L. C. and I were not married at that time.

Was Case on Appeal

"I spent six hours in jail in 1946 on the contempt of court charge. That's the only time I've ever been in jail in my life. I later won my case before the Arkansas Supreme Court.

"The gaming charge—well, I laughed at that one. That was in 1952 when the police were trying to crack down on gambling and houses without warrants. I was in a penny ante poker game at a neighbor's house and they [the police] walked in. I was fined $5."

The 1946 contempt of court charge was filed against Mrs. Bates and her husband by then Circuit Judge Lawrence C. Auten because of an article published in their newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, about a ruling by Auten in a court case involving three Negro CIO leaders. Later the same year the Arkansas Supreme Court overturned that co

NEGRO SUSPENDED AT CENTRAL HIGH

Girl Dumps Food on White Boys in Little Rock—New Attack on N.A.A.C.P. Aide

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 17 (AP)—A Negro girl at integrated Central High School was suspended today because "she lost her temper and dumped food" on two white boys.

Virgil T. Blossom, school superintendent, disclosed this today. He would not give the name of the students involved in the cafeteria incident, but other sources identified the suspended girl as Minnie Jean Brown, 16 years old.

Mr. Blossom gave this account:

"There was a white boy who scooted his chair back and partially blocked the aisle of the colored girl student. Another chair was inadvertently pushed back into the aisle, partially blocking the aisleway to a colored girl student.

"She lost her temper and dumped food on the white boy, and it got on two white boys.

"The colored student has been suspended from school. She will have to come to my office about this offense.

"The suspension is automatically three days as a minimum. It can be made more than that after a final analysis of the details."

Jess Matthews, principal, had indicated earlier that the incident was accidental. He quoted the boys as having said "it could have been an accident."

Nine Negroes are attending the school with 2,000 whites. Some whites have been suspended or expelled for offenses against them.

Meanwhile, handbills listing the arrest record of Mrs. L. C. Bates, Negro leader in the integration dispute were being circulated.

Mrs. Bates, state head of the National Asociation for the Advancement of Colored People, scoffed at what she jokingly called her "police record." She admitted the arrests and offered explanations for each.

The printed handbills bore police-style photos of Mrs. Bates. A line at the bottom said: "Paid for and distributed by Capital Citizens Council, Julian Miller, director."

The New York Times

TARGET OF HANDBILL: Mrs. L. C. Bates, Arkansas leader of the N. A. A. C. P.

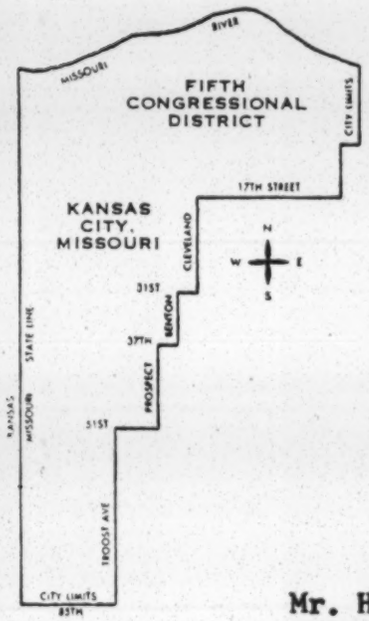
Mrs. Bates said she had been absolved in three of the five cases, all minor offenses. Another case, involving her failure to register as head of the Arkansas N. A. A. C. P., is pending. She said she had spent six hours in jail for contempt of court in 1946 for an article printed in the weekly newspaper operated by her and her husband, but had won the case before the Arkansas Supreme Court.

She said she had paid a $5 fine for participating in a penny-ante poker game at the home of a neighbor.

The reasons for the arrests listed in the handbills were "investigation," two contempt charges, gaming and failure to register as head of the N. A. A. C. P.

Pall L. P.

RICHARD BOLLING
5TH DISTRICT, MISSOURI



COMMITTEES:
JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT
RULES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

LARRY BODINSON
SECRETARY

KANSAS CITY SERVICE OFFICE
811 GRAND AVENUE
VICTOR 2-4798

March 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In reply to your letter to Mr. Bolling of March 6th, I have checked with the Congressional Record Clerk and find that several different methods of printing material from the Record are available. These, and the price per 5,000 copies, follow:

(1) Single page, Record size, title over single column $40.11

(2) Two pages, Record size, title across the top of the first page, leaded $60.71

(3) Two pages, pamphlet size, title across the top of the first page, non-leaded $43.51

Will you kindly decide which of the above methods you would prefer. As soon as I hear from you, I will be delighted to order the printing from the Clerk.

If there are any additional details you would like, please feel free to call or write to me.

Sincerely,

Mark Ferber

Mark Ferber
Assistant

VIA AIR MAIL

March 12, 1959

Mr. Mark Ferber
Assistant to Congressman Bolling
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ferber:

Thank you for your very obliging letter of March 10.

We should like to order 5,000 copies of the reprint in the form described as item two in your letter and priced at $60.71 -- that is, two pages, Record size, title across the top of the first page, leaded.

If it will simplify matters for us to forward a check now, please let me know how it should be made payable and we shall do so at once.

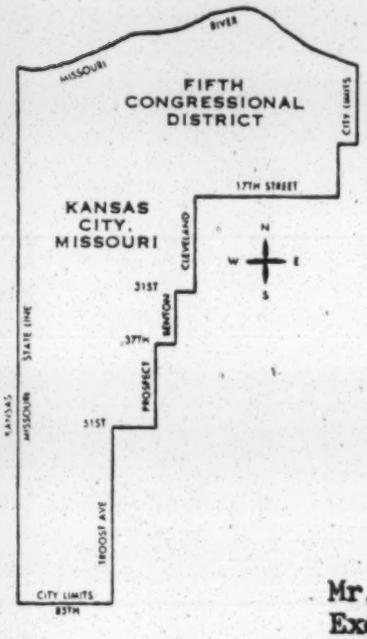
We are most grateful to you and to Mr. Bolling for your help on this.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RICHARD BOLLING
5TH DISTRICT, MISSOURI



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEES:
JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT
RULES

LARRY BODINSON
SECRETARY

KANSAS CITY SERVICE OFFICE
811 GRAND AVENUE
VICTOR 2-4798

March 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of March 12th. I have ordered 5,000 copies of the reprint in the form indicated and hope for delivery next week.

If, at your convenience, you can send me a check in the amount of $60.71, payable to the Public Printer, it will be appreciated.

It was a pleasure to help you on this matter, and if there is anything more we can do, I hope you will let us know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mark Ferber

Mark F. Ferber
Assistant

March 18, 1959

Mr. Mark F. Ferber
Assistant to Congressman Bolling
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ferber:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my last letter. I am enclosing our check for $60.71 payable to the Public Printer.

With appreciation and regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check #5383, $60.71)

Tennessean 4-6-59

Churchmen Decry Red Link Charges

Say Southern Trend Would Tie Desegregation to Communism

There is a disturbing new Southern trend among some segregation leaders to link desegregation with subversion, 11 Protestant leaders, including five Nashvillians, charged here yesterday.

The charge was made in a statement released by one of the signers, the Rev. Will D. Campbell of Nashville. He is associate executive of the department of racial and cultural relations of the National Council of Churches.

Seven denominations, including Southern Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, Church of the Brethren, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ and Congregational Christian, were represented by signers.

Other Nashvillians signing the statement are the Rev. Charles Boyles, executive of the National Conference of Methodist Youth; Dr. Herman Long, director of the race relations department of the American Missionary association; Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary of the Christian Life commission of the Southern Baptist convention; the Rev. J. Metz Rollins Jr., staff representative of the department of social education and action of the United Presbyterian church in the U.S.A.

The statement said:

"We raise our voices in protest against a new and disturbing trend in the South: The cynical attempt by some who oppose racial desegregation to label those who disagree with them as Reds, fellow-travelers, or dupes of the Communist conspiracy.

"Through inuendoes, half-truths and distortions, doubts are cast on the motivation and background of individuals or groups seeking compliance with the law of the land. The charges are made, the headlines follow: 'Communist Activities Charged' or 'Subversive Influence Seen.'

"This Southern version of McCarthyism was first directed against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The disease now spreads to new areas: the white Southerner, the educator, the newspaperman, the minister, the businessman, or the attorney who tries to work at this sensitive problem.

"The goal is the same: To silence those who do not accept the extremist position on segregation. The charges follow the now-familiar pattern of guilt by association, by innuendo, by distortion. . . . The nature of the charge is: The willful attempt to discredit and embarrass honorable men, to discourage others from speaking out, and most of all to enforce silence on a subject which needs so badly to be discussed."

The statement represented the thinking of the individual signers and no official action. Campbell said they acted in harmony with the position on desegregation already taken by every major religious body in America.

Other signers included:

The Rev. Lewis Deer, national director of social education and intercultural relations for the Christian churches (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, Ind.; the Rev. Henry I: Louttit, bishop of South Florida, Winter Park, Fla.; Dr. John H. Marion, staff representative of the department of social education and action, United Presbyterian church in the U.S.A., Richmond, Va.; the Rev. Ralph Smeltzer, social action director, Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill.; Miss Thelma Stevens, executive secretary, department of Christian social relations, Methodist Woman's division of Christian service, New York city; the Rev. Galen Weaver, secretary, race relations department of the Congregational Christian church, New York city.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

APR 6 1959

NASHVILLE GROUP HITS EXTREMISTS

Protestant Leaders Point to Subversion Charges of Segregationists

Special to The Chattanooga Times

NASHVILLE — Eleven Protestant leaders in the field of social action, including seven clergymen, issued a joint statement Sunday denouncing segregationists who attempt to identify desegregation proponents with subversion.

The denominational signers were identified with Southern Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, Church of Brethren, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ and Congregational Christian religious organizations.

A spokesman for the group emphasized that the statement represented the thinking of the individual signers and constituted no official action. He stressed, however, that the signers "acted in harmony with the position on desegregation already taken by every religious body in America."

Referring to what they termed "a Southern version of McCarthyism" that had "first been directed at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," the group expressed alarm that "the disease now spreads to new areas: the white Southerner, the educator, the newspaperman, the minister, the businessman, or the attorney who tries to work at this sensitive problem."

Should Report Facts

The group warned that those who made vague charges of Communist plots should adopt the responsibility of reporting factual knowledge to the FBI or else check the facts on which they based their accusations, for otherwise "they themselves are doing the real service to communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

The statement made direct reference to the initial speech in Congress of Rep. Dale Alford of Arkansas, who defeated Brooks Hays, race relation moderator and president of the Southern Baptist Convention, in last fall's election. According to the group, Alford's speech sought "to cast aspersions on the good name of Harry Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, and upon the reputation of the Southern Regional Council," an interracial organization employing education and persuasion methods to foster better race relations.

The signers were Rev. Charles Boyles, executive, National Conference of Methodist Youth, Nashville; Rev. Will D. Camp-

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The signers were Rev. Charles Boyles, executive, National Conference of Methodist Youth, Nashville; Rev. Will D. Campbell, associate executive, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Nashville; Rev. Lewis Deer, national director, Social, Education and Intercultural Relations, Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis; Dr. Herman Long, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association.

Rt. Rev. Henry I. Quitit, Episcopal Bishop of south Florida; Dr. John H. Marion, staff representative, Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Richmond, Va.; Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville; Rev. J. Metz Rollins Jr., staff representative, Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Nashville; Rev. Ralph Smeltzer, director, Social Education, Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill.; Miss Thelma Stevens, executive secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church, New York City, and Rev. Galen Weaver, secretary, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Church.

The statement in part follows:

"We raise our voices in protest against a new and disturbing trend in the South: the cynical attempt by some who oppose racial desegregation to label those who disagree with them as reds, fellow-travelers, or dupes of the Comunist conspiracy. Through innuendoes, half-truths, and distortions, doubts are cast on the motivation and background of individuals or groups seeking compliance with the law of the land. The charges are made, the headlines follow: 'Communist Activities Charged' or 'Subversive Influence Seen.'

"The charges follow the now-familiar pattern of guilt by association, by innuendo, by distortion. The refutation, the denial, the clarification may come later. They are sadly always a little late and a little more complicated than the simple charge. They merit a less auspicious place in the newspaper. Meanwhile, the damage is done. The 'facts' in the charge are not important. The nature of the charge is: the willful attempt to discredit and embarrass honorable men, to discourage others from speaking out, and most of all to enforce silence on a subject which needs so badly to be discussed.

"We feel the time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat in the South, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

ARKANSAS GAZETTE

APR 7 1959

Alford Talk, McCarthyism in South Denounced by 11 Church Leaders

From Gazette Press Services

Eleven Protestant ministers and church workers, including seven from the South and some of high office, issued a statement yesterday denouncing "a resurgence of McCarthyism in the South" and a speech by United States Representative Dale Alford of Little Rock.

They described "the cynical attempt by some who oppose racial desegregation to label those who disagree with them as Reds, fellow travelers or dupes of the Communist conspiracy."

The 11 signed the statement as individuals and not on behalf of their organizations.

The statement apparently was prompted by Dr. Alford's maiden speech in Congress. Calling it "the latest expression of this type of wanton attack," the statement said the speech "seeks to cast aspersion on the good name of Harry Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, and upon the reputation of the Southern Regional Council."

"Neither is charged with an improper word or deed, it said," "yet the allegation is made that the Council was 'founded by a Communist.' This allegation is both stale and discredited. No less a Southern conservative than Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, has vouched for the honorable origins of the Council."

'Vague Plots' Noted

Still referring to Dr. Alford's speech, the 11 continued:

"He speaks of vague plots and names specific individuals and organizations, with no evidence that they are connected. We protest this. We feel it is immoral. We feel the time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat in the South, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to communism, which battens on confusion, false charges and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

The 11 saw the "McCarthyism" trend in the South as "new and disturbing."

Released at Nashville

The statement was released at Nashville by Rev. Will D. Campbell of Nashville, Tenn., associate executive of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA. Other signers were.

Rev. Charles Boyles of Nashville, executive of the National Conference of Methodist Youth; Rev. Lewis Deer of Indianapolis, national director of Social Education and Intercultural Relations of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ); Dr. Herman Long of Nashville, director of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association; Right Rev. Henry I. Loutitt of Winter Park, Fla., bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of South Florida.

Dr. John H. Marion of Richmond, Va., and Rev. J. Metz Rollins Jr. of Nashville, staff representative of the Department of Social Education and Action of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA; Dr. A. C. Miller of Nashville, executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; Rev. Ralph Smeltzer of Elgin, Ill., director of social education for the Church of the Brethren; Miss Thelma Stevens of New York, executive secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, the Methodist Church, and Rev. Galen Weaver of New York City, secretary of the Race Relations Department of the Congregational Christian Church.

Dr. Harold Fleming

DRAFT OF PROPOSED NEWS RELEASE BY

DENOMINATIONAL SOCIAL ACTION STAFF

We raise our voices in protest against a new and disturbing trend in the South: the cynical attempt by some who oppose racial desegregation to label those who disagree with them as reds, fellow-travelers, or dupes of the Communist conspiracy. Through innuendoes, half-truths, and distortions, doubts are cast on the motivation and background of individuals or groups seeking compliance with the law of the land. The charges are made, the headlines follow: "Communist Activities Charged" or "Subversive Influence Seen."

This Southern version of McCarthyism was first directed against the NAACP. The disease now spreads to new areas: the white Southerner, the educator, the newspaperman, the minister, the businessman, or the attorney who tries to work at this sensitive problem. The goal is the same: to silence those who do not accept the extremist position on segregation.

The charges follow the now-familiar pattern of guilt by association, by innuendo, by distortion. The refutation, the denial, the clarification may come later. They are sadly always a little late and a little more complicated than the simple charge. They merit a less auspicious place in the newspaper. Meanwhile, the damage is done. The "facts" in the charge are not important. The nature of the charge is: the willful attempt to discredit and embarrass honorable men, to discourage others from speaking out, and most of all to enforce silence on a subject which needs so badly to be discussed.

The latest expression of this type of wanton attack is the maiden speech in the U.S. House of Representatives by Dale Alford of Arkansas, in which he seeks to cast aspersion on the good name of Harry Ashmore, Executive Editor of the Arkansas Gazette, and upon the reputation of the Southern Regional

Council. The speech has a familiar ring, the prolonged references to a grave conspiracy and then quick references to Mr. Ashmore and the Council. Neither is charged with an improper word or deed; yet the allegation is made that the Council was "founded by a Communist." This allegation is both stale and discredited. No less a Southern conservative than Virginias Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, has vouched for the honorable origins of the Council. The Library of Congress and libraries in Arkansas are stocked with the facts on this subject. But this does not deter Dr. Alford, who is understandably sensitive about his own status these days and is apparently attempting to focus attention elsewhere.

For one supposedly alarmed about the communistic threat, Dr. Alford behaves oddly. He does not explain how the threat operates, who the real leaders are, why the FBI has failed to find them, why he has not urged the FBI on to greater efforts. And of course he never explains why, if desegregation is a Communist plot, he went along so willingly as a Little Rock school board member with the original plan to desegregate Central High School.

He speaks of vague plots and names specific individuals and organizations, with no evidence that they are connected. We protest this. We feel it is immoral. We feel the time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat in the South, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to communism, which battens on confusion, false charges and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country.

Is this a "hate sheet" ——— ? SRC Attacks

THE AMERICAN LEGION

FIRING LINE

Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

VOL. NO. VI, NO. 10 May 15, 1957

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Beneficiary of the largest single grant ever awarded by the Ford Foundation's Fund For The Republic is the Southern Regional Council, Inc. (SRC), whose headquarters is located in the Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. As of last year, the Council received a total of $445,000 "in support of studies and activities to promote interracial improvements" in the South. According to The Fund For The Republic's Three-Year Report, dated May 31, 1956, page 22, the SRC "has concentrated on building strong state organizations, so that each of its groups will be able to stand on its own feet when Fund support is terminated." (See "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117.)

Founded in January 1944 as a successor to the Commission On Interracial Cooperation, Inc., the Council's original corporation papers reflected its following "objects and purposes": "...to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship..."

This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, and BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, Atlanta Georgia; DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times", 10-17-55.)

Today, the Council has expanded its activities into 12 states. Virtually supported by the enormous grant from The Fund For The Republic, the SRC "has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on Human Relations with interracial boards and staffs" in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. (See Fund For The Republic "Three-Year Report," 1956, page 22.)

Formerly entitled The Southern Frontier, SRC's official organ is called New South, a 16-page monthly journal published in Atlanta, Georiga. With the approval of the United States Treasury Department, the Council enjoys tax-exempt status and all contributions to the organization can be treated as Federal income tax deductions. According to a revised roster dated April 1957, the SRC's

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Board of Directors numbered 78, which included some of the following as officers and staff members: MARION A. WRIGHT, President; Vice-Presidents: GORDON B. HANCOCK, A. W. DENT, and PAUL D. WILLIAMS; RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Chairman, Executive Committee; JOSEPH HAAS, Counsel; HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Director; JOHN CONSTABLE, Director of Information; and FLORENCE B. IRVING, Research Assistant. (See "New South", February 1955, page 1; and March 1957, page 2.)

"RED FRONT"

Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation." The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council On Human Relations."

Records of The American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former Directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS. (See SRC publication "What Kind of South Do You Want?", undated, pages 7 and 8; "New South", December 1946, pages 25 and 26; "The Southern Frontier", March 1944, page 1; "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117; HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1589, 1595-1598; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1; "New York Journal American", 11-7-55, page 1; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 81.)

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REPORT FROM THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

Due to the increasing number of petitions filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), the National Americanism Commission has compiled the following statistical report on the status of 24 cases which this quasi-judicial body has received since it creation by the Subversive Activities Control (Internal Security) Act of 1950:

The SACB has ordered six organizations to register under the Subversive Activities Control Act. In a Modified Report dated December 18, 1956, the Board "recommended that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirm the Board's Order entered April 20, 1953, requiring the Communist Party of the United States to register as a Communist-action organization under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950." The Board also ordered each of the following groups to register as a Communist-front organization: Jefferson School of Social Science (1955), Labor Youth League (1955), National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1956), United May Day Committee (1956) and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1955.)

Subject to review of the whole Board, Recommended Decisions have been issued to require each of the following groups to register as a Communist-front organization: American Peace Crusade (1957), California Labor School (1957), Civil Rights Congress (1955), and the Washington Pension Union (1956.)

In various procedural stages are the cases of the following 7 alleged Communist-front organizations: American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, California Emergency Defense Committee, The Colorado Committee To Protect Civil Liberties, Committee To End Sedition Laws, The Connecticut Volunteers For Civil Rights, National Negro Labor Council, and Save Our Sons Committee. Cases of the following two alleged Communist-infiltrated organizations are also pending: International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America.

After extensive hearings, the Board ordered dismissal of the following petitions on the grounds that evidence reflected these organizations to be defunct: American Slav Congress, The Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Council On African Affairs, International Workers Order, Inc., and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. According to the Sixth Annual Report of the SACB, dated June 30, 1956, six organizations have appealed Board decisions to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, namely: Communist Party, U.S.A., Labor Youth League, Jefferson School of Social Science, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the United May Day Committee.

TODAY'S ASSOCIATES - "PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE" OUTLET

In her January 1957 issue of Today, MISS ANNA LOUISE STRONG declared her periodical will be converted from its present form to a monthly column of the same title scheduled for future appearances in the National Guardian. Mimeographed on legal colored paper, Today has used the following mailing addresses: Post Office Box 161, Montrose, California, and Post Office Box 87, Altadena, California. For the information of readers, MISS STRONG is a long time supporter of the international Communist conspiracy. An identified member of of the Communist Party, U. S. A., she has "collaborated with agents of the Soviet Intelligence apparatus" and has written for Communist Party publications. (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Report, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952, page 158.)

On March 14, 1957, BETTY CHESLEY, Secretary of the apparent newly formed Today's Associates of Post Office Box 87, Altadena, California, wrote the following message to Today readers: "This is a plan to share good progressive literature. It grows from the letters that came to ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S Today. Some people wrote offering books and magazines; they take many progressive periodicals and are willing to share them. Other people want progressive literature but have little means to buy it and live miles from any source. The staff which handled the volunteer mailing of Today have worked out a plan by which they hope to supply the names of those wanting good reading matter to those having good reading matter to give away...If you are able to help in this project, please fill out the coupon...and return to us at above address."

This plan listed the following "progressive literature": Catholic Worker, I. F. Stone's Weekly, Manchester Guardian, The Nation, National Guardian, New Republic, New Statesman & Nation, Monthly Review and The Progressive.

FACTS ON CHESLEY

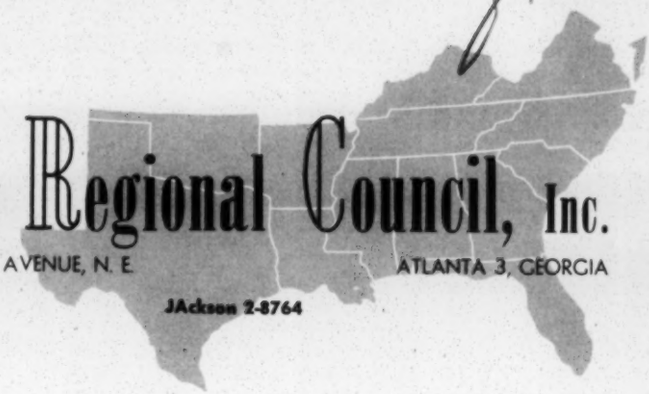
According to The American Legion files, one MRS. ELIZABETH R. CHESLEY of Pasadena, California was listed as a signer of a quarter-page advertisement which appeared in the September 20, 1951 edition of The Los Angeles Times, demanding a reduction of bail for Communist Party leaders who have been involved in Smith Act prosecution cases. The Daily Worker of April 13, 1951, page 5, reflected that a MRS. BETTY CHESLEY, Chairman of the Pasadena Non-Partisan Peace Committee, led a "two hour vehicular parade through the main streets of Pasadena", California. On May 8, 1954, a MRS. ELIZABETH CHESLEY was honored at a "Mother's Day Testimonial For Peace", which was announced by the Southern California Peace Crusade, an identified subversive organization. (See "Daily People's World", 5-5-54, page 6; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 80.)

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP: According to FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER, Party membership as of January 1, 1957 totaled 17,360. This represents a drop of 14.4% from last year's total of 20,289. He warned against discounting Party strength based on actual membership.

File

File Critiques in "The Firing Line"

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTACK ON SRC
IN THE FIRING LINE OF MAY 15, 1957

The Firing Line is the publication of the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana. It seems to accept without question the testimony and charges of professional accusers (e.g., Manning Johnson, the late Paul Crouch) even though they have long since been discredited and much of their specific testimony has been found by such official groups as the Subversive Activities Control Board to be false and unreliable.

In the issue of May 15th, the Firing Line contains an article on the Southern Regional Council. This article presents in the guise of facts allegations against SRC and various of its past and present board members that range from outright falsehoods to cunning distortions designed to support utterly unfounded conclusions. Following is a point by point analysis; the indented paragraphs are quoted verbatim from the Firing Line.

> Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front" by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee on Segregation." The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations."

The Louisiana State body referred to here was set up to combat desegregation and is headed by State Senator William M. Rainach, who is also the chief leader of the White Citizens

Councils in that state. Manning Johnson is a self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony has been repudiated by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board. His testimony about SRC is demonstrably false. The founding of SRC by a group of outstanding Southerners is a matter of public record. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of The Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. Any claim that these men would have permitted the James E. Jackson in question or any other person of Communistic persuasion to play any part in the founding of the organization is fantastic. The founding of SRC is a matter of extensive public record, as reported in the press and official documents, all clearly showing that this charge is an outright falsehood.

The statement that SRC "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations" is both inaccurate and irrelevant. The Mississippi Council is a thoroughly respectable body of citizens of that State, including among its officers the wife of a cotton broker and the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi. It was for a time affiliated with the Southern Regional Council (not vice versa) though it now functions as an independent group.

> Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former Directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS.

The charge that SRC was related to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare continues to be used by the detractors of this organization although it has long since and repeatedly been refuted. SRC was the official successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by a group of outstand-

ing Southern churchmen. SRC came into existence at a time when the Southern Conference had been operating for six years, and it was attacked by some persons on the grounds that it was a more conservative organization set up in competition with the Southern Conference. It was never in any way connected with the Southern Conference.

The spurious technique of connection-by-association used here was exposed for what it is by the Atlanta Constitution in 1953. At that time, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, the distinguished president of Atlanta University, had announced his candidacy for the Atlanta Board of Education. Pro-segregationists sought to have him disqualified, using as the Firing Line does the charge that he had once served on the board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Atlanta Constitution on May 12, 1953 editorialized as follows:

ATTACK ON CLEMENT IS DIRTY POLITICS

> ...A member of the /City Executive Committee/ board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
>
> This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.
>
> The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.
>
> Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. ...

Suffice it to say that Dr. Clement's qualifications were upheld by the City Executive Committee, he was overwhelmingly elected in the primary, and he has recently been re-elected to the Atlanta Board of Education.

In this incident and in the Atlanta Constitution's editorial reproduced above lies the full explanation of the dishonest technique used by the Firing Line and SRC's racist critics in their attempts to discredit this organization.

It might further be noted that among the 16 former directors whose past presence on the board of SRC is supposed to have infected it with subversive sympathies are the following:

Dr. George E. Clary, Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church;

Mr. Herbert Davidson, Editor and Publisher of the Daytona Beach News and Journal;

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Chancellor of Virginia Union University;

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, nationally famous scholar of the University of North Carolina;

The Reverend Edwin Penick, the presiding Episcopal Bishop of Raleigh, North Carolina.

The distinguished positions held by these individuals and their impeccable reputations in the South and North alike are enough, in themselves, to refute the insinuations of the Firing Line.

The files of The American Legion reflect the following 9 current SRC Directors have also been affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare: RUFUS B. ATWOOD, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, A. W. DENT, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, E. C. PETERS, JOSEPHINE WILKINS and MARION A. WRIGHT.

The same answer as that given above also applies here. Consider the positions held by these nine current directors:

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, president of the state-supported Kentucky State College;

Mr. Paul R. Christopher, regional director of the AFL-CIO who serves by appointment of Governor Clement on an official state commission of Tennessee;

Dr. R. E. Clement, identified above;

Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University of New Orleans;

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College and one of this nation's most prominent leaders in the World Council of Churches;

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, president of the state-supported Alabama State College in Montgomery;

Dr. E. C. Peters, president emeritus of Methodist-supported Paine College in Augusta, Georgia;

Miss Josephine Wilkins, former administrator of the Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia and past president of the League of Women Voters of Georgia;

Mr. Marion A. Wright, respected attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board, past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

If the worst that can be charged against the Southern Regional Council is that these distinguished Southerners served on its board, the organization can be proud indeed.

For the information of Firing Line readers, the following 8 current Directors of the Council have been affiliated with the aforementioned Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955 issue of this publication: F WOODS BECKMAN, BRAILSFORD (sic) R. BRAZEAL, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, JAMES M. DABBS, CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DUNCAN HUNTER, BENJAMIN E. MAYS and JOSEPHINE WILKINS. It may be of interest to recall that former SRC Director AUBREY WILLIAMS has been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named as a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Three of the individuals names in this paragraph were named in the preceding one. The others include the Dean of Morehouse College, an honorably retired Federal Government employee, a South Carolina planter who is a leading layman of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Dean of Tuskegee Institute, and a Methodist clergyman of Alabama. A special case is made of Aubrey Williams, who once served on the SRC board and is now president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It is reported that charges of past Communist affiliation were made against Mr. Williams in 1954. Mr. Williams resigned from SRC's board more than ten years ago, long before these charges were made. However, it should be noted that he categorically and under oath denied the charges made against him in 1954 and his sworn denial still stands unchallenged in the official record. The charge was made by a professional witness, another self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony on other occasions was proved false.

Allen Rankin, columnist for the conservative Montgomery Advertiser, wrote of the hearing at which Mr. Williams was accused: "(Senator) Eastland admitted to a newsman: 'I don't think either of the Durrs or Williams are Communists.' Yet these people...were accused and insulted and browbeaten."

It should be clear to any thoughtful person that the cynical technique of guilt by association used here in its most far-fetched form to indict the Southern Regional Council can be used at least as damagingly against any honest, patriotic body of citizens.

It is possible, for example, to extend the charges of the Firing Line to "prove" that the Catholic Church is under the influence of Communist sympathizers. Several Catholic clergymen took part at one time in the activities of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. One of the founders of the SRC was then Bishop, now Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, one of the leading Catholic dignitaries in the United States. From the very beginning, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has included a Catholic clergyman. Among the contributors to SRC have been two Catholic bishops and two archbishops. The president of SRC from 1945 to 1951 was Mr. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, a Knight of St. Gregory, and one of the leading laymen of his Church. In 1953, the Catholic Committee of the South conferred its annual award on Dr. George S. Mitchell in recognition of his work as executive director of the Southern Regional Council. It would be interesting to see what the Firing Line would make of this "definite trend of interrelationship."

The same artificial case could, of course, be made against the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and other religious and civic groups that have been heavily represented on the board and in the activities of SRC.

The use of past associations with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare can be carried to even greater lengths. On April 3, 1945, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare staged a dinner in Washington, D.C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. This affair is reported in detail in the Southern Conference publication, The Southern Patriot, special supplement May 1945, and in contemporary

newspaper accounts. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice President, Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was none other than the Honorable James F. Byrnes, who has since crowned his distinguished career with a term as Governor of South Carolina and is one of the leading champions of segregation. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, President Harry S. Truman, and other distinguished Americans. Senator Barkley congratulated the Southern Conference on the "great work" it was doing.

This affair is mentioned only to demonstrate how the false standard of association applied by the Firing Line and other critics of SRC can be applied to discredit a host of reputable individuals and the organizations on whose boards they serve. Clearly, past affiliation or association with the Southern Conference cannot honestly be used to impeach the integrity of individuals whose careers testify to their character and patriotism. Still less can the presence of such individuals on the board of another organization be honestly used as evidence against the character of that organization.

Finally, it should be noted that nowhere in the charges against the SRC is there the slightest evidence or word or deed that would suggest Communist or subversive tendencies within the organization. The reason, of course, is that no such evidence exists. From the beginning, the SRC has been squarely opposed to the Communist doctrine and every other totalitarian philosophy. It has worked constructively and responsibly for full enjoyment of legal and human rights by all the people of the South. Those who seek to discredit the patriotism of the Southern Regional Council do so either out of inexcusable ignorance or because they are opposed to the democratic principles for which it stands.

7-8-57

Citizens — Firing Line

THE CITIZENS' Council

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community an

Vol. 2, No. 9 OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF .

6/57

"A Definite Trend"

American Legion Exposes Southern Regional Council's Tie With Former Red Front

"Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of inter-relationship between the SRC (Southern Regional Council) and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization." So states the May 15, 1957 issue of **Firing Line**, publication of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), in **Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications** as of January 2, 1957, makes the following statement concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare: **Cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."**

By special permission, the copyrighted **Firing Line** study is presented in its entirety, as follows:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Beneficiary of the largest single grant ever awarded by the Ford Foundation's Fund For The Republic is the Southern Regional Council, Inc. (SRC), whose headquarters is located in the Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. As of last year, the Council received a total of $445,000 "in support of studies and activities to promote interracial improvements" in the South. According to The Fund For The Republic's Three-Year Report, dated May 31, 1956, page 22, the SRC "has concentrated on building strong state organizations, so that each of its groups will be able to stand on its own feet when Fund support is terminated." (See "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117.)

"OBJECTS AND PURPOSES"

Founded in January, 1944, as successor to the Commission On Interracial Cooperation, Inc., the Council's original corporation papers reflected its following "objects and purposes": ". . . to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs

RECOMMENDED!

Every patriot should receive FIRING LINE, published twice monthly by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission.

It contains a wealth of specific documented information on the communist conspiracy in our midst.

The price is nominal—$3.00 a year. The address is,

The American Legion
Firing Line
P. O. Box 1055
Indianapolis, Indiana

States Treasury Department, the Council enjoys tax-exempt status and all contributions to the organization can be treated as Federal income tax deductions. According to a revised roster dated April 1957, the SRC's Board of Directors numbered 78, which included some of the following as officers and staff members: MARION A. WRIGHT, President; Vice-Presidents: GORDON B. HANCOCK, A. W. DENT, and PAUL D. WILLIAMS; RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Chairman, Executive Committee; JOSEPH HAAS, Counsel; HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Director; JOHN CONSTABLE, Director of Information; and FLORENCE B. IRVING, Research Assistant. (See "New South", February 1955, page 1; and March 1957, page 2.)

"RED FRONT"

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This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, and BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, Atlanta, Georgia; DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times", 10-17-55.)

NOW IN 12 STATES

Today, the Council has expanded its activities into 12 states. Virtually supported by the enormous grant from The Fund For The Republic, the SRC "has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on Human Relations with interracial boards and staffs" in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. (See Fund For The Republic "Three-Year Report," 1956, page 22.)

Formerly entitled **The Southern Frontier**, SRC's official organ is called **New South**, a 16-page monthly journal published in Atlanta, Georgia. With the approval of the United States Treasury Department, the Council enjoys tax-exempt status and all contributions to the organization can be treated as Federal income tax deductions. According to a revised roster dated April 1957, the SRC's Board of Directors numbered 78, which included some of the following as officers and staff members: MARION A. WRIGHT, President; Vice-Presidents: GORDON B. HANCOCK, A. W. DENT, and PAUL D. WILLIAMS; RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Chairman, Executive Committee; JOSEPH HAAS, Counsel; HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Director; JOHN CONSTABLE, Director of Information; and FLORENCE B. IRVING, Research Assistant. (See "New South", February 1955, page 1; and March 1957, page 2.)

"RED FRONT"

Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the **Firing Line** will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation." The **Firing Line** report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council On Human Relations."

Records of The American Legion reveal a definite trend of inter-relationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following **16 former Directors** of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS. (See SRC publication "What Kind of South Do You Want?", undated, pages 7 and 8, "New South", December 1946, pages 25 and 28; "The Southern Frontier", March 1944, page 1; "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117; HUAC, Apprendix IX, 1944, pages 1589, 1595-1598; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1; "New York Journal American", 11-7-55, page 1; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 81.)

THE RECORD SPEAKS

The files of The American Legion reflect the following 9 current SRC Directors have also been affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare: RUFUS B. ATWOOD, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, A. W. DENT, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, E. C. PETERS, JOSEPHINE WILKINS and MARION A. WRIGHT. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1594-1597; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, pages 1 and 15; and "Daily Worker", 5-20-47, page 5.)

At the conclusion of a 1954 investigation, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (of 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana), "was initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. After the exposure of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued." The Subcommittee found that after "an objective study", the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization, the Southern Conference For Human Welfare." (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pages V and VIII.)

For the information of **Firing Line** readers, the following **8 current Directors of the Council have been affiliated with the aforementioned**

RECOMMENDED!

Every patriot should receive FIRING LINE, published twice monthly by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission.

It contains a wealth of specific documented information on the communist conspiracy in our midst.

The price is nominal—$3.00 a year. The address is,

The American Legion
Firing Line
P. O. Box 1055
Indianapolis, Indiana

American Legion Cites Sou. Regional Council Tie With Ex-Red Front

(Continued from Page 1)

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955 issue of this publication: F. WOODS BECKMAN, BLAILSFORD R. BRAZEAL, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, JAMES M. DABBS, CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DUNCAN HUNTER, BENJAMIN E. MAYS and JOSEPHINE WILKINS. It may be of interest to recall that former SRC Director AUBREY WILLIAMS has been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named as a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings. (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pages VI, VII and 102; and Southern Conference Educational Fund, leaflets and letterheads, 1953-1956.)

2371 Legionaire for FFR List

File

THE AMERICAN LEGION

DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS

Past OFFICE OF
IRVING BREAKSTONE
DEPARTMENT COMMANDER
140 N. DEARBORN ST.
CHICAGO 2
TELEPHONE STATE 2-2922

August 20, 1957

Mr. R. Pickus
4522 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Pickus:

I was delighted to receive the Analysis of the attack on S.R.C. in The Firing Line of May 15th, 1957.

I wonder if you could send me one half dozen additional copies thereof for my use in publicizing the contents of the Analysis here in The American Legion.

I desire also to take the matter up with our National Department.

I suggest that copies of this document be sent throughout the entire mailing list of The Fund for The Republic. They have been supplied by me with the names and addresses of the necessary Legion Organization, and prominent, influential individuals in The Legion, to effectuate such a purpose.

Nothing but good can come of such an effort.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Breakstone

IRVING BREAKSTONE
Past Commander

PC/j

Blind copies to: M. A. Wright
Rufus E. Clement

August 30, 1957

Mr. Irving Breakstone
Past Commander
The American Legion
Department of Illinois
140 N. Dearborn Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Breakstone:

Robert Pickus has passed on to us your helpful suggestions regarding the article on the Southern Regional Council which appeared in the May 15 issue of The Firing Line.

Enclosed are additional copies of our analysis of this attack. I am also getting in touch with the Fund for the Republic about possible distribution of our memorandum to its mailing list.

I might be worth noting that our memorandum was inserted in the Congressional Record on July 26 by Senator Douglas, acting on his own initiative. Our findings on Negro registration and voting had figured largely in the civil rights debate, and one of the Southern senators cited The Firing Line article in an effort to discredit us; this provided the occasion for Senator Douglas' use of our answer.

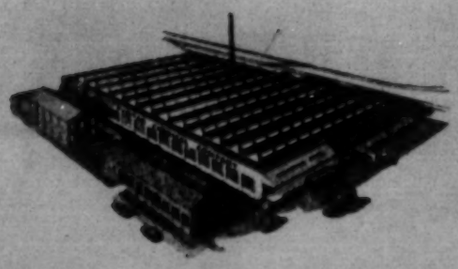
We are more grateful than I can say for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: 6 copies of Firing Line Analysis — new!

File - Firing Line



Puritan Chemical Company

918-932 ASHBY ST., N. W. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA • VERNON 0721

December 5, 1957

Mr. Art Levin
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Art:

I am attaching another copy of the Southern States Industrial Council Bulletin, and with it a bulletin that is even more disturbing, so far as I am concerned, titled, "Firing Line", which is apparently published by the American Legion. Talk about reactionary outfits - the next thing I know they will claim that the Southern Regional Council is communistic! If it is, I have been fooled for the past ten years. It's true that I don't go to many meetings, but I read "The New South" like a hawk. As a lawyer, I have been trained to read carefully, though rapidly, and believe me - there is nothing communistic about "The New South". It represents a truly constitutional approach to civil rights and freedom, the whole reason for establishing the colonies and for establishing our nation. If the Southern Regional Council is communistic, I would definitely state that it is all on an underground basis!

I might add: if Ralph McGill is a communist, I will start eating your hat!

I will appreciate your comments, if any.

Sincerely,

W. H. Frey

WHF:mq

File
Ark. attack
(Bennett Hearing)

H E A R I N G

BEFORE

THE SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

OF THE

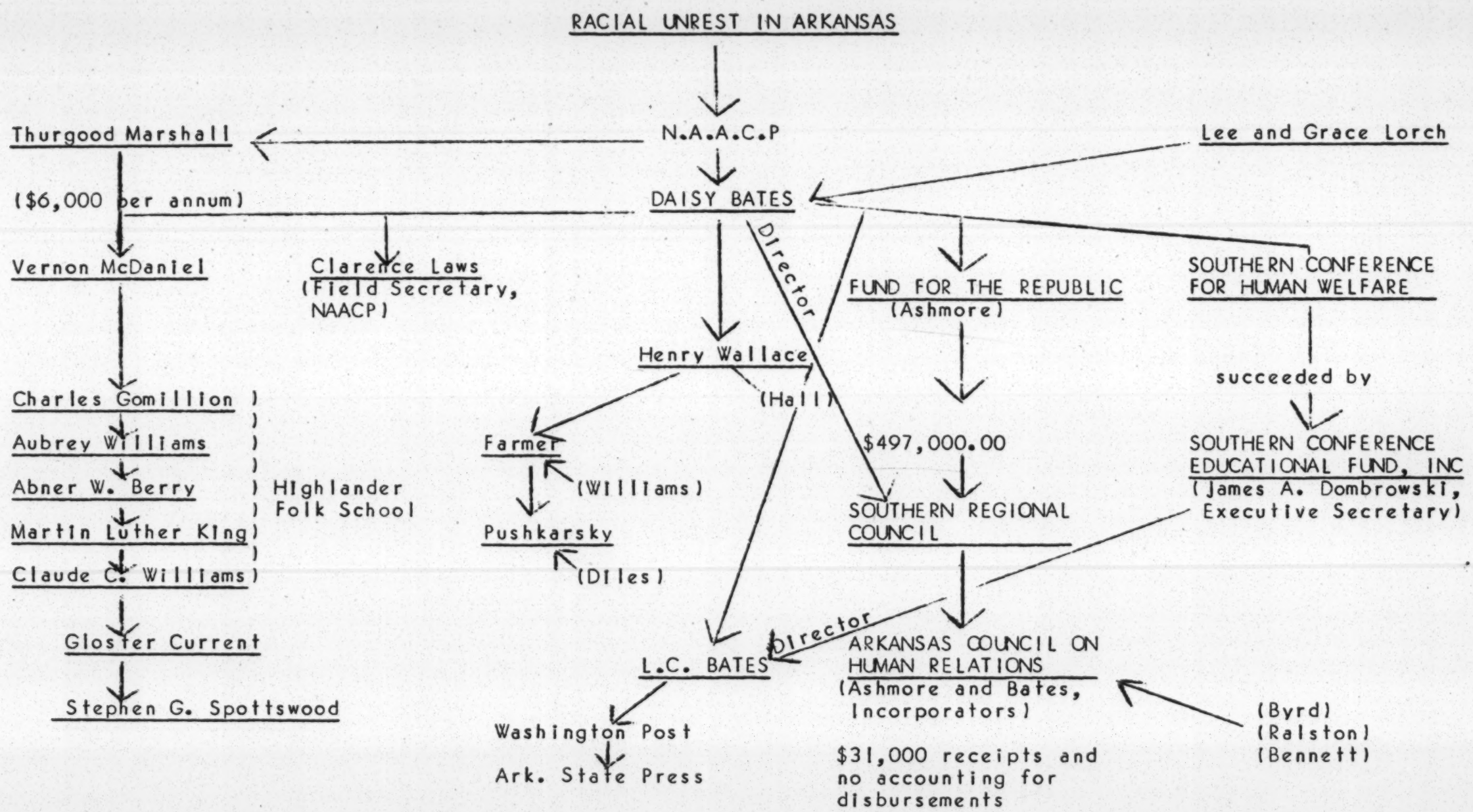
ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

HELD DECEMBER 16, 17 AND 18, 1958, COMMENCING AT 9:30 O'CLOCK, A.M. DECEMBER 16, 1958, IN THE HOUSE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, IN THE CITY OF LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Rep. Paul Van Dalsem, Chairman
Senator Charles F. Smith, Vice-Chairman
Senator J. Lee Bearden
Senator Clifton Wade
Senator Tom Allen
Senator Max Howell
Senator Marshall Shackleford, Jr.
Rep. E. C. "Gene" Fleeman
Rep. John P. Bethell
Rep. Marcus J. Howell
Rep. Marion H. Crank
Rep. Carroll C. Hollensworth
Rep. Joel Y. Ledbetter

BRUCE BENNETT, Attorney General, State of Arkansas, conducted the interrogation of witnesses.


RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS
N.A.A.C.P
Thurgood Marshall
Lee and Grace Lorch
($6,000 per annum)
DAISY BATES
Director
Vernon McDaniel
Clarence Laws
(Field Secretary, NAACP)
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
(Ashmore)
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE
Henry Wallace
(Hall)
succeeded by
Charles Gomillion
Aubrey Williams
Abner W. Berry
Martin Luther King
Claude C. Williams
Highlander Folk School
Farmer
(Williams)
Pushkarsky
(Diles)
$497,000.00
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC
(James A. Dombrowski, Executive Secretary)
Gloster Current
Stephen G. Spottswood
L.C. BATES
Director
ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Ashmore and Bates, Incorporators)
(Byrd)
(Ralston)
(Bennett)
Washington Post
Ark. State Press
$31,000 receipts and no accounting for disbursements

I.

AUTHORITY

RESOLUTION NO. 28
(Amended)

WHEREAS, the people of Arkansas have lived harmoniously for 150 years and men of all races have made untold progress in economic, social and political fields, and;

WHEREAS, it now appears that there may be certain individuals, organizations or corporations designedly creating and fomenting strife and racial unrest, and;

WHEREAS, it is a known fact that communism breeds on strife and turmoil and it is in the public interest of the people of our State to pinpoint and ascertain who those individuals, organizations and corporations, if any, are, and;

WHEREAS, it is the sense of the Arkansas Legislative Council that public hearings should be conducted to determine if there is any subversion present in the racial unrest that has been recently created,

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED that the Arkansas Legislative Council by affirmative motion, hereby authorizes the Special Education Committee heretofore appointed by Resolution to conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest and that the Committee invite the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct such interrogation of witnesses that may be called at such hearings; that the Attorney General of Arkansas use his subpoena power to secure such witnesses, documents and papers that may be of value in such hearings; that after such hearings are conducted, the said Special Education Committee shall report its findings to the Legislative Council.

Respectfully submitted,

s/ Paul Van Dalsem
Representative, Perry County

Filed: August 15, 1958.

Amended and Adopted: August 15, 1958.

II.

OPENING STATEMENT OF BRUCE BENNETT, ATTORNEY GENERAL

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, I feel that we are gathered here today on a very serious occasion. I respectfully ask your indulgence in order that I might make a statement with reference to

the purpose for which this meeting has been called, the objects thereof, and what the Resolution of the Arkansas Legislative Council directed this Committee to do.

The Resolution authorized the Special Education Committee to "conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest", and invited the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct the interrogation of witnesses that might be called at such hearings.

Congressional committees conducting investigations on the same subject matter have the power of nationwide subpoena; the subpoena power of this investigation, by law, does not extend further than the borders of our State. As a further comparison, this Committee does not have the power to cite a balky witness for contempt. So we must of necessity proceed with those witnesses within the borders of Arkansas and with those that will come into our State by invitation.

Last year, the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Pennsylvania v. Nelson, 350 U.S. 497, 100 L.Ed. 640, directed its opinion at "suspending the enforceability" of state laws imposing criminal sanctions on subversive activity directed against the Federal government. In the Nelson decision, the Court pointed out that it did not void provisions of state law insofar as they made it a crime in the States to attempt to overthrow the Federal government by unlawful means, but merely suspended their enforceability while the Federal Smith Act remained on the books.

We are probably in the second most serious crisis that our State has undergone in its entire 124-year history. For many decades the different races in Arkansas have lived in peace; they have made progress in the educational, cultural and economic fields. Our people in this State have always lived in peace. The recent emotional explosion here was not the result of something that occurred overnight. It will be the purpose of this Committee to learn - - - and I believe the witnesses will so establish, who did what, where, when, and how - - - on world, national, regional and local basis, as related to racial unrest in Arkansas.

It is expected that the witnesses will prove by their testimony and official press, programs, resolutions and pictures, that Little Rock, Pine Bluff, and other Arkansas cities, are segments in the international scheme of the Russian Kremlin - - - which has used communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes, and those who make a career out of being duped - - - to create confusion and turmoil here.

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, once stated:

> "To me, one of the most unbelieveable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on Communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves. The pseudo-liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites."

It has also been said:

> "If a barnyard goose is lured into a flock of wild geese, he may be excused for his mistake only IF HE LEAVES THE FLOCK. But if he FLIES IN FORMATION with them day after day he is a wild goose at heart. Likewise, if a man is unwittingly drawn into a Communist organization, he can be excused for his gullibility only IF HE LEAVES THE GROUP AND DENOUNCES ITS PURPOSES. But if he "flies in formation" with them he is a Communist at heart, irrespective of his loud noise to the contrary."

The Communist Party uses individuals, organizations, high-sounding front names, and any other means in its avowed program of international conquest by force.

It is expected that the witnesses here will show the local relationship of various individuals and organizations with that of national, regional and local organizations. It will be shown beyond a doubt that the race agitation in the Southern United States is a communist conspiracy adopted in October, 1930, by resolution passed by the Communist International. At that time Moscow laid down the proposition that race agitation in the Southern United States was to be pursued full speed ahead. Its purpose was to bring about a revolution in the United States on racial lines climaxed with land division similar to the agrarian reform in China, which was on an economic and land basis, and which has resulted in the death of 20,000,000 Chinese in the past 15 years.

The communist resolution of 1930 outlined a plan wherein those counties in the states of the South where the Negro is or was in numerical majority were to be target areas; the Negro was to rise up, drive off or kill the landowners and each receive, as was done in China, a portion of land. The general scheme of the plan involved the proposition that "all people who are a majority but do not own the land are Colonials." The "Southern" American Negro was defined to be a Colonial, and as such, he must be "liberated" through the "Black Republic". This was to be accomplished by violence. Experts in the field of communism will testify that insofar as the communist interest goes, schools and other integration objectives were and are tactics. In pursuance of this "Black Republic" proposal, the communists planned and have used non-communists with good intentions.

The witnesses to be presented will prove, by official communist documents, pamphlets and press clippings, that Little Rock and Pine Bluff were predetermined trouble areas and designated officially by the Communist Party many years ago to be developed for trouble purposes. Since 1925, the testimony will show some of our people have been wittingly or unwittingly consorting with, collaborating

or cooperating with the communist apparatus. These people knew who or what they were cooperating with, and it is my thought that those who claim they did not are not worthy of public conficence and leadership. The records to be introduced will make incredible a claim of ignorance or innocence. Those who have been consorting with communists, communist fronts, or organizations are doing more for the known subversives and their cause than can be or was done by all the outside communists combined. I am reliably informed that there are now only about 9,000 hardcore communists in the United States. They are dedicated - - - they are past masters in the recruitment and use of dupes and others whose intentions may be good, but in reality, they are aiding and abetting the scheme to foment revolution in the United States.

It is expected that the witnesses will establish interlocking memberships, interlocking boards of directors, meetings of same - - - in and out of Arkansas - - - and other actions that tie Little Rock into an almost incredible combination of individuals and organizations who help to create and "maintain Little Rock." We will attempt to document a record that will prove that from 1928 to 1958 an intensive communist conspiracy climaxed in Little Rock, and that the purpose of these incidents is to attract and use the Negro - - - not to help the Negro.

Some individuals in Arkansas have become officers, directors of national and regional organizations that are loaded to the hilt with other individuals who have aided and abetted communists and communist front organizations time after time.

The United States House Committee on Un-American Activities has, at present, listed more than 469 organizations as subversive. In addition, the United States Attorney General, under the power vested in him by executive order 10450, has listed many other organizations as communist or communist front.

This Committee is concerned with the word "subversion". Basic to this investigation should be the definition of that word. Webster's Unified Dictionary defines "subversion" as:

> "To turn upside down, overthrow, destroy. To subvert is to overthrow as if from a foundation; to overturn often implies throwing with force from a base or position; to overthrow usually denotes complete destruction, as, to overthrow a government;"

Some of the witnesses that will appear before this Committee will detail the program of world conquest as drafted by the Marx-Engels-Stalin-Khrushchev combine. They will describe the communist apparatus as it pertains to executing the program of Russian Communism - - - they will substantiate the plan of execution as it pertains to the organization in use of those hundreds of front organizations that have been organized and used by the communists.

Most of our people have a past acquaintance with the name of Gerhart Eisler, Stalin's personal representative to the United States, who was to work with the communists to overthrow our government and who later, after conviction, fled to his country on the communist ship "Batory"; Harry Bridges, the West Coast Communist; Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and many other notorious communists.

The names of Charles Gomillion, Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, Claude C. Williams, Pete Seegar, James A. Dombrowski, and others, whom I will refrain from naming at this time, will crop up during these hearings.

Certain individuals in this State have been the willing or unwilling tools of subversion; they have joined organizations shot through and through with individuals who have been cited for aiding and/or abetting communist or communist front organizations, periodicals and other aspects of the apparatus.

An occurrence that appears to be isolated will not necessarily arouse the public mind, but when numerous incidents occur - - - when the same individuals are found at the forefront of those incidents - - - when it is proven that all of the incidents, all of the contacts, all of the interlocking directorships, and other occurrences point to the general scheme of communist penetration, there can be but one conclusion. That conclusion is that subversion is present.

The witnesses to appear before you will talk of many organizations, some of which perhaps you have never heard. They will talk of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the Southern Regional Council, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the Highlander Folk School, the National Negro Congress, the African Blood Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the Southern Youth Congress, and many others. Some of these have been listed as subversive and others are shot through and through with officers and directors cited innumerable times for lending aid and support to communist organizations and fronts.

In the basic Resolution passed by the Legislative Council, the Attorney General was invited to conduct the interrogation of the witnesses. The subject of subversion is a delicate matter. It has been said that a man may be robbed of his money and worldly goods, but when you rob him of his good reputation you have stolen his most valuable treasure. With this thought in mind, your Attorney General has insisted that any statement by a witness be substantiated with pertinent documentary evidence, but I believe it to be my duty and your duty, under our oath of office, to submit proof of those who "fly in formation with the wild geese," and noisy disclaimers to the contrary will not refute the fact that he, she or the organization is subversive at heart if time after time they are found flying in formation with others who teach, preach and follow the communistic line.

Today America is spending billions of dollars on National Defense and Foreign Aid in an effort to prevent the iron curtain from being located nearer and nearer the borders of the free world. With over half the world's population now held in Russian slavery, it behooves the free men of the world to do all within our power to aid in this fight. Make no mistake, the Russian plan of domination has not deviated from its original concept. You will be told on good authority that the communists are master fishermen for the minds of men in troubled waters. Communism breeds on chaos and turmoil.

In the entire history of the civilized world, nowhere has so much peace and progress been enjoyed between the white and black people as that in the South. The Negroes of the South are the leaders of the black race throughout the world. This pre-existing peace is something that has been treasured by all men of goodwill. It is more than just a working relationship, and it bottoms on a deep affection and mutual respect that all of you who have lived in this State have known and enjoyed.

I feel sure that it is the hope of this Committee that the normal peace and tranquillity between our people will be strengthened, restored and preserved so that those generations to come will benefit therefrom.

III.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

ORGANIZATIONS

1. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a New York corporation organized in 1911. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of this organization for approximately 10 years. The NAACP received contributions in Arkansas of $182.00 in 1957, yet it spent over $50,000.00 in this State during that year on litigation and other integration endeavors. It is a well known fact that the NAACP has been the moving factor in filing integration suits in this State, designed not only to integrate the schools, but the public parks, swimming pools and golf courses, and has the ultimate goal of invalidating the statutes forbidding intermarriage among the races. Many of the officials of this organization, both local and national, have an almost incredible tie-in with communist and communist front organizations.

2. FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. The Fund for the Republic received a grant of fifteen million dollars from the Ford Foundation several years ago, but the Ford Foundation subsequently decided not to make further grants. The Fund for the Republic has made grants totaling $497,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, which in turn has made grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Harry Ashmore is one of the directors of the Fund for the Republic, and was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and as such, made two direct grants from the Fund for the Republic to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which was organized for the purpose of instigating and pushing integration in Arkansas.

3. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. This organization is based at Atlanta, Georgia, and Jim Jackson, a notorious Negro communist, participated in its organization. Many of its officers and

directors are also national officers of the NAACP and other organizations that have been cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and the Attorney General of the United States. Daisy Bates is also a director of this organization. It appears that the main purpose of this organization is to push for integration of everything in the South.

4. ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations was incorporated in Arkansas in 1955. Harry Ashmore was one of the three incorporators, as well as Christopher C. Mercer, who at that time was legal counsel for the NAACP in Arkansas. Its articles of incorporation recite that it is beholden to the Southern Regional Council. Its avowed purpose is to assist in the integration activities in Arkansas. It is highly significant that after the Fund for the Republic—with Harry Ashmore as director—started making grants to the Southern Regional Council in 1954—with Daisy Bates as a director—the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was organized in Arkansas—with Harry Ashmore and Daisy Bates as officers—to participate in the receipt of these grants. At the height of the Little Rock incident in September, 1957, the Fund for the Republic by-passed the Southern Regional Council and sent direct grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. None of the television, radio or newspaper people of Arkansas knew the objectives or financial setup of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; however, the Council has received contributions of over $30,000.00 in the past three years but the disposition thereof is unknown.

5. SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND. The headquarters of this organization is New Orleans, Louisiana. The notorious James A. Dombrowski is executive secretary. He has been cited dozens of times for his subversive activities, and has participated in practically every left wing, communistic front that

has been organized in the South for the past 20 years. L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, Dr. Albert Howard Carter, and Dr. M. Lafayette Harris, all of Arkansas, are directors of this organization. In a policy statement issued by the organization on June 12, 1954, the directors stated: "The Fund has devoted its efforts to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination."

INDIVIDUALS

1. DAISY BATES. Daisy Bates has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of the NAACP for a number of years. She is also a national director of the NAACP, is a director of the Southern Regional Council and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1948, Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 people who signed a petition to place Henry Wallace on the ballot in Arkansas as a presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. In 1954, Daisy Bates attended a meeting in Little Rock, at which Dr. Vernon McDaniel of Tuskegee, Alabama, was on the panel. McDaniel was sent into Arkansas by the National NAACP to make a survey of cities which that organization thought might be targets for its activities. Gloster B. Current, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Dan Byrd, and other individuals from the national office of the NAACP were also present at the meeting. According to the press, plans were made at this meeting for the solicitation of plaintiffs and subsequent filing of lawsuits which precipitated the racial unrest as evidenced by the Central High School incident. Daisy Bates has also worked in close association with Clarence Laws of New Orleans, Louisiana, in furtherance of the NAACP in Arkansas.

2. L. C. BATES. L. C. Bates is the publisher of the Arkansas State Press, a Negro weekly newspaper published in

Little Rock. He is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. On July 31, 1958, he signed an ad in the Washington Post petitioning the House Un-American Activities Committee not to hold hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, designed to investigate subversion in the South. The record of the Atlanta hearing reflects that numerous witnesses took the stand under oath, and subsequently invoked the First and Fifth Amendments on questions as to their communist membership or activities. A clipping from his newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, dated March 26, 1954, bemoans the findings of the Jenner Committee that resulted from the hearings in New Orleans, wherein it was found that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is the successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, which is subversive, with the same address, executive director and officers.

3. HENRY WALLACE. Wallace was a presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948. When he came to Arkansas that year, he refused to sign an affidavit, which is required by Arkansas law, to the effect that his party is not affiliated with, associated with, or controlled by the Communist Party. He was accompanied by Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky, and Leonard Farmer when he appeared at the Capitol, and left the Secretary of State's office arm in arm with Daisy Bates. Pictures were made on the front steps of the Capitol, wherein Daisy Bates appeared on Wallace's left; L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky and Leonard Farmer also appeared in the picture. The electors of Wallace were subsequently placed on the ballot as independents, and L. C. Bates, Daisy Bates and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 signers of the petition.

4. LEONARD FARMER. Leonard Farmer was a communist in the State of Arkansas from at least 1948 through 1951. When Henry Wallace came to Arkansas, Farmer gave an inter-racial breakfast for him at his home on West Markham. Farmer is a man of means, and told a deliberate falsehood to the Supreme Court of Arkansas when he applied for admission as an attorney after graduating from the University of Arkansas in 1951. He graduated from

Harvard prior to coming to Arkansas, and although he has at least two college degrees, he is now working as a truck driver for the Pepperridge Bread Company in Connecticut.

5. LADISLAV PUSHKARSKY. Ladislav Pushkarsky was associated in the Wallace movement in 1948. He signed the petition for Wallace and appeared at the Capitol with him. He actively supported the communist philosophies in Arkansas in 1947 and 1948, and at the present time is voluntarily behind the Russian iron curtain in Poland, and has renounced his American citizenship.

6. CLARENCE LAWS. Clarence Laws is field secretary for the NAACP, and works actively for that organization in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. He has been quoted extensively in the past year by the Little Rock morning newspaper, and has worked in close association with Daisy Bates. He was discharged from the United States Army as a reserve commissioned officer "under the provisions of paragraph 6B(8), Army Regulations 140-175, which authorizes discharge for security reasons when such action is necessary in the interest of national security." The discharge was predicated upon his activity in connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, predecessor of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, all of which have been cited as communist fronts. He was the principal spokesman for the NAACP in connection with the racial trouble at Van Buren, Little Rock and Hoxie.

7. VERNON McDANIEL. Dr. Vernon McDaniel, on a leave of absence from the Tuskegee Institute granted by Dr. Charles Gomillion, Dean, made a survey of 20 cities in Arkansas in 1954 and 1955 to determine "community attitudes toward integration." He was paid an annual salary of $6,000.00 by the NAACP, and remained in Arkansas for over a year. He participated in the conference in Little Rock on October 24, 1954, along with Daisy

Bates, Gloster Current, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Wiley A. Branton, and others, at which time a program was laid down for the filing of further integration suits in Arkansas, and which resulted in the case of Aaron v. Cooper, the Little Rock Central High School integration suit. Spottswood and Current have been cited numerous times as aiding and abetting communist and communist front organizations.

8. DR. CHARLES GOMILLION. Dr. Charles Gomillion is Dean of Tuskegee Institute and was the organizer of the boycott at Tuskegee. He is president of the Tuskegee Civic Association which organized the boycott and the racial trouble there. He was a supporter of Rev. Martin Luther King in the Montgomery bus boycott, and the two of them attended a communist gathering at Monteagle, Tennessee, of the Highlander Folk School in 1957. He has worked in close accord with Aubrey Williams, an individual who assisted Commonwealth College in 1934. Williams also attended the Monteagle Conference, as did Abner W. Berry, an identified member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of America. Claude C. Williams, a former resident of Paris, Arkansas, in the thirties who was active in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World, which was stirring up racial unrest then, also attended the Conference.

9. THURGOOD MARSHALL. Thurgood Marshall is general counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a subsidiary of the NAACP. He contracted for that organization to pay Dr. Vernon McDaniel to come into Arkansas and make a survey to determine the target cities for integration in Arkansas. This was arranged by Thurgood Marshall and Dr. Charles Gomillion.

10. HARRY ASHMORE. Harry Ashmore is Editor of the Arkansas Gazette and former Chief Editorial Writer. In 1948, he urged through editorial columns of his paper that Henry Wallace's name be placed on the ballot in Arkansas. He was subsequently

named a director of the Fund for the Republic, and as such, assisted in channeling $450,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, a portion of which was channeled to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1957, at the height of the Little Rock Central High School incident, the Fund for the Republic sent contributions directly to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

IV.

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, A SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION, OPERATED IN ARKANSAS, CREATING RACIAL UNREST, FROM AT LEAST 1925 THROUGH 1941, WHEN IT WAS CLOSED AS THE RESULT OF A STATE COURT ORDER.

Hon. J. L. "Bex" Shaver testified that he is a former member of the Arkansas Legislature, Lt. Governor of the State of Arkansas, and former President of the Arkansas Bar Association. When he was a member of the General Assembly, he interrogated witnesses as a member of a special committee which investigated Commonwealth College in 1935. He introduced the official transcript from the House Journal of that investigation. His testimony and the transcript reflect the following:

In 1925, Commonwealth College settled west of Mena, Arkansas. This school had no particular academic requirements, tuition or qualifications for students or faculty. No attempt was made to belie the fact that it was communistic in nature, and to a large extent was supported by organizations with subversive backgrounds. In about 1932, Lucien Koch became the director (president) of the school. He subsequently engaged in creating racial tension in connection with the formation of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union, and the Workingmen's Union of the World in and about Fort Smith and Russellville. Koch, Bob Reed and Autry Delaney went into East Arkansas, especially in

Cross and Poinsett Counties, and made inflamatory speeches denouncing the landowners, the federal government and the administration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In this connection, one Claude Williams wrote Koch a letter while the latter was in the Tyronza jail, wherein he talked of the "united front" that had been promulgated by the Communist and Socialist Parties. Claude Williams at that time was actively engaged in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World at Paris, Arkansas. The representatives of Commonwealth College who went into East Arkansas promised prospective members of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union 40 acres, a mule and a plow, and advanced a plan similar to the agrarian reform plan of China which has resulted in the death of over 20 million Chinese during the past two decades.

Thus we find a subversive organization operated in Arkansas, creating racial unrest, from at least 1925 through 1941, when Commonwealth was closed as the result of a State court order.

2. COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES IN ARKANSAS ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN 1948.

Hon. C. G. "Crip" Hall, Secretary of State, State of Arkansas, testified that the presidential nominee of the Progressive Party, Henry Wallace, applied to him to have his name placed on the ballot of the November General Election. Mr. Hall asked Wallace to comply with Act 33, Ark. Acts of 1935, as amended by Act 293, Ark. Acts of 1941, which provides that a candidate must sign an affidavit that his party "is not directly or indirectly affiliated by any means whatsoever with the Communist Party of the United States, the Third Communist International, or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government." Wallace refused to comply with the act. Mr. Hall further testified that pictures made in his

office and on the front steps of the Capitol Building at that time have been in his personal possession since 1948. He introduced the pictures, and from the one made on the front steps of the Capitol Building, he identified Daisy Bates, State President of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People for a number of years, as the person standing immediately next to Wallace; he also identified L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, and a white man on Wallace's right called Ladislav or "Laddie" Pushkarsky. Mr. Hall testified that Daisy Bates left "arm in arm" with Wallace when they retired from his office inside the Capitol to the front steps. This bit of testimony belies the assertion that Daisy Bates was at the Capitol that day merely as a reporter for her husband's newspaper. Wallace wanted to make a speech on the front steps of the Capitol, but Mr. Hall denied him that privilege as contrary to State law. Mr. Hall also introduced a newspaper clipping from the Arkansas Gazette dated October 22, 1954, wherein it recited an account of a meeting of the NAACP at Mount Zion Baptist Church, Little Rock; it stated that Gloster B. Current, Vernon McDaniel, Daisy Bates, and others were present.

Mr. Hall further testified that the names of Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Laddie Pushkarsky appeared on the petition of electors to place the name of Henry Wallace on the ballot.

A newspaper article from the Times Dispatch entitled, "Inter-racial Breakfast" was introduced by Mr. Hall, which stated that Wallace attended a breakfast for Negroes and Whites at the home of a Little Rock supporter, Leonard Farmer, hereafter identified as then and now, a communist.

Hon. Guy E. Williams, former three-term Attorney General of the State of Arkansas and present Chancellor and Probate Judge

of the First Chancery District of Arkansas, testified that he was acquainted with Leonard Farmer by virtue of a divorce suit filed by Farmer against his wife in the Pulaski Chancery Court. A divorce was granted but was subsequently set aside and separate maintenance was granted to the wife of Leonard Farmer. An opinion written in connection with the setting aside of the divorce by Judge Williams was introduced, wherein it stated that Leonard Farmer was a member of the Communist Party and had been for several years.

Robert E. Diles, presently a Referee for the Arkansas Workmen's Compensation Commission, testified that he attended Little Rock Junior College in 1947, and one of his classmates was Ladislav or "Laddie" Pushkarsky. That Pushkarsky's philosophy of government was communistic in nature. He was informed by a member of one of the federal agencies that Pushkarsky is now in Poland, has renounced his American citizenship, and is a member of the Communist Party in Poland.

From the foregoing, we find that L. C. and Daisy Bates, along with two known communists, Farmer and Pushkarsky, actively supported Henry Wallace in his campaign in Arkansas in 1948.

3. MANY ORGANIZATIONS OF A SUBVERSIVE NATURE HAVE OPERATED IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS FOR SEVERAL YEARS WITH THE GOAL OF CREATING RACIAL TENSION AND UNREST.

(A) MANY OFFICIALS, BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL, OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH OR ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN COMMUNIST OR COMMUNIST FRONT ACTIVITIES.

Honorable Bruce Bennett, Attorney General of the State of Arkansas, testified that he has made an investigation of the matters before this Committee. He introduced a letter signed by C. J. Hauch, Jr., Brig. Gen., United States Army, stating that Clarence Laws, Field Secretary for the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People assigned to Arkansas, had been discharged from the United States Army for security reasons. Mr. Bennett also introduced an article which appeared in the Arkansas Gazette September 7, 1957, identifying Clarence Laws as Field Secretary for the NAACP in Arkansas; he also introduced a letterhead showing the national officers and board of directors of the NAACP, and an answer to an interrogatory in a suit filed against the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund by the State of Arkansas, which showed that Dr. Vernon McDaniel, an associate of Dr. Charles Gomillion, made a survey regarding racial integration in 20 cities and towns in Arkansas, including Little Rock and Pine Bluff, and was paid $6,000.00 by the NAACP.

Hon. Oren Harris, who has been a Member of Congress for 18 years, testified that upon the request of Bruce Bennett, he secured from the House Un-American Activities Committee information concerning the officers and directors of the NAACP, and introduced it at the hearing. It reflects that practically all of the national officers and directors of the NAACP have been cited at least five, and up to 176 times as being affiliated with communist or communist front organizations.

From the testimony of the above witnesses and exhibits, we therefore find that the national and local officers and directors of the NAACP are extremely sympathetic with communist or communist front organizations.

(B) MANY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CITED AS SUBVERSIVE OR WHICH HAVE BEEN INFILTRATED WITH COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS HAVE INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS AND OFFICIALS WITH THE NAACP AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN ARKANSAS.

Dr. J. B. Matthews testified that he was Director of Research between the years of 1938 and 1945 for the Special

Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C. Dr. Matthews called particular attention to the fact that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was not to be confused with the Southern Regional Educational Board, the latter a valid, highly ethical organization composed of 17 State government instrumentalities formed as the result of an educational compact.

Dr. Matthews testified that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare was an organization set up by the communists, and was the first major thrust of the communists in the South; this was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which James A. Dombrowski is the executive director and is noted for his communistic activities. Dombrowski is also quite active in Highlander Folk School. L. C. Bates is on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at present, and at least 221 individuals associated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been cited for their connections with communists or communist activities. Aubrey Williams was president of this organization, and has been cited many times for his communist and communist front activities. Dr. Matthews further stated that many communists were officers of these organizations.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the following organizations have been infiltrated by communists and/or communist sympathizers: (1) The Southern Regional Council; (2) The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; (3) various state councils on human relations; (4) Highlander Folk School; (5) The Southern Conference for Human Welfare; (6) The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Southern Regional Council is sponsored and directed by some members who have been cited numerous times for belonging to organizations listed as subversive by either the House Un-American Activities Committee, Senate Internal Security Committee, or the Attorney General of the United States. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is a branch of the Southern Regional Council, which latter organization has received

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several hundred thousand dollars from The Fund for the Republic as a grant; the Fund has been lavish in its contributions to communist and near communist organizations. Harry Ashmore is on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, and one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is closely affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Grace Lorch was given an honorarium by that Committee. Lee Lorch has been discharged from several universities for his alleged communist party affiliation, and has invoked the Fifth Amendment many times. At least 50 high officials and leaders of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated in one capacity or another with the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and Southern Conference Educational Fund. Among those named were Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council. One Clark Foreman, who was Henry Wallace's campaign manager, has been a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has headed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before a Committee of the Senate of the United States. M. Lafayette Harris has been on the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, has been used for communist and communist front purposes for the past 25 years.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the Southern Conference Educational Fund has penetrated 94 white colleges and universities of the South. He defined the term "penetration" as meaning that these institutions had at least one employee who belonged to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He further stated

that the fact that a person belongs to only one subversive organization does not necessarily mean that such a person is a communist or pro-communist. He recited the method by which the Communist Party exploited individuals in the educational field; that these individuals became dupes of the party apparatus, their prestige thereafter being exploited by aiding in making the organization respectable. These dupes, wittingly or unwittingly, oft times are of far more value to the Communist Party than an avowed member of the Party. Whether they are pro-communistic is a matter of relevancy; the great damage they do to the United States lies in their clothing a communist-penetrated organization with a degree of respect it would not otherwise enjoy. In order for a communist front to operate, there must be members who are not communistic or pro-communistic in order for such organizations to operate with any degree of respect. He again emphasized that the mere fact that a university or college had one or more employees who belonged to these cited organizations did not mean that the institution had become communistic per se. He stated, however, that the Communist Party deemed it "penetration" of an institution if they could secure faculty or employee memberships in organizations which they, the communists, controlled either directly or indirectly. Dr. Matthews emphasized that this is no particular condemnation of a school or school authorities where it is evident an officer, faculty member or employee had joined a subversive organization; but condemnation should be visited where it is shown there is continued affiliation after exposure.

Herbert R. Byrd and Rusty Ralston, with a radio and television station respectively, testified that they had been actively engaged in gathering news for a number of years, and that when they recently called on the Little Rock Office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, they asked Nat

Griswald, Executive Secretary of the Corporation, what its objectives and program are. They testified that Griswald refused to give them any information whatsoever, was evasive, and so far as they could learn, no one in the communications field in Arkansas has been able to learn anything at all about the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Therefore, it is apparent that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—which has been cited as a subversive organization—, the Southern Regional Council—which has been infiltrated with known communists and communist sympathizers—are of their very nature pro-communists. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, child of the Southern Regional Council, necessarily follows the aims and goals of its parent organization. True, some of the individuals who belong to these organizations may be willing or unwilling dupes, but in most instances, either through ignorance or inclination, have remained members; consequently, they are not worthy of the public confidence and leadership.

4. THE GOALS, AIMS AND OPERATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE MANIFESTED IN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN USED TO CREATE RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS.

Manning Johnson testified that he is a former member of the Communist Party; he belonged to the Communist Party between 1930 and 1940, and reached the position of member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, which is the highest ranking committee of the American Communist Party. He testified that in 1928, the Communist Party Comintern of Moscow by resolution ordered the American Communist Party to use every means to cause racial unrest in the South, and laid down a program encompassing a concept of a "Black Republic" in the South. A group of cities in the South were designated by the Communist Party in 1932 as critical areas where the Party

could more effectively create racial tension and strife. Among these cities were Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. One of the aims of the Communist Party was to infiltrate and organize as many organizations as possible that are concerned with the Negro race; included among these was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He also testified that every organization and association supposedly organized for the purpose of benefiting the Negro, had, to some extent, been infiltrated by the Communist Party, or its sympathizers. These organizations included the NAACP. In some instances the Communist Party itself created the organization, and in other instances it merely infiltrated. Among other methods used to create racial unrest, the Communist Party adopted certain positions which it felt would create racial unrest in order to attract members of the Negro race, and to pressure other organizations with similar aims to adopt similar positions. An example of this was the position toward integration adopted by the Communist Party calling for immediate integration, and within an extremely short time the NAACP changes its position of "gradualism" to immediate integration. He attributed this to the fact that the NAACP had many communist sympathizers in its high ranks.

Some direct quotes from Manning Johnson's testimony are as follows:

> " . . . The NAACP and the Communist are responsible for the racial turmoil and strife. . . . I am saying this, as far as Little Rock is concerned the NAACP is backed by the Communist and set up this situation and they are using Little Rock as a place where they can make a test battle. . . . Not only Little Rock and Pine Bluff but a large section of Arkansas including Pine Bluff and Little Rock was described as areas of concentration. * * * The Reds are going to do all their devlish work in and through the NAACP.

In other words, the Reds let it be known all their energies and as much money as they can raise is going to the support of the NAACP as a vehicle to carry out their so-called National Liberation Program. . . . The leaders of the NAACP are quick to denounce anybody who dares to expose or investigate the Communist infiltration of the NAACP. Why? Because most of them have skeletons in their closets. Fearing exposure they yell Smear. There is a saying among Communist that the best defense is an offensive. That is attack the other fellow. The NAACP leaders are very adept in attacking others. When a reporter spoke to Daisy Bates about this hearing one of the first words she used was 'Smear'. . . . The NAACP because it has kept its skirts clean while wearing dirty underwear is a good front for the reds. It has a mass base among negroes. It operates like an arm of the federal government, it demands everything, gives nothing. It is an effective agitator, it stirs up hate, it throws negroes into fights that are ruinous in the long run. It demands equal rights while it shuns negro responsibility. Such an organization is made to order for the Reds. The Supreme Court and the NAACP have set the stage for a long period of race bitterness, hate, frustration. Already much progress in race relations has been wiped out. Trends is back to the dark days following reconstruction. Americans are taking side. The reds are shifting into high gear in the expectation that a spark by an extremist on either side may be the one

that can start violent race conflicts all over the country. The number of northern politicians are walking in these muddy waters to flatter the negro votes in the north so as to get elected to office. There are others who are using the race issue to centralize more power in Washington thus laying the foundation for a dictatorship either of the left or right, depending on who gets control of the government. Indeed the NAACP, their red backers and supporters are taking the Negro on a ride. A ride to economic social and political ruin. Thanks again to the Supreme Court for freeing the red leaders, scuttling the Smith Act, on wiping out the state sedition acts, wrecking the entire internal security apparatus, making it impossible to deport red aliens and elevating the reds to a preferred status all in the name of preserving the bill of rights which the reds are pledged to destroy along with all free government. A check of all those who scream for the democratic rights of the reds will reveal that they are reds, fellow travelers, sympathizers, fronters, apologists, eggheads, fuzzy headed intellectuals, etc. They are the same people who back and support the NAACP. They are the same ones responsible for all the racial strife in our country. They are the modern day carpet baggers, who have no interest in the south and only pretend to have an interest in the negro so that they can use him. It is quite possible that the preservation of our Republic is being fought out in Arkansas because here is being challenged the excesses of federal power. . . . The NAACP backers are pressing the federal government to turn the F.B.I., our fine security agency into a gestapo to hound and arrest all

dissenters except reds. The negro is but a mere pawn in the game. He will be the loser and the sufferer. Any victory he may win will be a pathetic one. White Americans will lose too because they will have lost their great heritage, the American Republic. . . . There was a time when the NAACP believed in gradualism but the line has changed and today the NAACP is marching right down the avenue that the communists have mapped out for them to take. . . . "

Hon. W. Guy Banister, former Special Agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation with 20 years service, testified that the Communist Party, as part of its operation procedure, is out to smear all investigating committees, including this Special Education Committee, plus the F.B.I., House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Committee. He stated that all of the witnesses at these hearings would be subject to smear. He stated that organizations listed as subversive always attempted to bring in people of good reputation and standing in the community, and used them as a front for the nefarious operation of the communist apparatus. It was his testimony that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the counterpart of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations—and both beholden to the Southern Regional Council—dissolved itself immediately after subversive hearings were held by the Louisiana Legislative Council. The objective of the communist conspiracy was world domination, by force, including the United States, and the destruction of our government. Mr. Banister recited the duties of a Special Agent for the F.B.I., and paid extremely high compliments to the Bureau and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, its director. He quoted Mr. Hoover as saying: "To dismiss lightly the existence of subversion or to deal lightly with it is to commit national suicide." He recited the fact that the Communist Party exploits everything that is going on, if it can get into the organization. In answer to a question: "Is it your

opinion that there has been some subversion in the difficulty we have had here in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the past few months?" Mr. Banister answered: "It is my opinion and there are certain indications it was started deliberately with these subversive influences in this part of the country." He stated that the communists create incidents, and then exploit them for their benefit; create unrest and ultimately divide and conquor; to create hate is the main thing. Mr. Banister stated that it was not surprising to him to learn that there was an organization operating under the name of "Arkansas Council on Human Relations." He stated there used to be a communist printing plant in Little Rock which was prepared to go underground "if some organization or some group like the Supreme Court (of the United States) didn't bail them out."

Mr. Banister outlined a smear campaign that would be leveled at the F.B.I., J. Edgar Hoover, and the various Congressional Committees that investigate subversion this year by the Fund for the Republic, Emergency Civil Liberties Union, and others. He stated that the main objective of the Southern Regional Council and its subsidiaries, the various state councils on human relations in the Southern States is "to engage in mischief" and "to create friction between the races", and "that communism thrives on friction between the races." Mr. Banister specifically testified:

> ". . . Such activities as the various communist fronts engage in and such organizations as the Fund for the Republic and other fronts have this large amount of money to give away and it is given away not without checking of course. It seems it is usually done to further some project that is set up adversely affecting the things we believe to be worth while in this country. . . ."

Mr. Banister testified that he is convinced that there has been subversion in the racial unrest we have experienced here in Arkansas.

It seems evident to this Committee that the Communist Party has used many organizations that cater to the Negro race in order to create racial strife and unrest. Other organizations that are not communist are forced to adopt the same position as the Communist Party by means of infiltration, or by pressure created by communists and communist sympathizers.

CONCLUSION

The basic question presented for determination by this Committee is: "Has there been subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest?"

It is a matter of common knowledge that communism thrives where strife, tension, turmoil and chaos is present. Arkansas became a State of the Union in 1836; peace, progress and tranquility marked the attitude of all our people for the next 122 years. This Committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on September 2, 1957, was not something that just happened overnight. It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motiving factor the international communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

The people of Arkansas are basically men of good will. Communism, heretofore, has always been something that happened elsewhere; but the record reflects that for a number of years an almost incredible number of communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes and those who make a career out of being duped, have flitted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they sowed the seeds of dissension and discord.

The Committee has wondered who sent for Clarence Laws, discredited field representative of the NAACP and who was discharged from the Army for security reasons; who sent for Dr. Vernon

McDaniel, protege of the notorious Gomillion who travels in harness with communists such as Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, James A. Dombrowski; and who sent for Grace and Lee Lorch, identified communists; and who paid Clarence Laws for his work in Arkansas. In answering these questions, the Committee learned which individuals actively worked for a political party whose candidate would not sign a non-communist affidavit; that known communists—Farmer and Pushkarsky—worked in such close accord with the candidate and the above individuals that it makes incredible a claim of innocence. One of these individuals was the State President of the NAACP, and her husband, who has been a national director of an organization which is a successor to an organization listed as subversive for a number of years.

To answer these questions one need merely read the transcript of the sworn testimony produced in public at the three-day hearing. The testimony under oath and the documentary evidence introduced in connection therewith, makes it apparent that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our State.

The Committee is convinced that the racial unrest in Arkansas was deliberately planned by the Communist Party as part of the directive handed down by Moscow in 1928. The communist apparatus has used many organizations in our State. Some of them have been found subversive by appropriate governmental instrumentalities; others include in their officers and directors those individuals who have been cited as aiding and supporting communist or communist front organizations. We find it noteworthy that these organizations, infiltrated with communists and pro-communists, have actively supported racial unrest in Arkansas. They tried, and were successful, in making Little Rock a world-wide incident. From the evidence introduced at the

hearings it is quite apparent, when once perceiving the goals and operations of the Communist Party, that the Little Rock incident was certainly another link in its chain of created incidents designed for its benefit alone, which was mapped out four decades ago.

The Committee further finds—based on credible evidence from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the United States Attorney General's Subversive List, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and others—that many of the top officers of the national NAACP have been cited numerous times for aiding and abetting communist or communist front organizations. These top officials have sent individuals of very questionable loyalty to our government to Arkansas as their paid employees. In turn they met with local officials of the NAACP and planned the events which culminated in the so-called Little Rock incident. We believe that the NAACP is and has been sympathetic toward communist causes, and that the goal of the communist is not to help the Negro as such, but merely to use him. In that desire to use the Negro, we find that the communists have always tried to infiltrate organizations attractive to the Negro race.

The Committee feels that it would be amiss of its duty should it not report its findings in regard to various corporations that worked in Arkansas. We have been unable to learn of any public or private good that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has ever rendered, and the same may be said of the Southern Regional Council. Both of these organizations have been subsidized by the Fund for the Republic. The NAACP appears to have been heavily infiltrated with subversives and, wittingly or unwittingly, is now a captive of the communist apparatus. The Fund for the Republic, with Harry Ashmore of Arkansas on the national board of directors, has given considerable money to

the NAACP. It has also given about one-half million dollars to the Southern Regional Council—with Daisy Bates on the board of directors, who in turn channeled part of the money to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which had the same Ashmore and Bates as incorporators. A former F.B.I. agent of 20 years service, when questioned at the hearings about the activities of these three organizations, summed up his disgust at their nefarious schemes by simply answering, "to create mischief."

The Committee has become aghast at the viciousness with which some segments of the press have attacked the purposes of the hearings. We feel that the people of the world are entitled to know that a peaceful people have been torn asunder by the communist conspiracy. But some members of the press seem determined to becloud the issue, smear the purposes of the hearings, and reach any conclusion other than the fact that there was subversion present in our difficulties here. This the Committee deplores.

It is the conclusion of this Committee that from the evidence presented before it, and from the findings of fact which this Committee has made, that subversion was present in the racial unrest in our State. We further conclude that had it not been for the communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers and dupes—along with the organizations above listed—that the harmony and peace existent between the races for over 100 years would not have been interrupted. We pray for a restoration of that peace and harmony so that all the people of Arkansas may march forward to a more abundant and proud life under our Creator, Almighty God.

Arkansas Gazette

LITTLE ROCK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1958.

College Heads Discount Slap From Witness

Comments by Arkansas college officials and faculty members who were listed by J. B. Matthews in connection with the Southern Conference Educational Fund:

★ John T. Caldwell, president of the University of Arkansas—I repudiate unequivocally the imputation that the University of Arkansas has been penetrated by Communists and express the fullest confidence in the members of our faculty. I am apalled that a discredited professional witness should be invited into the state to smear its institutions and citizens. This so-called expert witness was fired by a Uinted States Senate committee, largely because of his smear on the Protestant clergy of the nation.

★ Lawrence A. Davis, president of A M and N College at Pine Bluff—I don't know whether any of our staff is affiliated with the Fund. I know very little about it. If I knew it was a Communist organization or a Communist-dominated organization I would object to any of my staff being members of it. I have no personal evidence that it is. The college is in no way associated with Communist activities. It is devoted to and stands for the highest principles of democracy. I'm surprised that we would be involved in the hearing in the first place. The implications are unfortunate and regrettable and can damage the good work that has been done by the College.

★ M. Lafayette Harris, president of Philander Smith College at Little Rock—The college has not been penetrated (by any Communist group). We have been rather zealous on that point. I do not know if any of my faculty and staff are members of the Fund. Inasmuch as they don't attend any meetings or participate actively, they may have gotten snagged by some sort of circular or letter asking for funds. And they may have thought they were helping some worthy cause and sent a check — I'm sure a small one. We are a Christian College. Communism and Christianity are at opposite polls as we see it.

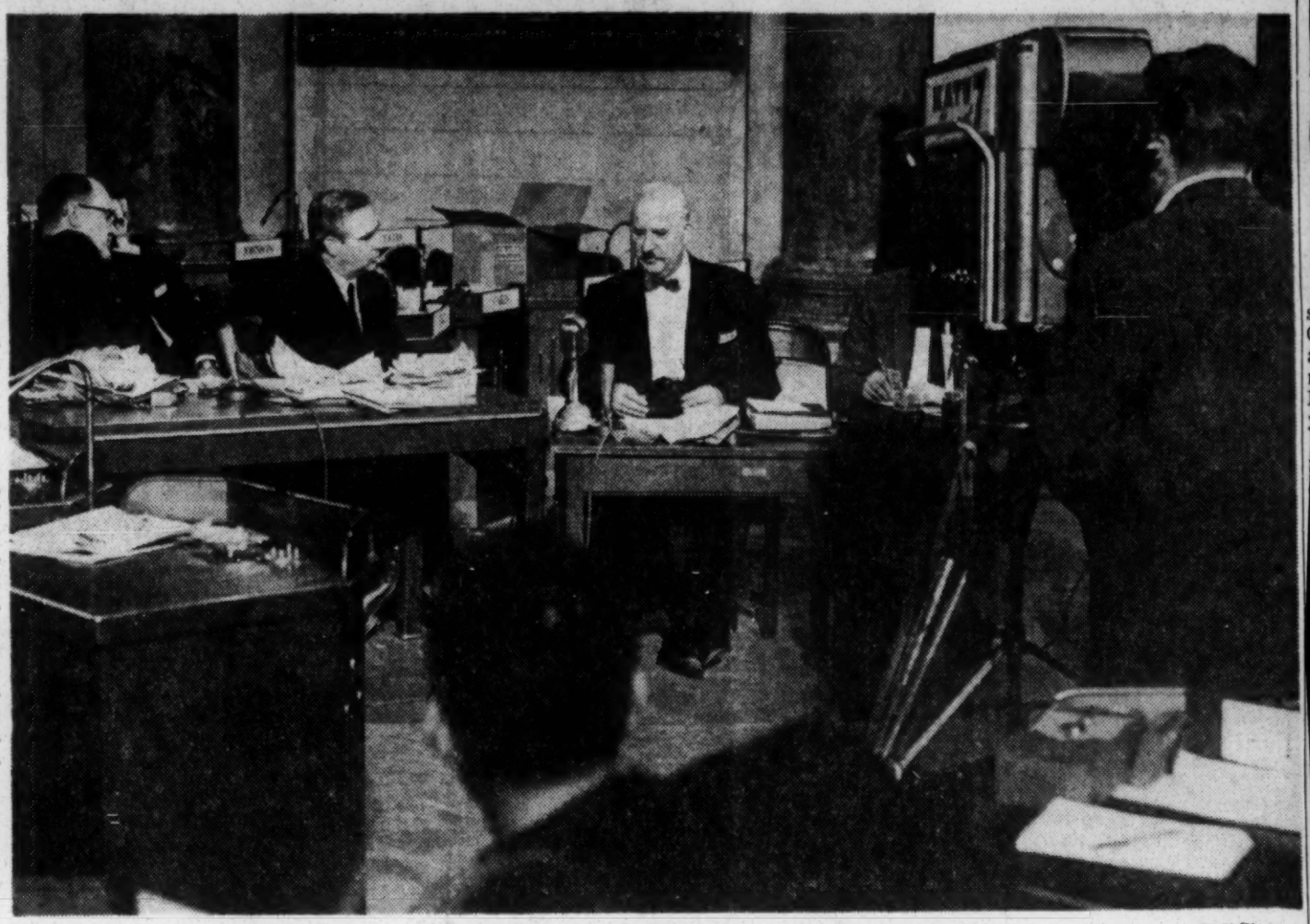
★ Winslow S. Drummond, president of the College of the Ozarks at Clarksville — I have no comment because I don't even know what it (the Fund) is. It's a new thing to me.

★ Stephen Paul Spottswood, administrator of Walters Institute at Warren—There is no point in commenting on that type of accusation. I don't give very much credence to the investigation as such. If there was something definitive and of a nature that had a substantial basis * * * it would be worthy of comment. If I was called to testify, I certainly would have an awful lot to say.

Rev. Oscar Allan Rogers Jr., president of Arkansas Baptist College at Little Rock, could not be reached.

★ J. R. Booker, attorney for Arkansas Baptist College at Little Rock — Most certainly we have no evidence of Communism in Arkansas Baptist College and we deny fully and completely the statement made by the professional and paid witness. We expect to discuss the matter further at our next Board meeting in January.

Booker made the statement on behalf of Dr. Fred T. Guy, president of the Consolidated Baptist Convention (Negro) of Arkansas, and Rev. Roland Smith, chairman of the Board of Trustees of Arkansas Baptist College, both of whom were out of town.



—Staff Photo

Scene at the Legislative Council hearings in the House Chamber with J. B. Matthews (right) testifying.

Organizations Identified

The organizations mentioned by J. B. Matthews in his testimony:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

(Said by Bruce Bennett to have been cited as subversive).

Organized in 1938. Disbanded about 1946.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND

(Said by Matthews to have been cited as subversive).

822 Perdido Street, New Orleans. President, Aubrey W. Williams of Montgomery, Ala., publisher of the Southern Farm and Home Journal. Executive secretary, James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans. Organized in 1946.

Purpose is "through education, to eliminate all forms of segregation and discrimination based on race, religion or national origin."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga. President, James McBride Dabbs of Sumter County, S. C. Executive director, Harold Fleming. Organized in 1945 as successor to the Southwide Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, founded in the 1920s. It is an inter-racial group of civic and religious leaders in 13 southern states. The Council's aim is "Equal opportunity for all the South's people."

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 West Capitol Avenue President, Mrs. Kyle Engler of Fayetteville. Executive director N. R. Griswold. Organized in 1955 as the Arkansas affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. It receives some money from the Southern Regional Council but, says Griswold, is not controlled by the Regional Council. Its incorporation papers call it a non-profit, non-political, non-denominational organization with the aim of improving economic, civic and racial conditions in the state through "research and action."

Says He Gave to Fund

Albert Howard Carter, a Ph.D. professor of English at the University since 1947, said he was a member of the Southern Conference Education Fund and that he sent money to it "once in a while" but got nothing out of it.

The Fund's objective, he said, is "simply to forward desegregation" but he was not aware that it was on any list of allegedly subversive organizations.

T. W. Coggs, former president of Arkansas Baptist College, said he was not a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and didn't recall ever having been a member or contributing to the Fund.

Coggs said he was surprised at Matthews' accusations. Coggs, 71, of 1523 Bishop Street, was president of the College for 18 years until May 31, 1955. He now is executive secretary of the Arkansas (Negro) Teachers Association.

Other alleged Fund members could not be reached. Horace Evans of Arkansas A M and N College at Pine Bluff was listed on a College directory as being "on leave of absence."

John R. Bross, Martha G. Boswell, H. W. Kloepfer and Buckley Rudd, all said to be on the faculty of the College of the Ozarks at Clarksville, were not listed in the Clarksville telephone directory and the College telephone number went unanswered.

Franz Adler, another University faculty member mentioned at the hearing, no longer lives at the address listed in the Fayetteville directory for him and he, too, could not be located.

Charges Draw Denials, Blasts

Several persons were linked at yesterday's hearing with either subversion or subversion organizations. Here are the persons, the accusations against them and their comments:

Clarence A. Laws of New Orleans, field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, charged by Attorney General Bruce Bennett as having been discharged from the Army Reserve as a security risk—"I flatly refute the allegation made by Mr. Bennett. I was honorably discharged." (Laws also said he would mail to Little Rock newspapers a copy of his discharge papers.)

"By failing to make provisions for people to testify who might have something to say for integration and to say something to defend their own good name these persons [who are conducting the hearing are using the very technique that the Communists use to discredit anyone with whom they disagree," Laws added. "The decent citizens will not be mis-led by tactics employed in what is clearly a smear campaign."

Dr. Lee Lorch, a former mathematics professor at Philander Smith College at Little Rock, now a visiting lecturer at Wesleyan University at Middletown, Ct., whose wife J. B. Matthews said had been identified as a Communist and whose record Matthews said stacked up with hers — Dr. Lorch did not deny the charges. Instead, he issued a 400-word statement blasting the hearings and the methods used in conducting it, Bennett, Matthews and Governor Faubus.

Dr. Katharine Dodd, former professor of pediatrics at the University Medical School and now professor of pediatrics at the University of Louisville, who was identified by Matthews as a member of the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and a founder of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York City, both of which Matthews said were subversive groups — "I'm not going to talk about this sort of thing on the telephone." She added that she had been on the Educational Fund Board about three or four years but that if she was one of the founders of the Civil Liberties Committee, she didn't know it.

M. Lafayette Harris, president of Philander Smith College at Little Rock, who Matthews said was a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Southern Regional Council and whose "prestige has been exploited by the Communists": "I am a member of the Southern Regional Council. I was for a year a member of the Fund and resigned simply because it was beginning to get a bit involved in political issues. I am definitely anti-Communist. I have never knowingly lended myself to anything that had any taint of Communism about it."

N. R. (Nat) Griswold, executive director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, a group which Matthews said got some support from the Southern Regional Council: "It doesn't seem possible to answer the sort of testimony given this morning. We will wait until it is over before commenting." However, Griswold added that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations got some financial support from the Southern Regional Council but said it "has no control over us."

J. B. Matthews ARK. GAZETTE 12/18/58

Some Background On A Professional Witness

By Elizabeth Carpenter

Gazette Washington Bureau
1322 National Press Building

As a timely public service, we are reprinting this April 28, 1958, column on J. B. Matthews, who testified yesterday before the special legislative committee investigating charges of Communist influence in Arkansas.

In his recent surprise charge that "outside forces" — possibly Communist - inspired — helped create the Little Rock integration crisis, Governor Faubus relied heavily on a source whose veracity has been challenged officially by:

1. Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas.

2. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

3. President Eisenhower.

4. Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen.

It was an article by the man in question, J. B. Matthews, that Mr. Faubus cited in support of his accusation, made in a speech to the Southwest Little Rock Kiwanis Club April 10.

The governor quoted an article by Matthews in the Easter 1958 issue of "Christian Crusade" to the effect that Lee Lorch, white professor of mathematics at Philander Smith College, and his wife, Mrs. Grace Lorch, "have been identified as members of the Communist Party." Mr. Faubus said the Lorches "were active behind the scenes and then openly in the Little Rock affair."

The governor's introduction of the "Communist issue" in the Little Rock controversy surprised some political observers, since the same issue was raised against Mr. Faubus in the 1954 gubernatorial campaign. The perplexity may have been greater among those who knew that it was Matthews who directed an investigation of Communist activities practically every government intelligence agency."

But the matter came to a crux on the afternoon of July 9 when the White House received a telegram signed by a priest, a rabbi, and a Presbyterian minister, speaking for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The telegram called Matthews' attack on the Protestant ministry "unjustified and deplorable."

President Eisenhower, who had been reluctant to be drawn into the battle of the McCarthy era, entered this one unhesitatingly, allying himself with those taking strong issue against the Matthews' article.

* * *

The president made public his reply which stated he "fully agreed" with the three clergymen that the attack on the Protestant clergy "is unjustified and deplorable."

The president went on to say, "If there be any American among us, whatever his calling, guilty of treasonous action against the state, let him legally and properly be convicted and punished. This applies to every person, lay or clergy."

As the telegrams were being made public at the White House, McCarthy "very reluctantly" accepted the resignation of Matthews.

The following morning, the Wisconsin senator tried to save face by getting the Republican majority of the committee to vote to give him complete power to hire and fire all staff employes.

It was a straight party - line vote, 4-3, and shortly afterwards, the three Democratic members of the committee, after obtaining the full backing of the Senate Democratic leadership, resigned in bloc.

Senator McClellan told the press at the time, "This committee's work is so sensitive and so delicate that it should try to work in complete harmony. Any

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Mr. Faubus has admitted reluctantly that he attended the Communist - tainted college, at least for a few days as a freshman in the '30s.

* * *

Who, then, is J. B. Matthews? This is a question which Washington asked back in the summer of 1953 when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Rep., Wis.) then chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, hired Matthews as staff director and found himself in the middle of one of the hottest controversies that ever broiled during the controversial heyday of the Wisconsin senator.

Actually, Matthews was not new on the scene in 1953. Between 1938 and 1945, he was director of research for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And it was under his direction during those years that the Committee investigated Commonwealth.

But it wasn't his Commonwealth College probe that put Matthews' name in headlines.

It was, an article which he wrote for the American Mercury Magazine's July 1953 issue entitled, "Reds and Our Churches," the article opened with this sentence: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

The article went on to charge that the Communist Party had "enlisted the support" of "at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, party-line adherents and unwitting dupes" during the last seventeen years.

McCarthy offered him the $11,000-a-year job on his committee almost simultaneously with the publication of the attack on the Protestant clergy.

The attack by Matthews brought a swift rebuttal from the three Democratic members of the committee — McClellan, Stuart Symington of Missouri, and Henry M. Jackson of Washington and what amounted to a demand for Matthews' ouster.

Jointly, McClellan, Symington, and Jackson called the Matthews article a "shocking and unwarrantable attack against the American clergy" which, they said, "cannot be supported by the facts." They requested a committee meeting to call for "appropriate action."

Their attack on Matthews was joined by the leaders of Southern conservatives. Democratic Senator Byrd of Virginia, who issued a statement declaring that Matthews "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain."

McCarthy defended his aide, calling him "an outstanding authority" on subversion who had been a "constant consultant to strong issue against the Matthews' article.

* * *

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It was a straight party - line vote, 4-3, and shortly afterwards, the three Democratic members of the committee, after obtaining the full backing of the Senate Democratic leadership, resigned in bloc.

Senator McClellan told the press at the time, "This committee's work is so sensitive and so delicate that it should try to work in complete harmony. Any member of the staff who might be objectionable to any member on any reasonable grounds should be subject to a discharge by a majority of the committee."

Not until the following January when Congress reconvened and Senator McCarthy surrendered his "one-man" rule, with the repeal of the Committee regulation allowing him to hire and fire employes, did the three Democrats return.

Such was the Matthews epoch in Washington. Since then, he has taken his desk set inscribed with the words, "To J. B. Matthews, a Star-Spangled American from one of his pupils and admirers, Joe McCarthy" to New York where he is associated with the Hearst publications and still writes occasional articles, such as the one recently quoted by Governor Faubus.

About three months after his forced resignation from the McCarthy Committee, Matthews made a conspicuous appearance in Arkansas. Addressing a Freedom Forum session at Harding College of Searcy October 23, 1953, Matthews discussed in more qualified terms his charges against the Protestant clergy and contended that his article and earlier remarks on the subject had been exaggerated by the press.

Expanding into other fields, Matthews said he had information that American aircraft parts were being smuggled to Russia. He quoted a "high undisclosed source" as saying a Russian MIG airplane surrendered by a North Korean pilot to United Nations Forces was made "largely of American parts." Military leaders "didn't dare bring the plane to this country" because they were afraid to let the American people know" this secret, he added.

The Air Force immediately denied Matthews' charge. Within weeks the plane had been brought to the United States and put on public display at Air Force bases throughout the country.

Arkansas Gazette

Registered U. S. Patent Office

LITTLE ROCK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1958. —FORTY-TWO PAGES

Reds, Integration Linked By Ex-aide to McCarthy

By ROY REED
Of the Gazette Staff

J. B. Matthews of New York, an aging associate of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, came to Arkansas yesterday as a paid witness in a legislative hearing to help piece together more links in an alleged chain between racial integration and communism.

When he had finished testifying he had spoken of a "bridge" between Southern liberals and communism, further connections between the L. C. Bateses of Little Rock and "Communist" organizations, and a much-publicized gesture of sympathy by Mrs. Grace Lorch as "a Communist act."

He also had thrown out scores of names that he tied to Communist causes, including the names of 10 persons connected with five Arkansas colleges.

The names of several Little Rock residents were brought into the hearings in various ways.

Attorney General Bruce Bennett, the chief questioner, offered evidence of a "security" discharge from the Army Reserve as a further link between the international Communist conspiracy and school integration in Arkansas.

Hearing Extension Hinted

Two prominent members of the investigating group, the Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, hinted that more hearings may be held before the 1959 General Assembly convenes. Representative Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, Committee chairman, said that if the Committee wanted to there may be further hearings to "develop local conditions." Senator Charles F. (Rip) Smith of West Memphis, vice chairman, also told newsmen that the hearings might pick up again before the legislative session.

The hearings today, which may be the last of the current series, are expected to feature testimony on the disturbance at Central High School in September 1957. Two newsmen who were on the scene, Herbert R. (Herbie) Byrd, news director for radio station KLVC, and C. H. (Rusty) Ralston, news photographer for KARK-TV, will testify today, Bennett said.

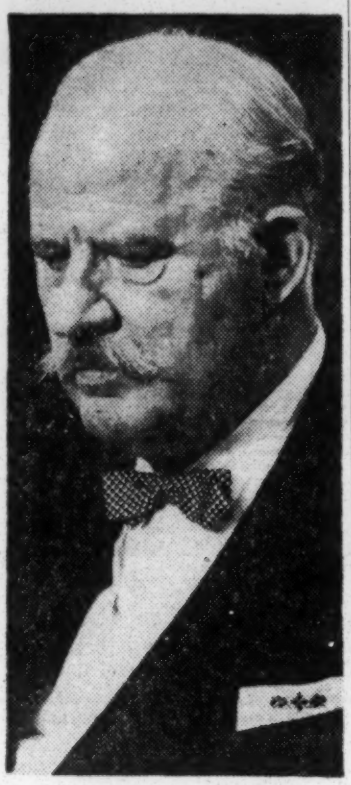
Matthews, who was fired from the McCarthy committee a few years ago at the insistence of Senator John L. McClellan (Dem., Ark.) and others who didn't trust him, was sprung as a surprise witness. He wove a delicate chain of association to back up his contention that the Communist movement had penetrated into Arkansas institutions, and thence into the integration situation.

Sees Red Links in Dixie

First, he said he would establish a link between a defunct and now largely discredited organization called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and another highly respected organization called the Southern Regional Council.

He said the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had been succeeded in 1948 by a third group known as the Southern Conference Education Fund. Both of these, according to Bennett, have been cited as subversive, the first by the United States Attorney General and the

(See ARKANSAS on Page 2A.)



—Staff Photo
J. B. MATTHEWS

Boy Acquitted In Car Death At Little Rock

Little Rock Traffic Judge Robert W. Laster said yesterday during the trial of a negligent homicide case that he had advised Little Rock police not to bring eye witnesses to the accident to court.

Judge Laster made the statement during testimony in the case of Douglas F. Treadway, 16, of 1903 Booker Street, who was charged when the pedestrian his vehicle struck died a week after the accident. The judge found Treadway not guilt[illegible]

Treadway's car st[illegible] R. L. [illegible] 67 of Route 1, North [illegible]

Beef-up Voted For Defenses In NATO Area

Allies Authorize More Missiles, Men and Planes

Paris, Dec. 17 (AP).—The North Atlantic Treaty Organization voted today to beef up its defenses with more missiles, planes and divisions.

The alliance took the decision in a formal resolution to do its best to bring the defense forces up to the minimum figure declared necessary by Gen. Lauris Norstad, supreme allied commander in Europe.

But the goals for increased defensive might were listed in the resolution as objectives. And the history of NATO is that objectives are usually ahead of achievements.

The annual military review estimated there was no reduction in the extent of the Russian war machine nor any reduction in its threat. The Russians were pictured as able to pour 1,000,000 troops quickly into central Europe in any showdown.

The threat itself was brought home to the allies by the Russian warning last month that by June West Berlin would be declared a free city and its supply channels surrendered to Communist East German control.

To Reject Red Demand

An answer to this threat was being drafted by experts of France, Britain, West Germany and the United States. There was no expectation that a completed draft will be ready for discussion by the NATO meeting.

The note, a short one, will reject the Russian demand that West Berlin be made an unarmed free city but will express a willingness to negotiate on East-West tensions, informed sources said.

But the four powers will say they refuse to negotiate under an ultimatum. They will ask if the June deadline set by the Soviet Union is an ultimatum.

The day's developments in the NATO foreign ministers' conference were few except for Norstad's report—a sober statement that his 17 combat divisions were barely half what he insists is a bare minimum.

The NATO briefing officer declined to give details of what Norstad reported on the present state of prepa[illegible]

Panel Alford, He Pl[illegible]

Representative Brook[illegible]

'Honestly Elect[illegible] Hints of 'Furth[illegible]

Dr. Dale Alford said yeste[illegible] elected and duly and properly [illegible] fight to take his seat—as a [illegible] Representatives.

Alford, back at Little Roc[illegible] special House elections commit[illegible] statement after hearing of the [illegible] mending that he be denied a Ho[illegible] gation of his write-in election [illegible]

Alford Not Listed

Arkansas Red Probe

(Continued from Page 1.)

second by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The successor organization has many of the same officers and members as the Southern Regional Council, Matthews said. He said 50 persons in the Southern Regional Council either were in the Southern Conference Educational Fund or had been members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The clincher is that the Southern Regional Council has affiliates in each Southern state. In Arkansas it is the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Matthews pointed out.

Bennett Calls Names

After Matthews left the stand Bennett introduced documents listing the names of the officers, Board members and staff of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Among those mentioned specifically by Bennett were Fred K. Darragh Jr., former president; Rev. C. C. Walker and Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Gazette, vice chairmen; Christopher C. Mercer Jr., one of the incorporators, and Nat R. Griswold, executive director.

Ashmore was mentioned earlier by Matthews as a member of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, an organization Matthews claimed had been "cut off" from its parent group, the Ford Foundation. The Fund for the Republic, Matthews said, had given $445,000 to the Southern Regional Council (a group that Matthews conceded had not been cited as subversive).

With Bennett drawing him out, Matthews said this money was spent on salaries and to build up the state affiliates.

Fires at NAACP

Matthews brought in the names of L. C. Bates, publisher of the State Press, a Negro weekly, and his wife, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization most heavily backing integration in the South. Matthews said Bates had been a member of the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and that Mrs. Bates had been a member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

Bennett had brought in witnesses at the first day's hearings Tuesday to testify that the Bateses had been connected—in a picture and at an interracial breakfast—with two former Arkansas residents identified as "known Communists." The two were identified as Leonard Farmer, now of Connecticut, and Ladislav Pushkarsky, now in Poland.

Matthews climaxed his argument of Red infiltration by asserting that the Southern Conference Educational Fund seemed to serve chiefly as "a bridge between the Communist Party and misguided Southern liberals."

Matthews said there was a connection also between the Southern Conference Educational Fund and a group in New York called the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which he said was subversive.

That brought out another prominent name from Arkansas, Dr. Katharine Dodd. Dr. Dodd once taught at the University of Arkansas School of Medicine and now teaches at Louisville University at Louisville, Ky. Matthews said she was a member of the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Under questioning by Bennett, Matthews said the racial unrest in the South had been planned as early as 1928 by the Communist International. He backed up a repeated assertion by Bennett that the Communists intended to set up a "Black Republic" in the South where the Negroes would rise up and take the land away from the white landlords.

The "Black Republic" was a strong theme in similar Communist hearings last year in Louisiana. Much of the information presented in the Arkansas hearings has come up in hearings in other states.

The Arkansas educators listed by Matthews as members of the Southern Conference Educational Fund were Albert Howard Carter and Franz Adler of the University of Arkansas; John R. Bross, Martha G. Boswell, H. W. Kloepfer and Buckley Rudd of the College of the Ozarks; Horace Evans of AM and N College of Pine Bluff; M. Lafayette Harris, president of Philander Smith College of Little Rock; T. W. Coggs, listed by Matthews as president of Arkansas Baptist College of Little Rock, although Rev. Oscar Allan Rogers Jr. now is president, and Stephen Paul Spottswood, administrator of Walters Institute at Warren.

(An official of Arkansas Baptist College said last night that Coggs left the College three years ago after serving 18 years as president. Coggs is now executive secretary of the Arkansas [Negro] Teachers Association.)

Matthews read the names of 94 white colleges and 51 Negro colleges which he said had been "penetrated" by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Recalls CHS Incident

Matthews resurrected an incident at Central High which drew worldwide publicity in September, 1957. That was the protection and help offered one of the nine Negro students caught in the mob, Elizabeth Eckford, by Mrs. Grace Lorch.

Matthews called this "a Communist act" and said Mrs. Lorch had acted on instructions from "her Communist masters." He berated the New York Times for its "mawkish sentimentality" in an editorial on the incident.

Matthews said Mrs. Lorch had "been identified as a Communist" and that her husband, Dr. Lee Lorch, had "a Communist record that stacks up with his wife's."

The Lorches moved from Little Rock to Middletown, Ct., earlier this year. He is a visiting teacher at Wesleyan University there for the 1958-59 year.

Bennett said during a recess that Matthews, who is 63, would be paid. But for "his research, not his testimony," Bennett said. He wouldn't say how much. He referred reporters to the auditor's office. A voucher for $475 was issued Friday in Matthews' name.

Bennett took the stand early yesterday to present a copy of a letter from Brig. Gen. C. J. Hauck Jr., chief of legislative liaison of the Army Reserve to Representative F. Edward Herbert (Dem., La.). The letter said Maj. Clarence A. Laws had been discharged from the Army Reserve as a security risk. It listed several purported Communist connections that Laws had.

Laws is field secretary for the NAACP in the five-state Southwest region, including Arkansas.

Performance Delayed

The hearing was delayed 30 minutes after lunch when a movie projector failed to operate. The projector was repaired in about five minutes, but meanwhile KATV, which is televising the hearings, had begun a 30-minute network program. So Bennett held up the proceedings until 2 p. m. when the TV program ended.

He showed a short film taken September 2, 1957, at the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. He said the movie was taken during a meeting "of Communists and Communist sympathizers" there. He and Matthews pointed out several persons in the film whom they had connected previously with left-wing organizations.

The main value of the film appeared to be emotional. It showed white girls in the company of Negro men.

The hearings, Bennett has said, are to prove that Communists are behind the racial unrest that brought on the disturbance at Central High School last year. The Arkansas Legislative Council instructed the Special Education Committee, made up of the chairmen of all the Council's standing committees, to study racial unrest and report to the 1959 General Assembly.

Vice Chairman Smith continued in the chairman's seat yesterday while Chairman Van Dalsem did nothing. Actually, Bennett held most of the spotlight when Matthews was not in it.

The same was true Tuesday when the Committee heard testimony from Representative Oren Harris of El Dorado, former Lieutenant Governor J. L. Shaver of Wynne, Secretary C. G. Hall, Pulaski Chancellor Guy E. Williams and Robert E. Diles, a referee for the state Workmen's Compensation Commission.

These first day witnesses laid the groundwork for the rest of the investigation.

Historic Item Found

Adana, Turkey, Dec. 17 (AP).—A two-ton stone relief sculpture of Alexander the Great on his deathbed has been unearthed by construction workers at nearby Tarsus. Adana Museum people said the head is shown resting on a magnificently carved crescent moon representing lands taken by the Macedonian conqueror.

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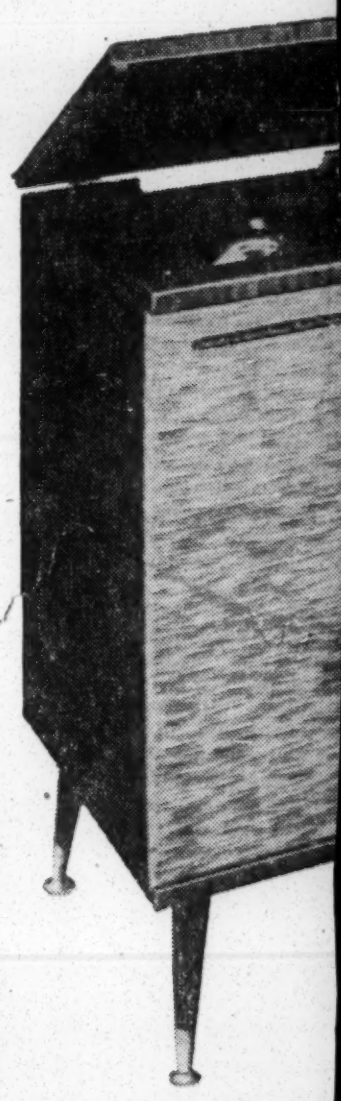

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the dinner.

12/19/58

KATV Not Sure on Question Of Time to Answer Probers

Ark. Gazette

KATV telecast every word of the Legislative Council committee's hearings on alleged subversion in Arkansas, but whether the individuals and organizations mentioned in the testimony have a right to equal television time for a reply is in question.

John H. Fugate, general manager of the Channel 7 station, said yesterday that nobody had asked for equal time so far. And that if any request came it would be passed on to the station's lawyers. He didn't know whether the station would give, or was obligated to give, equal time.

Fugate said under Federal Communications Commission rules the station was required to grant equal time under certain conditions. He said the station's lawyers were the best judges of that.

As to whether the committee itself would give anybody a chance to a make a public reply, that is yet to be decided also.

Chairman Paul Van Dalsem said that anybody who wanted to make such a reply before the Committee, would have to submit it under oath in advance and that then the Committee would decide about a public presentation of it.

Telecasts Praised

Fugate said the telecast earned the station considerable praise. KATV telecast the three days of hearings at its own expense as a public service.

The station, he added, received a few complaints from housewives disappointed because network programs were suspended.

"We had a lot less of these complaints than we had anticipated," Fugate said.

The station made no effort to try to determine the audience the telecast had.

The Red Threat In Arkansas

Ark. Gazette 12/19/58

It now appears that the real backbone of Attorney General Bruce Bennett's educational "expose" of Communist influence in Arkansas was the testimony of J. B. Matthews, a professional witness whose competence has been attacked by Senator John L. McClellan, among others on a long list of conservative public officials.

Mr. Matthew's allegations were old hat without any significant exception — all long since spread across the record of similar hearings in Louisiana and other Southern states, and most challenged or discredited when they were substantial enough to be subjected to test.

For this educational experience the people of Arkansas have now paid Mr. Matthews $475 in public funds, and Mr. Bennett has indicated that there will be further payment, although he has declined to reveal how much.

This shabby performance strikes us as more an occasion for sadness than for outrage. It is a tragic sight to see the reputations of various public and private citizens smeared by innuendo under a procedure which denies them the elemental right to face their accusers or even refute the charges against them.

Beyond this there is the phony character of the whole undertaking, with its unmistakable odor of politics. If Mr. Bennett is in fact persuaded that there is a widespread Communist conspiracy in Arkansas he should call before his Committee those who are in position to testify directly to the point. This he has not done and by his own definition does not plan to do, since he limits himself to those he calls "friendly witnesses."

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Consider, for example, the case of Commonwealth College, the only officially certified Communist institution that has ever existed in Arkansas. If there was any point at all in picking over the bones of that defunct institution, it is obvious that the Committee should have invited or subpoenaed witnesses who are in position to testify of their own knowledge about what went on there. One such was present in the statehouse when the hearing opened — Governor Orval Faubus, who has admitted that he attended the College briefly and who has lately taken to referring publicly to his experience there as a manifest of his own credentials as an expert on subversion. Yet the Committee devoted more than half a day to Commonwealth without a single reference to Mr. Faubus—and consumed the time by droning into the record the findings of an earlier investigation, all dealing with persons long departed from the state and all repeatedly publicized over the years.

What this proved was that back in the depression-ridden '30s the president of the College said that he thought the plantation system in Arkansas should be destroyed. Well, the plantation system is still there—changed only by the non-Communist revolution brought on by tractors, cotton-pickers and chemicals.

So it went with other lengthy testimony concerning the 1948 period and Henry Wallace's short-lived Progressive Party. The Progressives, as Mr. Wallace has since conceded, were pretty much taken over by the Communists—which was well known at the time and probably explains why the splinter party suffered such an ignominious fate in Arkansas. The total vote in that campaign: Truman 149,659; Dewey 50,959; Thurmond 40,068; Wallace 751.

The scattered, inconclusive testimony concerning later events and persons directly connected with the Little Rock school troubles has not so far brought out anything that was not commonly known and generally publicized. And in that regard Mr. Bennett might undertake to answer this simple question:

If there was in fact a Communist conspiracy involved in the integration controversy at Central High School, would not the FBI, which sent scores of agents here to investigate every aspect of the case, have done something about it?

12/19/58 ARK.

To the Editor of the Gazette:

The so called hearings now being telecast from the state Capitol, will ultimately destroy the political opportunity and moral influence of the officials sponsoring them. The people over the state will in time resent this effort to fill their minds with deliberate distortions and positive falsehoods. One sympathizes with officers who begin to doubt the security of their hold on the confidence of their voting constituency, but honorable citizens demand to be treated as intelligent and worthy of trust.

It could be shown in the case of many, if not all, of the organizations thus far listed during the floodlight hearings that the effort is to create a false impression rather than present the truth. Otherwise, why not preserve a basic right in our democracy by letting the accused face his accusers? Our country has tried to make that a basic protection, remembering that Sir Walter Raleigh went to his death pleading to know who accused him of being disloyal. I shall take only one example.

The Emergency Peace Campaign of the '30s was characterized in these hearings as a Communist conspiracy. It happens that I was one of the men who met at Buck Hill Falls in Pennsylvania to see what could be done to arouse America to the fact that Europe was again drifting toward war. Our hope was that the United States would use her influence to halt the drift and prevent the bloody tragedy which soon befell the world.

This Emergency Peace Campaign had no more connection with Communism than it had with outer space. The general chairman and principal speaker for the campaign was Admiral Byrd, as loyal an American as ever graced a uniform. If the sponsors of these hearings really care to give the people the truth about this peace effort, let them invite the Honorable O. K. Armstrong, former congressman from Missouri, down to testify. He was Admiral Byrd's publicity secretary as the distinguished admiral spoke here and there across America. Mr. Armstrong can tell the committee what the famous officer said and what was his purpose. [Mr. Armstrong also accompanied General MacArthur on his 1951 "Return" to Little Rock.] I might add also that I solicited funds for the campaign from churches and individuals here in Little Rock. I also helped to employ a brilliant young minister from Fayetteville who had shortly returned from graduate study in Berlin. I had heard him address the Little Rock Rotary Club and shared his observations regarding what was happening in Germany under Hitler. We employed this young man, bought him a used car off a lot in Little Rock, and asked him to visit Arkansas colleges and explain to college young people Europe's drift toward war and the need that America try to check the drift rather than be sucked into it. This man's name was brought blurringly into the hearings on Wednesday. He is Dr. John Thompson, Dean of the Chapel at the University of Chicago, and one of the finest and ablest Presbyterian ministers of our time.

One more paragraph. I spent many years in this city trying to help young people and teachers by giving courses at the Little Rock Junior College and for the Extension Service of the University of Arkansas. I can not sit idly by and fail to protest when blatant untruths are broadcast to the community. I must be true to the young people and teachers whom I have had in classes. I believe in democracy, that the people will make the right decisions and do the right thing if they are told the truth. Those who spread untruths in a democracy undercut the foundation of our society and the institutions of government through which we seek security and freedom.

Joseph B. Hunter

Little Rock.

(Communications on any subject are welcome. Letters should be under 500 words and typewritten if possible. All letters are subject to editing to meet space requirements. Each letter must be signed although signature will be withheld on request. No letter will be returned unless self-addressed envelope is enclosed. —Editor.)

Voice From Past

To the Editor of the Gazette:

When an association of a supposedly Christian denomination says in a letter in the Gazette that "our friendly and useful (sic) neighbors (the colored race) have been set back at least a quarter of a century, and some deceived to think they are at liberty to go out of their divinely designated

Hearings End; Red Probers See Success

ARK. GAZETTE
12/19/58

Bennett Demands Inter-racial Council Open Up or Disband

By ROY REED
Of the Gazette Staff

The Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council finished a three-day Communist investigation yesterday with the legislative leaders apparently confident they had proved that communism was behind integration and racial unrest in Arkansas.

Attorney General Bruce Bennett, chief questioner for the hearings, wound up his part by calling on an inter-racial Arkansas organization to "disband or tell what they are doing." He threatened to subpoena the records of the group, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Witnesses on the last day were Manning Johnson of New York, a Negro former Communist who has testified at several Red hearings; W. Guy Banister of New Orleans, private investigator and former FBI agent; C. H. (Rusty) Ralston, news photographer for KARK-TV, and Herbert R. (Herbie) Byrd, news director for radio station KVLC.

(Related Pictures and Articles on Pages 1B, 2B.)

Johnson and Banister continued to weave an intricate pattern of associations in an effort to show that Communists had infiltrated Southern institutions as part of their move toward world domination. Other witnesses had done the same the first two days.

Byrd and Ralston told of being tricked by a phony telephone call into trying to cover a meeting of the Board of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The gist of this phase of the hearing was that Bennett, Byrd and Ralston had been unable to learn much about the Council, which led Bennett to observe that the organization was trying to keep its operation under cover.

Hint of More Hearings

The Committee went into executive (closed) session at the end of the day and came out hinting at a possibility of more hearings before the 1959 General Assembly convenes.

Representative Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, committee chairman, said there might be "another phase" but said that was up to the full Committee. Apparently the decision will be made after the testimony from these hearings has been summarized for Committee study.

Van Dalsem said the investigation had "definitely succeeded" in proving Communist infiltration in Arkansas.

Senator Charles F. (Rip) Smith of West Memphis, Committee vice chairman, said "I'm convinced" that the Communist Party was behind racial unrest in the state.

Plan for 'Black Republic'

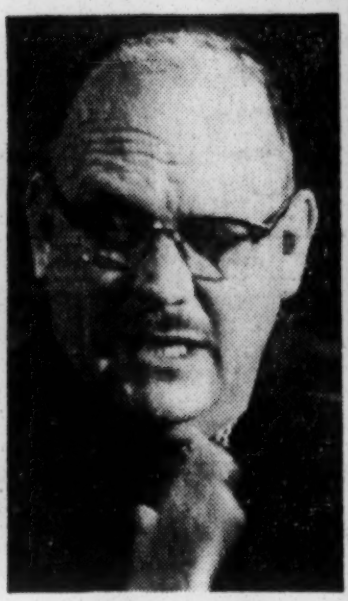
Johnson, 50, who said he quit the Communist Party in disillusion in 1940 after 10 years of membership, testified that the Russian Communists planned to establish a "black republic" in the American South after a violent revolution. This plan was conceived about 1930," he said, and still is a goal of the Communists.

The idea was to provoke the Negroes to overthrow the landlords and take over the land and the government in the South, Johnson said.

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, which once had a large membership among East Arkansas sharecroppers, was part of

(See PROBE on Page 2A.)

HERBIE BYRD



RUSTY RALSTON

—Staff Photos

The Council on Human Relations was new to them.

Probe

(Continued from Page 1.)

that plan, Johnson said. The Union was formed during the 1930s.

On the Little Rock integration crisis, Johnson took a view not heard much among Negro leaders. He said Governor Faubus was right in calling out the National Guard in September 1957. The nine Negro children who tried to enter Central High School and were turned away were "taken from a much better school" and thrust into Central to stir up strife, Johnson said.

He said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, backed by the Communists, were using Little Rock as a "test battle."

Johnson spoke repeatedly of the NAACP's being "Communist dominated."

Johnson's testimony mainly was for the benefit of the television audience. Only five of the 12 Committee members were there during the morning. KATV televised the hearings "live."

Johnson followed much the same line used Wednesday by J. B. Matthews of New York, a one-time colleague of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Both men testified about the intensity of the Communist threat in the South.

Johnson testified in a similar vein before a Louisiana legislative committee in March 1957.

Banister also testified at the Louisiana hearings. His testimony at Little Rock was much the same. He talked about the history of communism, its goal of world domination, its methods of infiltration, deceit and "smear."

Banister backed up an assertion by Bennett that the Arkansas hearings probably would be "smeared" in an effort to discredit them. Any such "smear" will be the work of the Communists, directly or indirectly, they said.

Banister recalled from his FBI days that Little Rock once had a Communist organization. He said he used to know where the Party hid its printing supplies and literature.

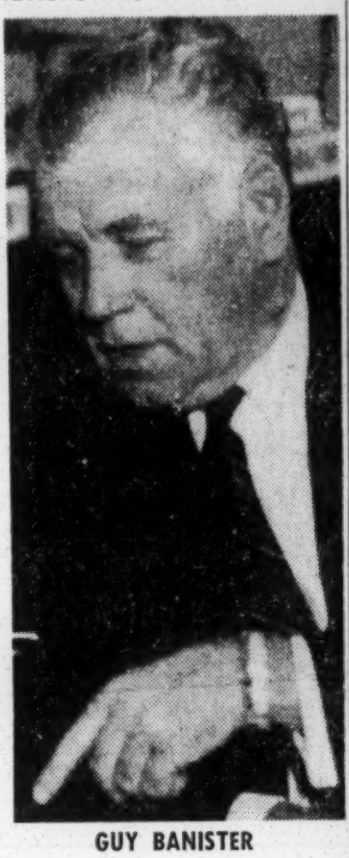
Banister and Johnson said they were convinced that communism was behind racial unrest in Arkansas. As other witnesses had, they linked the names of persons cited as "subversives" with organizations reaching into Arkansas.

Ford Foundation Bulletin

Bennett introduced a bulletin of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic—again pointing out that Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Gazette, was a member of the Fund's Board—showing that the Fund had contributed more than $31,000 directly to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Then he said Ashmore and Mrs. L. C. Bates, state president of the NAACP, were on the Board of the Council. He described the Council as "a hotbed of all those involved" in the integration movement in Arkansas.

Bennett had gone to considerable trouble the first two days to try to tie the Southern Regional Council, affiliated with the



GUY BANISTER

Arkansas Council on Human Relations, to Communist influences.

Bennett said the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, another affiliate of th. Southern Regional Council, had dissolved the day after the end of the Louisiana hearings last year. It had been a target of those hearings, he said.

Called to Council Office

Under questioning by Bennett, Byrd and Ralston told of being called to a meeting of the Board of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations two or three months ago. They said a man identifying himself as Nat Griswold, executive director of the Council, telephoned.

When they arrived at the Council office at 1220 West Capitol Avenue, Griswold said he hadn't called any newsmen, they said. Other newsmen showed up and they made moving pictures and tried to find out what the organization was, they said. Griswold said he would tell them about it later but wouldn't set a date, Byrd said.

Ralston said some white and Negro persons left the building while the newsmen waited.

Bennett said after the hearings that he would subpoena the records of the Council if the Arkansas Supreme Court ruled that he had the right. A case is pending on Bennett's attempt to subpoena the records of the NAACP.

Committee to Meet

The Committee is expected to meet as soon as the testimony of the hearings have been transcribed and summarized. Under the instructions of the Arkansas Legislative Council, it is to prepare a report on the investigation for the 1959 General Assembly.

Communist History—Oren Harris' Version

Ark. Gazette 12/30/58

Congressman Oren Harris, whose own investigative experience has been largely confined to chivvying errant capitalists, unaccountably turned up as an expert witness in the Arkansas Legislative committee hearing on Communism.

Unless our cursory ear deceived us, Mr. Harris achieved the considerable feat of giving a brief (too brief) rundown on the history of the world Communist movement without mentioning the name of Lenin, an omission akin to trying to explain the Christian movement without mentioning Saul of Tarsus.

The chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee said that the present-day Communist movement is based on the Gospel of Karl Marx, which is true only in the sense that modern-day ecumenical Christianity is based on the Old Testament.

Actually, the one apostle-epistoler whose name recurs with reverence in every Communist text everywhere is that of Lenin. Marx himself may be relegated to the status accorded an ikon in the bad old days of the Czars; "Stalinism" may be regarded as a sometime thing which the individual party may be for or against at a particular time or in a particular country; Lenin remains the constant.

And the expanded attempt to communize the world through the agency of the Comintern and its successors did not date from the "advent" of Stalin, as Mr. Harris put it. It was Lenin who thought at the beginning that the world revolution was at hand, who did his utmost to bring it about and founded the Comintern. Although the process of temporarily adapting to the realities of the time had begun even before Lenin's death, it was Stalin who turned the Russian Party inward upon itself. This policy may have paid off at Stalingrad, and on other World War II fronts but along the way Stalin's policy of withdrawal to regroup had also widened the first and greatest schism in this new secular religion. To overlook this schism is to ignore an important chapter in world history, the effects of which are still with us in one way or another.

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The re-emergence of Russian Communism as a full-time proselytizing movement came only when the world was choosing sides for World War II, in the period of the "Popular Fronts," the Spanish Civil War and, coincidentally, in the middle of a world depression. For our purposes here in Arkansas, this may help explain why Commonwealth College appeared to be directionless in the Twenties but came under Communist domination in the mid-Thirties, a fact emphasized by testimony before the state legislative committee at the time.

None of this is to say that the Communists haven't had their eyes on America from the beginning. Marx's strictures were written against the background of a mid-19th Century British industrial society which was only beginning to feel the effects of rudimentary political reform and was still far from any economic reforms. But even Marx had his eyes on America as an emerging factor in world affairs, and purportedly once sought an interview with Lincoln.

By the time of the Russian Revolution, America had arrived as the World's No. 1 industrial power. It is natural that the peddlers of a revolutionary doctrine which originally was tailored to order for a highly industrialized urban society should have looked longingly at America as a potential target.

The Communist goal of eventual world revolution has remained unchanged throughout all the convolutions of Stalinism, Trotskyism, and so on. But the extent of its failure in this corner of the world was pointed up by Congressman Harris's perhaps inadvertent observation before the Arkansas legislative committee that the American people had nothing to fear from Communist subversion so long as they keep their eyes open. We agree.

Ark. Gazette
12/20/58

Faubus Against Any New Probe If Generalized

Governor Faubus said yesterday he questioned the value of further generalized hearings into alleged subversion in the racial unrest in Arkansas.

Mr. Faubus said he felt any further hearings should be more specific. He said this didn't minimize the value of the hearings completed Thursday by the Special Education Committee of the Legislative Council.

"If these hearings create an awareness on the part of the public that there is a Communist movement active in Arkansas, they will have served their purpose," Mr. Faubus said.

Thinks State Is Target

The governor said he was certain the Communists had decided to concentrate on Arkansas to create tension between the races.

"I believe that very strongly," Mr. Faubus said.

"But," he said, "unless such activity can be pinpointed to specific acts and individuals, I don't see the purpose of further hearings."

The governor said that unless a subsequent investigation was based on specific acts, the criticism which usually follows such hearings would damage their value in the public mind.

The governor said he had not studied the testimony heard by the Committee.

"I heard part of what the witness Johnson [Manning Johnson of New York, a Negro ex-Communist] said and I agree with him," Mr. Faubus said. "He said persons who permit themselves to be used by the Communists often are more effective instruments than the Party members themselves."

Has Studied Movement

The governor said he had studied the Communist movement since his days at Commonwealth College near Mena. He has said he spent a short time at the school. The College, closed now, has been called communistic and is listed as subversive by the United States attorney general's office.

The governor said his brief stay at Commonwealth—he again declined to be specific on the

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The governor said his brief stay at Commonwealth—he again declined to be specific on the length of his visit—and his later training as an intelligence officer in the Army made him aware of the dangers of Communism.

"The movement is more dangerous now than it has ever been," Mr. Faubus said.

He attributed this to a change in tactics by the now outlawed Communist Party. He said that instead of concentrating on the masses the Communists were working to indoctrinate political, church and communications leaders.

Probe Leaders Satisfied

Attorney General Bruce Bennett said yesterday it would be up to the Legislative Council's Special Education Committee whether there would be further hearings on subversive activities.

Bennett questioned witnesses in the three days of public hearings before the Committee this week.

Bennett and Representative Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, the Committee chairman, expressed satisfaction with the results of the hearings.

Bennett said public reaction to the hearings had been good and many persons had thanked him for his part in exposing the Red threat. The public proceedings were televised.

The attorney general said it was doubtful, even if there were more hearings, that he would summon any of the persons mentioned in the just-ended hearings to testify. But Van Dalsem said any person who felt his reputation had been damaged by the hearings would be allowed to file a sworn statement for the Committee's consideration.

Griswold to Have Statement

One agency mentioned at the hearing indicated yesterday that it would make some form of rebuttal today.

Nat R. Griswold, executive secretary of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, said some members met yesterday to discuss reaction to testimony alleging that the group held secret, bi-racial meetings and was connected through its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, to subversive organizations.

"I'll have something for the press tomorrow," Griswold said.

President Unable To Find Traitors At Negro College

ARK. GAZETTE
12/20/58

Lawrence A. Davis, president of the all-Negro AM and N College of Pine Bluff, said yesterday he had not been able to find a trace of a person tied to his school Wednesday by a witness in hearings on subversion at the state Capitol.

J. B. Matthews of New York, an associate of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, told the Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council that a Horace Evans or Adams who was currently or formerly on the faculty of AM and N had been a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Fund has been cited as subversive by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Attorney General Bruce Bennett said.

Davis said a search of AM and N records for several years back had failed to turn up a Horace Evans or Adams.

Listeners disagreed on whether Matthews said Evans or Adams. The official transcript of the hearings by the official reporter won't be compiled for several days.

The alleged AM and N faculty member was one of 10 persons at five Arkansas colleges that Matthews listed as a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Ark. Legisl. Invest. Council

original copy taken by F.B.R. 2/4/58

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTANOOGA, TENN., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1958.

MATTHEWS AND THE SRC

The Arkansas Legislative Council, concluding that a Communist plot is substantially responsible for the Little Rock desegregation crisis, has aired some charges so grossly unjust as to recall the McCarthyist nightmare.

There was J. B. Matthews, himself a former Communist-front leader, declaring that the Southern Regional Council had Red sympathizers in its ranks.

Just 20 years ago, Mr. Matthews was accusing Shirley Temple of aiding the Bolsheviks. The former chief counsel of the Dies Committee is primarily remembered, however, for his July 1953 article in *The American Mercury* labeling "at least 7,000 Protestant clergrymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, party line adherents and unwilling dupes." The protest, from President Eisenhower and others, was so strong that Sen. Joe McCarthy, who by then had carried his campaign of vilification directly to the White House, was forced to fire Matthews, whom he had just hired as executive director of his subcommittee.

In the Little Rock hearings, other familiar names in the business of smear were trotted out. The Southern Regional Council was a frequent target, though no one dared go so far as to impugn its motives as a whole.

The SRC, as is well known, is made up of foremost Southern educators, clergymen, business, labor and professional leaders. A discussion and research group, it was organized in 1943, as a result of Negro leaders' efforts to see that the "separate but equal" doctrine in Southern education be made a reality. It grew also out of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen.

Since then it has favored gradual compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, but even so staunchly segregationist a newspaper as the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* recently said: "The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Now the Arkansas Legislative Council, with never a peep about the role of its own Gov. Faubus, concludes on the word of former Communists, who are professional name callers, and others, most of them from out of the region, that little more than a Red plot is the cause of their difficulties.

The Arkansas Press

ARK. GAZETTE 12/21/58

Bennett 'Commie' Hunt Draws Ire of State Editors

The Legislative Council Education Committee's probe into communism took top billing last week in the editorial columns of the state's newspapers.

Editor Dorothy D. Stuck of the **Marked Tree Tribune** wrote:

We stand with every redblooded American who is opposed to the doctrine of Communism and its infiltration in our country. But we prefer to stand apart from the political opportunists who seek to further their own ambition with the irresponsible use of the Communist label to smear anyone and everyone who disagrees with them.

In the past year in our state we have seen the words "Communist" and "left wing" applied to many people who did not deserve the insult. Ministers, teachers and other dedicated individuals have been lambasted and labeled followers of an ideology they decry as vehemently as their persecutors.

The charges hurled so glibly, designed to catch a headline and the fancy of a following horde, are never substantiated by proof or upheld by logic. They can't be because such charges are for a selfish purpose, not an unselfish cause.

We are opposed to the use of Communist as a "dirty word" for the purposes of smear and the attempt to confuse the public with a bigot's misinterpretation of the rights of a dissenter to speak his or her view in a democracy.

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Editor Robert Fisher of the **Crossett News Observer** commented:

After much fanfare and noises that sound like the next political campaign is already under way, Attorney General Bruce Bennett this week opened his long talked about investigation of Communist activity in connection with the Little Rock school crisis.

Terming his red probe as "educational" in nature, Mr. Bennett has thus far failed to come up with any earth-shaking revelations about how the Commies infiltrated the state and brought about the integration mess, and somehow or other we seriously doubt that he ever will.

From their very beginning the Reds have made no secret of their desire to create unrest among the races of this nation as well as the world. Their divide-and-conquer policy is well known, and even if Mr. Bennett finds there was a Communist in it to the writer to say will only keep alive a prejudice feeling.

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Editor David Pryor wrote in the **Ouachita Citizen** at Camden:

Cecil B. DeBennett's investigation-production of alleged subversive activities of pinks and Commies stirring up race trouble in Arkansas has developed into somewhat of a spectacle. * * *

If there are communistic influences instigating racial unrest in Arkansas, then we hope that this Committee will ferret them out and bring them to the public's attention.

It is our opinion, however, to the witness list should be added Governor Faubus, because of his seeming knowledge of communistic influences in the realm of racial strife. At least his accusations of Communistic influences should be proven and not be allowed to remain unattached.

Did Alford Really Win?

There was comment also on the seating of Dr. Dale Alford as representative from the Fifth Congressional District of Arkansas.

Editor Fisher wrote in the **Crossett News Observer:**

Just how tight the bonds are that tie members of a political party together may be fully tested in the next few weeks when the final word is given as to whether Dr. Alford really defeated Congressman Brooks Hays and, if so, whether he will even then be seated as a member of the Democratic Party. * * *

It now appears likely that a full congressional recount of the Hays-Alford vote will be taken and it could prove slightly embarrassing to some high echelon Democrats if the finger was pointed at them for having their hands in the political cookie jar.

The reason for the blushing faces of course would be that Mr. Alford ran as an "independent" and then following his victory claimed he was and had been a Democrat all along.

Even though there appears to be a good many folks on the state scene who will buy this double talk, it does not appear to be salable merchandise in Washington, where this week the good doctor was snubbed when invitations to attend the annual Democratic caucus were sent out.

When that group meets January 6, with Dr. Alford absent, they will no doubt vote as to whether they consider him a true Democrat or not. If they brand him an independent, then the state will pay a high price for their small pleasure in kicking out Mr. Hays. As an independ-

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From their very beginning the Reds have made no secret of their desire to create unrest among the races of this nation as well as the world. Their divide-and-conquer policy is well known, and even if Mr. Bennett finds there was a Communist in the Daisy Bates woodpile, what will it prove other than what the Communists have said all along?

Thus far about the only thing to be brought out in the investigation, which is being sponsored just like a true-to-life TV drama, by a Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, is that Orval Faubus' old alma mater, Commonwealth College, was a hotbed of conspiracy back in the thirties. This is hardly news, seeing as how the legislature already investigated the matter in 1935 and a fellow named Francis Cherry took great pains to tell one and all about the same matter in 1954.

Thus far Mr. Bennett has had little success in directly linking Mr. Faubus with the Communists, but we can't help but wonder if that is not his goal. After all, it was Mr. Faubus who did attend the Communist College, even though for but a brief period, and it was Mr. Faubus who directly challenged the full authority of the United States government, as few men other than Communists have ever done before, and it was Mr. Faubus who closed the Little Rock schools, thus bringing about the present stalemate between state and federal authority.

If Mr. Bennett is successful in tying the Red tag on Mr. Faubus, it could certainly elevate his own political star and at the same time put an end to any future aspirations of our present governor.

Whether or not this is his goal in conducting the present investigation, time will tell; however, it is our hope that in the present frustration about the Supreme Court ruling the Legislative Committee does not turn its probe into a McCarthy-like "witch hunt" and brand any and everyone a Communist who does not see eye to eye with them on the civil rights issue.

To follow such a course will surely accomplish as much for the Communist cause as if they were calling the tune thmselves.

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Walter C. Yeager of the **Sharp County Record** at Cave City said:

The Legislative Council, with little else to do, and headed by Chairman Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, the most publisized legislator in Arkansas, has rekindled the long outdated Communistic inclined defunct Commonwealth College that was said to exist at Mena in about 1935. It might be said in passing that Van Dalsem only recently coaxed the Highway Department into the buying of Toadsuck Ferry on the Arkansas River which separates Perry and Faulkner Counties, and for which the state paid $10,000. It will be recalled that ex-Governor Cherry who made the Commonwealth College a major issue against Governor Faubus led to his defeat for a second term. This investigation is not expected to accomplish a single objective, and if you leave when the final word is given as to whether Dr. Alford really defeated Congressman Brooks Hays and, if so, whether he will even then be seated as a member of the Democratic Party. * * *

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Even though there appears to be a good many folks on the state scene who will buy this double talk, it does not appear to be salable merchandise in Washington, where this week the good doctor was snubbed when invitations to attend the annual Democratic caucus were sent out.

When that group meets January 6, with Dr. Alford absent, they will no doubt vote as to whether they consider him a true Democrat or not. If they brand him an independent, then the state will pay a high price for their small pleasure in kicking out Mr. Hays. As an independent, Mr. Alford will be almost voiceless and might just as well stay at home. He will receive no important committee assignments and his chances for advancement and influence will be nil.

★ ★ ★

Editor Robert L. Newton of the **Warren Eagle Democrat** had this to say about Dr. Alford's election:

It was interesting to note this week end that only one Arkansas lawmaker was willing to risk his political future in order to honor an old friend, Brooks Hays, who leaves the House of Representatives the end of this year.

A group of Hays' friends are having a testimonial dinner for him in Washington, but only one Arkansas lawmaker is on the guest list: the fiercely independent Senator J. W. ("Bill") Fulbright of Fayetteville. [Representative James W. Trimble of Berryville also bought a ticket but could not attend because he was attending an appreciation dinner in his own honor on that date.]

Fulbright has never been accused of not having personal courage ever since he ran and passed Arkansas over SMU in the Hogs' first homecoming game in 1924.

Representative "Took" Gathings of West Memphis has announced that he would not attend the dinner, which isn't at all surprising, but most of the other congressional delegates from Arkansas have just kept their mouths shut.

Frankly, we think they are placing too much emphasis on the segregation-integration angle in the defeat of Congressman Hays by Dr. Dale Alford. Brooks Hays wasn't beaten just because of his stand on the Little Rock school crisis—not by a long shot.

We think people in his District were getting just a little tired of Congressman Hays. He preached to them every Sunday afternoon about happenings in Washington, but they didn't read much about him in the national publications. He was a great Baptist leader, but there are more people in the district who are members of other churches.

And here came Dr. Alford; handsome, attractive, the possesson of a clean record, the father of good children, the husband of a nice lady. And most of all, the owner of "Doctor" in front of his name. Arkansas people trust a man more if he's got "Doctor" in front of his name than if he has "Reverend" or just about anything else. Doctors, to the layman, are something almost superhuman.

Just remember this. Amis Guthridge, the mightiest segregationist of them all, couldn't beat Hays this summer. It took more than the integration problem to beat him this fall. That "more" was Hays' record in other fields, plus the alternative of a "non political" candidate for Central Arkansas voters.

Human Relations Council Strikes Back at Accuser

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations made an answer yesterday to Attorney General Bruce Bennett about the testimony dealing with the Human Relations Council given during last week's hearings on alleged subversion in Arkansas.

In a letter the Council said that its purpose was in accord with that of the Legislative Council sponsor of the hearings, in trying to eliminate the influence of Communists.

It also said that the investigating committee had not asked the Human Relations Council for information before the hearings and that this was to be regretted.

The letter, signed by Nat R. Griswold, executive director, was read to Bennett by a reporter but it did not satisfy his curiosity about the organization.

Bennett introduced testimony in the Legislative Council hearings to show that the organization had had an income of about $31,000 since its formation in 1955, that one radio reporter and one television cameraman had never heard of it until two or three months ago and that it is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

The radio and television men testified that, responding to what turned out to be fake messages by telephone, they were not admitted to a Human Relations Council Executive Committee meeting at the office at 1220 West Capitol Avenue a few weeks ago.

Bennett admitted yesterday that he too was on the scene in front of the Human Relations Council office that afternoon, but said he just happened to be driving by and saw the radio-television men. He stopped and talked with them and watched the persons leaving the house.

Griswold was asked yesterday if Bennett has asked him about the Human Relations Council's finances. He said Bennett had not. Later, Bennett said he had asked Griswold for a financial report before the hearings but that Griswold had not supplied one.

The text of the letter to Bennett follows:

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations by its nature is in accord with the declared general purpose of the Arkansas Legislative Council in its investigation: the elimination of the influence of Communists in race relations in Arkansas today. Communist logic and strategy can result only in discord and destruction in the South. Since this is the sincere position of the Council on Human Relations we regret that your committee did not seek and secure additional available facts about our organization from our office at 1220 West Capitol.

You have put into the record a list of our Board members without identifying them. These forty-one Arkansas citizens from both Southern racial groups represent a wide range of professions, occupations and churches. They hold quarterly meetings. The Executive Committee meets monthly. These two groups are autonomous and determine policy and program for guidance of the staff. Members of the staff are all native Arkansans, known to many persons who could advise your Committee about them and their activities. At present they are Nat R. Griswold, executive director; John W. Walker, associate director; Mrs. Velma Powell, secretary. Officers of our Board are Mrs. Thelma Engler, president, Dr. T. C. Cothran and Mrs. Floy Sparling, vice presidents; Mrs. Adell Woods, secretary; and Reverend Charles C. Walker, treasurer.

As is generally known, we have benefited from grants from the Fund for the Republic, channelled through the Southern Regional Council. This distinction is shared by us with religious groups associated with all major faiths, with educational, professional, and patriotic organizations, as the Fund's Report filed by you shows.

Our Constitution, revised, filed in 1957 in the Pulaski Circuit Court, makes clear our relation to other similar groups: "The Council, an independent and autonomous organization, shall co-operate with other intergroup agencies in the South, especially with the Southern Regional Council." This has actually been the working relations from the beginning between ACHR and SRC.

The general purpose of the organization stated in the Constitution makes clear that the organization seeks to reduce tension between human groups: "to attain through programs of research and action the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state; to reduce intergroup tensions and their causes * * *"

The Council has never deviated from its purpose of helping Arkansas communities to get through these years of transition with a minimum of disturbance and harm. Education and democratic interaction of individuals are its methods. The Council would foster a climate of opinion in which people of different views may work amicably toward a better life for all. The Council advocates the workshop and conference table before tensions tighten between the races. It believes the opportunities guaranteed in our Constitutions (state and federal) can be actualized for all citizens in local communities through the working together of the majority and minority leaders in mutual respect and good faith.

The staff and the state office of the Council seek to be a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research suggestive to local communities and groups.

The Council's printed and mimeographed materials since its beginning in 1955 have made clear these purposes and methods. As an educational group the Council is not a news-maker. But it certainly is not a secret group. The Council opened its office in May 1955 with full stories and pictures in the papers. In the spring of 1956 newsmen were invited to a Koffee Klatch on the occasion of the releasing of our pamphlet, "Simple Steps." In May 1956 at a symposium of six ministers news media were invited and TV cameras took pictures of audience and literature table. Newsmen have never been excluded from the annual meetings of the Arkansas Council. Newsmen have been present at numerous meetings under Council auspices.

The position of the Council on Human Relations is in accord with the declared faith of every major religious body. This is not a new or peculiar view. There is abroad in the world a Communist dynamics. It is powerful. Its spirit is that of arrogance and distrust. It is dangerous because it divides men and ruthlessly crushes persons. Opposed to it is a Christian dynamics. It is more powerful. It is beneficial because it unites men and gently exalts persons. To this latter we of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations are devoted. We pray we may have its spirit of humility and love sufficient to be worthy of its past.

Sincerely,
Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director.
Approved by the
Executive Committee

ARK. GAZETTE 12/21/58

December 24, 1958

Mr. Martin S. Ochs, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ochs:

I can't tell you how grateful we are for the fine editorial in last Saturday's Chattanooga Times. Being a target for people like Matthews and his employers is a depressing business. We tell ourselves that reasonable people aren't going to be taken in -- at least not for long -- by this kind of rabid nonsense.

Still, cheering oneself up is a hard job. It can't compare with the morale-building effect of an editorial in the sound, well reasoned vein of your newspaper. We appreciate it all the more, knowing that these battles aren't fought with impunity even by as sturdy a champion of decency as the Chattanooga Times.

All the best to you and John Popham for the holiday season and the coming year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Chattanooga Times

December 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your letter.

Admittedly touchy as the issue is, I really was quite depressed myself that so few Southern newspapers spoke out on the Arkansas Legislative Council's hark-back to the McCarthy madness.

At any rate, best wishes to you and the Council. Johnny Popham has often talked of you, and I hope I shall be seeing you sometime.

Sincerely,

Martin S. Ochs

Martin S. Ochs
Editor

MSO:emh

E D I T O R I A L

The Nashville Tennessean
February 8, 1959

IT'S JUST POSSIBLE THEY AREN'T INFALLIBLE

"Where is the man," asked John Locke in his classic Essay on Human Understanding, "that has incontestable evidence of the truth of all he condemns; or can say that he has examined to the bottom all his own, or other men's opinions?"

Well, events of the last week suggest that there is one man in Tennessee and another in Arkansas who, in their own estimation at least, feel qualified to step up and answer, "Right here." And there is more of a connection between the two men than might meet the eye of a casual observer.

The Tennessean is Mr. Harry Lee Senter, a state representative from Bristol. The Arkansan is Atty. Gen. Bruce Bennett. On a single day last week, these two asserted their own infallibility by urging the suppression of ideas and opinions that differ from their own.

Ostensibly, Mr. Senter was speaking in behalf of his resolution to investigate the Highlander Folk School. But he took the occasion to make a passionate denuciation of "the left-wingers, the Communists, the do-gooders and the one-worlders" -- everybody, in other words, who doesn't necessarily believe that Harry Lee Senter is always right.

And he made it plain that it was his desire to silence these dissidents by harassing them with the kind of investigation he was even then proposing. "Our central purpose," he explained, "is to root out that which is evil."

Mr. Bennett was even more direct, for he submitted to the Arkansas legislature a bill that would make it unlawful for anyone to encourage <u>nonconformance with the established traditions, customs and usage of the state</u>.

This is, of course, a segregation measure. But it is one of the most extreme proposals that has yet been laid before any Southern legislature and could, if enacted, go far beyond the segregation question to strike at the very fundamentals of a free and democratic society.

It is, in essence, a thought control bill of the most vicious kind. And it assumes special significance for Tennessee because its sponsor, Mr. Bennett, is the very person who encouraged Tennessee to undertake the investigation that Mr. Senter urged to "root out that which is evil."

It is beside the point that Highlander Folk School feeds on the kind of publicity Mr. Senter, at Mr. Bennett's prodding, is giving it.

The point is that the school has a right to its opinions and ideas, however unpopular they may be. So do all other Americans, and any attempt to pour everybody into one mold and enforce a single line of thought is thoroughly alien to the democratic concept.

Strange though it may seem to the Messrs. Senter and Bennett, it is possible that they do not have a monopoly on truth. That being the case, we would call to their attention--and to the attention of any others infatuated with their own infallibility--an observation that is no less timely now than it was when John Stuart Mill made it more than a century ago:

"The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging truth for error; if wrong, they lose what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error."

Ric Bloy (Ark) Commercial 1/5/64

LWD

Council Director: Democracy, Segregation Cannot Coexist

By PATRICK J. OWENS
Of The Commercial Staff

LITTLE ROCK—The Negro has rejected inequality and has thus made it impossible for segregation and democracy to survive side by side, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council said yesterday.

Leslie W. Dunbar of Atlanta spoke at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations at Hotel Grady Manning.

He said Negro acquiescence to segregation had made possible the existence of white supremacy under "slipshod" observance of the federal Constitution. The Negro now demands equality, and America must grant it or give up its traditions of democratic government, Dr. Dunbar contended.

In Dunbar's view, the nation risks destruction of the Constitution in three ways:

1—Through the suppression of free speech and other liberties, as Dunbar contended is happening in Mississippi.

2—Through the failure of Congress to respond to the "major domestic challenge of the times"—the demand of Negroes for equality. Dunbar said it had been obvious for 10 years that civil rights was the major domestic problem but that Congress had done little about it.

3—Through a failure, over the next few years, to undertake seriously the integration of the Negro into American life.

Unless the Negro is fully integrated into American society, Dunbar contended, "we shall be creating a minority, a strong minority, who will not look to America for their welfare."

He said the United States was "terribly lucky" that Negroes asked to be integrated. "They're not asking to get out and they're not asking to get over the white people," he said. "They're making revolutionary demands for a harmonious solution."

Dunbar said he was encouraged that some Southern state governments, after 300 years of white supremacy, were moving toward neutrality on the issue of racial equality. He listed Kenturcky, North Carolina, Tennessee and "even Georgia" as examples of this trend.

The South's major problem always has been the race issue, Dunbar said, but "we could not work out our most important problem ... through the normal channels of politics .... We forced the biggest problem into the courts ... the streets ... economic boycotts."

"The time has come, if we are interested in our constitutional democracy ... our peace ... to go back into politics with that problem," he asserted. He added:

"I think the time is past in most of the South when liberals, whether white or Negro, need to be apologetic about their aims, their principles, their goals ....

"White Southerners today can choose only between integration on the one hand and madness on the other. For Negro Southerners, the choice is the same ....

"Our generation of Americans has the awful responsibility of saving the dream of free men governing themselves."

Dunbar called for Southern liberals on the race issue to become politically active. He said Arkansans could work toward a good voter registration law to replace the poll tax.

He noted Governor Faubus's ideological differences with his father and his sister. "I'm pleased to be here in the home of Governor Faubus, his father and his sister," Dunbar said.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations gave a silver tray to Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright at the luncheon and held an open house for him last night. Cartwright, a race relations leader long active in the council, is leaving his Little Rock pulpit this week for a church at Youngstown, Ohio.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

FILE COPY

C O P Y

FOR AUTOMATIC RELEASE AT 2:20 P.M., EST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1955

THE UGLY TRUTH ABOUT THE NAACP
An Address by
ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK
Before The
55th ANNUAL CONVENTION
Of The
PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA
HELD IN ATLANTA
* * * * *

PRESIDENT REDDING, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA:

It is always a source of genuine personal satisfaction for me to have the opportunity of appearing before this group. Of all the organizations to which I have the privilege of belonging, none has accorded me a greater degree of support and cooperation than the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

This rapport, I feel, is due principally to the fact that we share common professional objectives and personal convictions. As servants of our fellow citizens, we are made acutely aware of the grave responsibility inherent in protecting the rights and liberties of the people through vigorous and impartial enforcement of the law. As individuals charged with this solemn duty, we are able to see more clearly than others the threat to those rights and liberties posed by those who would substitute government by men for government by law.

It is because of your demonstrated discernment in this regard that I have chosen this occasion as the proper forum for revealing, for the first time, the authenticated details of the most ominous of these threats to arise during our lifetime. I refer to the subversive designs behind the current crusade of the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation.

It shall be my purpose in this speech to totally disrobe the NAACP and to present this sinister and subtle organization in all its nakedness.

The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but it is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative effort by my Staff and the Staffs of Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

I am prepared to prove everything I shall say. And I wish to state for the benefit of those who undoubtedly will attempt to smear me and discredit my findings and conclusions that I would welcome the opportunity to present the evidence I have in hand for determination before a trial jury in a court of law.

At the outset I wish to make it clear that the issue involved is one not of race but rather of subversion. None of the organizations which have exploited the race issue in this country has ever had the welfare of the negro people at heart. They have seized upon this issue as a convenient front for their more nefarious activities and as one with which they could dupe naive do-gooders, fuzzy-minded intellectuals, misguided clergymen and radical journalists to be their pawns.

The record shows that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was neither founded nor is presently directed by colored people. It was originated in New York City 46 years ago as the brain child of a Southern scallawag journalist and Russian-trained revolutionary named William E. Walling. Its principal personalities during its early years were descendants of the rabble-rousing abolitionists who fomented the strife which precipitated the War Between the States, a conflict which could have been avoided but for the activities of those abolitionists.

Of its five founders only one was a negro -- a Communist-sympathizing lawyer named W. E. B. DuBois whose record of participation in Communist, Communist-front and subversive organizations and activities taken from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives requires eight pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy to outline. Among his more recent activities of this nature was the donation of his services in the preparation of legal briefs defending since-executed Communist spies Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg and the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1953 he was awarded the International Peace Prize by the "Communist front" World Peace Council in recognition of his participation in the sponsorship of the series of Communist-dominated World Peace Conferences held since 1949 in an attempt to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

DuBois was Director of Research for the NAACP until 1949 and now is referred to by its officers and members as the organization's "Honorary Chairman."

In addition to Walling and DuBois, the other NAACP founders -- all white -- were Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Socialist Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; and Miss Mary Ovington White, also a descendant of an old-time abolitionist. The first president of the Association was a white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who was identified in his youth with the abolitionist movement and who served as secretary to the original race-baiter, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.

From that day to this, South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. Its present president, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York City, is a white man as are a large number of the current officers, directors and principal contributors.

The files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following present officials of the NAACP -- the President, the Chairman of the Board, the "Honorary Chairman," 11 of the 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National Legal Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel, the Assistant Special Counsel, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries.

The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud. Time being a factor, it is impossible to present all of this material; but, to give you an idea of the backgrounds and ideologies of the policy-making officials and personnel of the NAACP, I shall cite chapter and verse on the activities of this organization's principal personalities.

(The designations which I shall use in describing the organizations and activities with which these individuals have been identified are those applied to them by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Special House Un-American Activities Committee.)

President Spingarn was a participant in the Conference on Africa held April 14, 1944, in New York City by the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs. In 1945 and 1946 he signed statements favoring the granting of Army commissions to Communists and opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes sponsored by the "viciously subversive" National Federation of Constitutional Liberties. He is listed as a sponsor of the "Communist front" Public Use of Arts Committee.

Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias was a member of the Executive Board and Co-Chairman of the New York Committee of the "Communist front" Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was charged in 1947 with "serving the Soviet Union and its subserveient Communist Party in the United States." He belonged, prior to 1949, to the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs and was a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Protestant Digest" -- a magazine which "has faithfully propagated the Communist Party Line." He sponsored the "subversive and Communist" People's Institute of Applied Religion and the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief and was a member of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States." He has sponsored confer nces and activities of the "viciously subversive" National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and the "Communist front" New York State Conference on National Unity and the "subversive and Communist" American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Committee to Win the Peace.

Roy Wilkins -- successor to the late Walter White as NAACP Executive Secretary -- was quoted on June 17, 1936, by the New York Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party in this country, as attaching "greatest significance" to the 1936 National Communist Party Convention and stating that the Communist Party's racial program had had "a very wholesome effect" in the United States. He was further quoted by the Daily Worker on July 15, 1949, as boasting that he had voted in New York City elections that year for since-convicted Negro Communist Benjamin J. Davis. He is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." He was a sponsor of the "subversive and Communist" Conference on Pan American Democracy and of a joint meeting in 1937 of the "subversive and Communist" American League Against War and Fascism and the "Communist front" American Friends of the Chinese People. He has spoken for the "subversive and Communist" International Labor Defense and the Workers' Alliance, the former of which is regarded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in this country.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall -- the negro lawyer responsible for the NAACP's court attacks upon segregation in the public schools -- as late as 1950 was a member of the Executive Board of the "Communist front" National Lawyers Guild which has been described as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." Since its inception, the Guild "has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." And, as a member and policy-making official of this Communist Front, Marshall has served as Associate Editor of the "Lawyers Guild Review" and has criticized this nation's loyalty program. He also is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." And he was among a group of attorneys who, in 1947, protested the issuance of contempt citations against pro-Communist Hollywood writers who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, Clarence M. Mitchell, protested against being asked whether he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party at a hearing on proposed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party held before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 3, 1950. Although he stoutly denied being a Communist, he was quoted as saying that such a question was "unfair" because it "immediately precludes from appearing before this Committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind." The transcript further quoted him as saying that: "Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party. They may want to come here and object to this bill, but, I suppose, if they had to answer that question, they very likely would not come."

Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon, the Association's propaganda chief, is listed as a member of the "subversive and Communist" Washington Book Shop and the likewise-designated National Negro Congress which is "the Communist-front movement in the United States among negroes." His book, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," was praised by the Daily Worker and he was listed in 1949 as a nominee to be commentator for the "subversive and Communist" Voice of Freedom Committee.

Of the NAACP's 28 Vice Presidents, the following 11 have records of Un-American activities:

John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Philip Randolph, 20 citations the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, seven citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, two citations each; and Willard S. Townsend, T. G. Nutter and Grace B. Fenderson, one citation each.

Of the 47 members comprising the Association's Board of Directors, the following 28 have records of the Un-American activities:

Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow and Chairman Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, nine citations; Hubert T. Delaney, eight citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's morehouse College, six citations; Robert G. Weaver, five citations; Buell G. Gallagher, four citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl G. Harrison, James J. McClendon Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers and W. Montague Cobb, three citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins , Z. Alexander Looby, Harry J. Greene and Alfred Baker Lewis, two citations each; and H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A Maceo Smith, James Hinton and Theodore M. Berry, one citation each.

Two other Vice Presidents and three other Directors are well-known apologists for left-wing causes. The two Vice Presidents are Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Industry. The three Directors are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, CIO President Walter Reuther and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York.

Other officers of the NAACP with Un-American activity records are:

Lloyd Garrison, chairman, National Legal Committee, five citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director Gloster B. Current, three citations each; Southeast Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast Regional Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones and Assistant Special Counsel Robert L. Carter, two citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, one citation.

But of all the NAACP officials and policy-makers listed in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, none has a record as notorious as that of W. E. B. DuBois to whom I have previously referred as one of the founders and present "Honorary Chairman" of the Association. No less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front

and subversive activity are entered against his name -- the latest of which was the statement he issued upon the death of Joseph Stalin reading: "Let all negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin."

Yet this same W. E. B. DuBois was one of the "modern scientific authorities" whose writings were accepted by the United States Supreme Court as the basis for its decision of May 17, 1954, prohibiting segregation in the public schools. DuBois contributed to 82 different portions of the book, "An American Dilemma," which was cited in its entirety by the Supreme Court as an authority for its ruling.

And, speaking of that decision, let me emphasize in passing that 15 other contributors to "An American Dilemma" also have lengthy records of pro-Communist activity in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee. The same thing is true of two of the six individual authorities cited by the High Court -- Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier -- who between them have been members of or identified with 28 organizations declared to be Communist, Communist fronts or Communist dominated.

Another of the six individual authorities cited by the Supreme Court -- K. B. Clark -- was, at the time of the arguments before the Court, on the payroll of the NAACP as a so-called "social-science expert."

These records of individual officials and members of the NAACP are not the only source of proof of the subversive influences on and in that organization.

Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that "the Party had penetrated the NAACP."

Official records show that the NAACP has consistently affiliated itself with Communist and left-wing movements.

It was a member of the American Youth for a Free World which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the California Un-American Activities Committee as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the AYFW as "a Communist clearing house."

In 1945, the NAACP sent its Branch Department Director, Gloster Current to London as an official delegate representing the Association at the founding of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. This Federation was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 as "part of the Communist International "solar system."

A report made at a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States on July 16, 1946, showed that the NAACP was one of a group of left-wing organizations invited by the National Committee of the Communist Party to a meeting held in Chicago to form a "third party." That report, as detailed on pages 150-51 of the 1947 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, lists the NAACP as an active participant in the conference at which the Progressive Citizens of America was formed.

And earlier this month, according to the United Press, the NAACP picketed a hearing on Communist propaganda conducted in Chicago by Senator Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

A pamphlet outlining the Program of the Communist Party of the United States, published in September 1954 by New Century Publishers of New York City, made specific reference on Page 22 to a link between the Communist Party and the NAACP. It stated:

"We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight...for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Former Negro Communist Foster Williams, Jr., testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee about this matter on June 17, 1954, in Seattle, Wash. He said:

"The Communist Party very sneakily manipulates the negro people for their own purposes..The NAACP has had this trouble."

The racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May 26, 1928, issue of the Daily Worker, calls for :

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of negroes.

"Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

"Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children from attending general public schools or universities.

"Full and equal admittance of negroes to all waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theaters."

Those are the identical demands being made today, 27 years later, by the NAACP.

On the basis of the evidence now in hand -- a minute portion of which I have related to you this afternoon -- no other conclusion can be drawn but that the NAACP is being used as a front and tool by subversive elements in this country. Either knowingly or unwittingly, it has allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states.

Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the South and is disrupting relations between these races which heretofore have been -- and at present are -- harmonious and friendly in every respect. These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism.

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene -- the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Education Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names, reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.

Investigations currently are being made of all three organizations -- the results of which will greatly embarass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

The activities of the NAACP and its local fronts pose a serious threat to the peace, tranquility, government and way of life of our State. And for that reason it is my intention to present the evidence which already has been, and currently is being, compiled about the subversive nature of these activities to the 1956 session of the General Assembly of Georgia convening next January for appropriate action by the elected representatives of the people of this State.

In the meantime I pledge the full resources of my Office to the enforcement of all existing State laws and constitutional provisions relating to subversive activities and our traditional pattern of race relations. And, toward that end, I solicit -- and know I can count on -- the full support and cooperation of you, the peace officers of Georgia.

I thank you.

# # #

TRUE COPY
11/2/55

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Defense Material

October 20, 1955

Dear Board Member:

October 19th the Attorney General of Georgia, one Eugene Cook, made a speech to the Georgia Peace Officers Association. It was mainly a misinformed blast at the NAACP. In addition, it had in it the paragraphs attached. These were answered by press releases, as also attached.

As the Board meets November 9th, we thought this material should be in your hands ahead of time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - excerpts from Attorney General Cook's speech
press releases from:
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
The Southern Regional Council

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Excerpts from Attorney General Cook's
Speech before the Georgia Peace
Officers Association, October 19, 1955

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
63 AUBURN AVENUE

For the Attorney General to label the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation a "front" organization is not only ridiculous, but it is a libel on those Georgia leaders he labels as "dupes" and on Georgia officials as well.

True, the Georgia Committee is composed of "some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders." And it is these same leaders who make up the board of directors and the executive committee of the group. It is these same leaders who plan and direct the policy and program of the Georgia Committee and are sincerely trying to help solve a difficult Southern problem.

The Georgia Committee has a history dating back to 1919. If, as the Attorney General claims, an investigation is being made of the Georgia Committee, why should it come at this time? The answer is obvious when one stops to consider the fact that there are some irresponsible people today who claim the Supreme Court of the United States is under the influence of Communists. Who could better claim the label of subversive -- those who seek to uphold the supreme law of the land or those who seek to circumvent it? The Attorney General is seeking to delay the solution and impugning the motives of those who seek to help work out a solution.

On a monument to the British soldiers who died on King's Mountain, S. C., is this inscription, "They came 3000 miles to keep the past on the throne." There are still those who fight to keep the past on the throne.

The Georgia Committee will welcome any investigation by <u>responsible</u> people. It has nothing to hide.

Guy H. Wells
Executive Director

Any charges that the Southern Regional Council has Communist connections or is influenced by Communist ideas are poppycock. The Southern Regional Council is made up of reasonable, tolerant, and forward-looking citizens who wish to see the states in the South do a sober, responsible job of accomodating themselves to the changes in the world around us. As to investigations, they are perfectly welcome. We have nothing to hide. All that will result will be red faces for those who set on the investigators.

The Southern Regional Council is made up of some eighty people, who are members of its Board of Directors. Some of them are white and some are Negro. All of them are distinguished for their active and thoughtful careers within the South. What a tragedy for a state attorney general, sworn to uphold the law, to attack one of the few efforts which proceeds within the South to deal truthfully and in mutual respect with the problems which the region confronts! Watch the birdie. Who is proposing conduct subversive of the Constitution and courts of our land?

IN ANSWER TO ATTORNEY EUGENE COOK'S SPEECH OF OCTOBER 19.1955 .
FOR THE GEORGIA PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE

FOR AUTOMATIC RELEASE AT 2:20 P.M., EST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1955

THE UGLY TRUTH ABOUT THE NAACP

An Address By

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK

Before The

55th ANNUAL CONVENTION

Of The

PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA

HELD IN ATLANTA

FILE COPY

OCT 19 1955

* * * * *

PRESIDENT REDDING, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA:

It is always a source of genuine personal satisfaction for me to have the opportunity of appearing before this group. Of all the organizations to which I have the privilege of belonging, none has accorded me a greater degree of support and cooperation than the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

This rapport, I feel, is due principally to the fact that we share common professional objectives and personal convictions. As servants of our fellow citizens, we are made acutely aware of the grave responsibility inherent in protecting the rights and liberties of the people through vigorous and impartial enforcement of the law. As individuals charged with this solemn duty, we are able to see more clearly than others the threat to those rights and liberties posed by those who would substitute government by men for government by law.

It is because of your demonstrated discernment in this regard that I have chosen this occasion as the proper forum for revealing, for the first time, the authenticated details of the most ominous of these threats to arise during our lifetime. I refer to the subversive designs behind the current crusade of the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation.

It shall be my purpose in this speech to totally disrobe the NAACP and to present this sinister and subtle organization in all its nakedness.

The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but it is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative effort by my Staff and the Staffs of Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

I am prepared to prove everything I shall say. And I wish to state for the benefit of those who undoubtedly will attempt to smear me and discredit my findings and conclusions that I would welcome the opportunity to present the evidence I have in hand for determination before a trial jury in a court of law.

At the outset I wish to make it clear that the issue involved is one not of race but rather of subversion. None of the organizations which have exploited the race issue in this country has ever had the welfare of the negro people at heart. They have seized upon this issue as a convenient front for their more nefarious activities and as one with which they could dupe naive do-gooders, fuzzy-minded intellectuals, misguided clergymen and radical journalists to be their pawns.

The record shows that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was neither founded nor is presently directed by colored people. It was originated in New York City 46 years ago as

the brain child of a Southern scallawag journalist and Russian-trained revolutionary named William E. Walling. Its principal personalities during its early years were descendants of the rabble-rousing abolitionists who fomented the strife which precipitated the War Between the States, a conflict which could have been avoided but for the activities of those abolitionists.

Of its five founders only one was a negro -- a Communist-sympathizing lawyer named W. E. B. DuBois whose record of participation in Communist, Communist-front and subversive organizations and activities taken from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives requires eight pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy to outline. Among his more recent activities of this nature was the donation of his services in the preparation of legal briefs defending since-executed Communist spies Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg and the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1953 he was awarded the International Peace Prize by the "Communist front" World Peace Council in recognition of his participation in the sponsorship of the series of Communist-dominated World Peace Conferences held since 1949 in an attempt to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

DuBois was Director of Research for the NAACP until 1949 and now is referred to by its officers and members as the organization's "Honorary Chairman."

In addition to Walling and DuBois, the other NAACP founders -- all white -- were Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Socialist Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; and Miss Mary Ovington White, also a descendant of an old-time abolitionist. The first president of the Association was a white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who was identified in his youth with the abolitionist movement and who served as secretary to the original race-baiter, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.

From that day to this, South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. Its present president, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York City, is a white man as are a large number of the current officers, directors and principal contributors.

The files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following present officials of the NAACP -- the President, the Chairman of the Board, the "Honorary Chairman," 11 of 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National Legal Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel, the Assistant Special Counsel, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries.

The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud. Time being a factor, it is impossible to present all of this material; but, to give you an idea of the backgrounds and ideologies of the policy-making officials and personnel of the NAACP, I shall cite chapter and verse on the activities of this organization's principal personalities.

(The designations which I shall use in describing the organizations and activities with which these individuals have been identified are those applied to them by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Special House Un-American Activities Committee.)

President Spingarn was a participant in the Conference on Africa held April 14, 1944, in New York City by the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs. In 1945 and 1946 he signed statements favoring the granting of Army commissions to Communists and opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes sponsored by the "viciously subversive" National Federation of Constitutional Liberties. He is listed as a sponsor of the "Communist front" Public Use of Arts Committee.

Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias was a member of the Executive Board and Co-Chairman of the New York Committee of the "Communist front" Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was charged in 1947 with "serving the Soviet Union and its subserveient Communist Party in the United States." He belonged, prior to 1949, to the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs and was a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Protestant Digest" --a magazine which "has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line." He sponsored the "subversive and Communist" People's Institute of Applied Religion and the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief and was a member of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States." He has sponsored conferences and activities of the "viciously subversive" National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the "Communist front" New York State Conference on National Unity and the "subversive and Communist" American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Committee to Win the Peace.

Roy Wilkins -- successor to the late Walter White as NAACP Executive Secretary -- was quoted on June 17, 1936, by the New York Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party in this country, as attaching "greatest significance" to the 1936 National Communist Party Convention and stating that the Communist Party's racial program had had "a very wholesome effect" in the United States. He was further quoted by the Daily Worker on July 15, 1949, as boasting that he had voted in New York City elections that year for since-convicted Negro Communist Benjamin J. Davis. He is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." He was a sponsor of the "subversive and Communist" Conference on Pan American Democracy, and of a joint meeting in 1937 of the "subversive and Communist" American League Against War and Fascism and the "Communist front" American Friends of the Chinese People. He has spoken for the "subversive and Communist" International Labor Defense and the Workers' Alliance, the former of which is regarded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in this country.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall -- the negro lawyer responsible for the NAACP's court attacks upon segregation in the public schools-- as late as 1950 was a member of the Executive Board of the "Communist front" National Lawyers Guild which has been described as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." Since its inception, the Guild "has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." And, as a member and policy-making official of this Communist Front, Marshall has served as Associate Editor of the "Lawyers Guild Review" and has criticized this nation's loyalty program. He also is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." And he was among a group of attorneys who, in 1947, protested the issuance of contempt citations against pro-Communist Hollywood writers who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, Clarence M. Mitchell, protested against being asked whether he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party at a hearing on proposed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party held before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 3, 1950. Although he stoutly denied being a Communist, he was quoted as saying that such a question was "unfair" because it "immediately precludes from appearing before this Committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind." The transcript further quoted him as saying that: "Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party. They may want to come here and object to this bill, but, I suppose, if they had to answer that question, they very likely would not come."

Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon, the Association's propaganda chief, is listed as a member of the "subversive and Communist" Washington Book Shop and the likewise-designated National Negro Congress which is "the Communist-front movement in the United States among negroes." His book, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," was praised by the Daily Worker and he was listed in 1949 as a nominee to be commentator for the "subversive and Communist" Voice of Freedom Committee.

Of the NAACP's 28 Vice Presidents, the following 11 have records of Un-American activities:

John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Philip Randolph, 20 citations the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, seven citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, two citations each; and Willard S. Townsend, T. G. Nutter and Grace B. Henderson, one citation each.

Of the 47 members comprising the Association's Board of Directors, the following 28 have records of the Un-American activities:

Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow and Chairman Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, nine citations; Hubert T. Delaney, eight citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's morehouse College, six citations; Robert G. Weaver, five citations; Buell G. Gallagher, four citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl G. Harrison, James J. McClendon, Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers and W. Montague Cobb, three citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins, Z. Alexander Looby, Harry J. Greene and Alfred Baker Lewis, two citations each; and H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A. Maceo Smith, James Hinton and Theodore M. Berry, one citation each.

Two other Vice Presidents and three other Directors are well-known apologists for left-wing causes. The two Vice Presidents are Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Industry. The three Directors are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, CIO President Walter Reuther and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York.

Other officers of the NAACP with Un-American activity records are:

Lloyd Garrison, chairman, National Legal Committee, five citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director Gloster B. Current, three citations each; Southeast Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast Regional Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones and Assistant Special Counsel Robert L. Carter, two citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, one citation.

But of all the NAACP officials and policy-makers listed in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, none has a record as notorious as that of W. E. B. DuBois to whom I have previously referred as one of the founders and present "Honorary Chairman" of the Association. No less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front and subversive activity are entered against his name -- the latest of which was the statement he issued upon the death of Joseph Stalin reading: "Let all negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin."

Yet this same W. E. B. DuBois was one of the "modern scientific authorities" whose writings were accepted by the United States Supreme Court as the basis for its decision of May 17, 1954, prohibiting segregation in the public schools. DuBois contributed to 82 different portions of the book, "An American Dilemma," which was cited in its entirety by the Supreme Court as an authority for its ruling.

And, speaking of that decision, let me emphasize in passing that 15 other contributors to "An American Dilemma" also have lengthy records of pro-Communist activity in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee. The same thing is true of two of the six individual authorities cited by the High Court -- Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier -- who between them have been members of or identified with 28 organizations declared to be Communist, Communist fronts or Communist dominated.

Another of the six individual authorities cited by the Supreme Court -- K. B. Clark -- was, at the time of the arguments before the Court, on the payroll of the NAACP as a so-called "social-science expert."

These records of individual officials and members of the NAACP are not the only source of proof of the subversive influences on and in that organization.

Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that "the Party had penetrated the NAACP."

Official records show that the NAACP has consistently affiliated itself with Communist and left-wing movements.

It was a member of the American Youth for a Free World which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the California Un-American Activities Committee as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the AYFW as "a Communist clearing house."

In 1945, the NAACP sent its Branch Department Director, Gloster Current, to London as an official delegate representing the Association at the founding of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. This Federation was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 as "part of the Communist International solar system."

A report made at a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States on July 16, 1946, showed that the NAACP was one of a group of left-wing organizations invited by the National Committee of the Communist Party to a meeting held in Chicago to form a "third party." That report, as detailed on pages 150-51 of the 1947 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, lists the NAACP as an active participant in the conference at which the Progressive Citizens of America was formed.

And earlier this month, according to the United Press, the NAACP picketed a hearing on Communist propaganda conducted in Chicago by Senator Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

A pamphlet outlining the Program of the Communist Party of the United States, published in September 1954 by New Century Publishers of New York City, made specific reference on Page 22 to a link between the Communist Party and the NAACP. It stated:

"We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight...for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Former Negro Communist Foster Williams, Jr., testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee about this matter on June 17, 1954, in Seattle, Wash. He said:

"The Communist Party very sneakily manipulates the negro people for their own purposes..The NAACP has had this trouble."

The racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May 26, 1928, issue of the Daily Worker, calls for:

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of negroes.

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The activities of the NAACP and its local fronts pose a serious threat to the peace, tranquillity, government and way of life of our State. And for that reason it is my intention to present the evidence which already has been, and currently is being, compiled about the subversive nature of these activities to the 1956 session of the General Assembly of Georgia convening next January for appropriate action by the elected representatives of the people of this State.

In the meantime I pledge the full resources of my Office to the enforcement of all existing State laws and constitutional provisions relating to subversive activities and our traditional pattern of race relations. And, toward that end, I solicit -- and know I can count on -- the full support and cooperation of you, the peace officers of Georgia.

I thank you.

# # #

COPY

To Dr. Geo Mitchell SRC

File under Cook Controversy

Office of the President
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 21, 1955

Attorney General Eugene Cook
State of Georgia
Department of Law
Atlanta, Georgia

OCT 24 1955

My dear Mr. Cook:

Thank you for mailing me a copy of the speech you made on October 19 to the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

You will perhaps realize that I do not agree with the argument presented in this speech. I am positive that any impartial investigation will reveal that neither the NAACP nor the Southern Regional Council is communist-inspired or communist-controlled. The same can be said about the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

I am very active in the Southern Regional Council and in the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Council can trace its origin back to 1919 when Negro and white men and women of courage and of good will decided that they should come together to form an organization whose main purpose would be to ease the racial tensions prevalent through the South following World War I. Some of the South's most distinguished Christian men and women were members of that organization.

More recently the Southern Regional Council was organized as a successor to the earlier organization which was called the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I believe the Council was chartered in Georgia by four people--two Negro and two white. The record will show, I believe, that Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church was a charter member of the Council.

I know personally about 90 per cent of the members of the Southern Regional Council. For anyone to state that the Council is dominated by individuals who "have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities" reveals that the person speaking simply does not know what the facts are.

As Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council I want to assure you that an unbiased investigation of the Council would be welcomed provided the results of the investigation would be publicized without restriction.

What I have said about the Southern Regional Council applies just as much to the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The distinguished

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Office of the President
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

clergyman and prominent civic and social leaders mentioned in this speech are the ones who are running the Georgia Committee in a straightforward, morally-responsible manner.

Yours very truly,

REC:1

October 24, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: GSM

FROM: GSM

At approximately 4:00 p.m., George Mitchell, on October 24th, telephoned U. S. District Attorney James Dorsey and asked for an appointment when Mitchell and one or two friends might come over and expound to him the truth of the charges erroneously made by Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook. Mr. Dorsey said that he would be willing to receive a social visit, but such a visit would have no official quarter as a record, would establish nothing, and more to that effect.

Finding him thus unreceptive to the purpose of the visit, I did not persist to make one.

eab/

October 26, 1955

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

TO: GSM

FROM: GSM

October 26th, Wednesday, Guy Wells and George Mitchell called on Solicitor Paul Webb of Fulton County by appointment. Mr. Webb earlier expressed himself as thoroughly familiar with the Georgia Interracial Commission, but as not having much background on the SRC. Mitchell recalled to him W. W. Alexander (whose newspaper Webb used to deliver!) and traced the growth out of the Interracial Commission to the SRC. Mitchell carefully disassociated SRC from the SCHW or the SCEF. Spoke of the request of the Cox Committee for information on many things, including our past Board members, and of Mitchell's assumption that they, Craft and friends) had mined this material, taking and mis-taking what they wished.

Mitchell reviewed the possibility that a single former Board member, Louis Burnham, formerly had some communist links, but stated that Burnham had not been a member of the Board since some such date in 1945 or 1946. Similar charges had been made against Clarke Foreman, who also went off the Board in 1946 or 1947. But Mitchell regarded these charges as not established.

Mr. Webb expressed himself as mildly surprised that we had thought the charges made by Attorney Eugene Cook worth anyone's interest and excitement, as in his (Webb's) view they were political in nature. Mitchell explained that such charges, if not refuted circulated widely and could be the source of legislative attacks, or of added difficulty in raising money.

The Solicitor expressed himself as appreciating our visit, and as being glad to have this additional information. His response to it he said was to move in the case of suspected violation of any of the criminal statutes,and that was his only duty.

eab/

Ea

FILE COPY

October 28, 1955

Mailed November 2, '55

Mr. James L. McGovern
Assistant Special Agent in Charge
Federal Bureau of Investigation
805 Peachtree, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGovern:

Pursuant to my conversation with you in your office this morning, I am enclosing a copy of address delivered by Attorney General Eugene Cook before the Peace Officers Association of Georgia at a meeting in Atlanta on October 19, 1955. The references to the Southern Regional Council and its affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation are found on page 6.

We can fully appreciate the reasons which prompt you not to investigate general allegations of the kind made by Mr. Cook. However, we do wish the files of your office to show that we invited your attention to Mr. Cook's address and stated our desire that his imputations as to us should receive your investigation.

We are taking the liberty also of enclosing copy of a statement which the Council has written in reply to Mr. Cook's allegations. Both of these documents are also being sent to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., as per enclosed copy of letter to Mr. Hoover.

We should like for both you and Mr. Hoover to have our assurance that all documents, records, and any other relevant material will be promptly made available to any representative of your organization upon request, and that all of our personnel will be glad to cooperate at any time in any investigation that you may later wish to make.

Very truly yours,

M. A. Wright
President

cc: J. Edgar Hoover
MAW/eab
Encls.

Mailed November 1

Mrs. G. O. Clifford - Putney, Vermont (10 copies)
Mr. Alexander Miller - ADL, N.Y.
Mr. Harry Wright - UNCF, N.Y.
Paul Webb - Solicitor of Ga.
James A. Mackay - Atlanta
George Goodwin - First Nat'l Bank
David Freeman - FFR
Maxwell Hahn - Field Foundation
Edwin J. Lukas - AJC
Sophie Van S. Theis - Doris Duke
James B. Carey - CIO
George Meany - AFL
Lew Rhodes - AFL
Charlie Gillman - CIO
Thelma Stevens - Woman's Div. of Christian Serv. - Methodist Church
Annie Tait Jenkins - Presbyterian Committee on Women's Work
Malcolm Calhoun - Presbyterian Church
Lewis Deer - Indianapolis, Ind.
Alexander Sharp - Presbyterian
R. R. Claiborne - Episcopal
Walter Reuther - UAW

Copy of "The Attack on Free ~~Speech~~" opinion

Cartoons
SPC
Cook's speech

November 8,1955

Mr. Don Shoemaker
Executive Director
Southern School News
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Shoemaker:

Enclosed is a resume of a meeting that the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, an affiliate of the Council, held with Governor Marvin Griffin. We thought it might be of interest to you.

Incidentally, we were disappointed that the Southern School News of November did not carry statements by the Council and the Georgia Committee concerning charges made by Attorney General Eugene Cook. These statements were released to the press prior to Mr. Cook's speech and were carried in the wire service reports of the speech. I enclose copies of the statements for your information.

In the future, we will make an effort to see that Mr. Parham gets copies of all of our releases personally rather than relying on the wire services.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

JC/ys

The Macon Telegraph
The Macon News
MACON, GA.

Nov. 10, 1955

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of Nov. 8 and for your enclosures. I certainly plan to use something about the meeting between Gov. Griffin and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation in my next report for Southern School News.

I had so many clippings on Attorney General's speech and on reactions to his speech that I inadvertently overlooked the statements of the SRC and of the Committee. Space limitations would have permitted only brief quotation but something should have been carried. I am filing the statements you sent me and perhaps opportunity will yet arise to give them circulation through Southern School News.

Most sincerely,

Joseph B. Parham

Joseph B. Parham
The Macon News

Critique Cook

SINCE 1900

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ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. BOX 4056
CABLE ADDRESS "ARMAND"

November 11, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

NOV 14 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 10th.

I shall be pleased to receive the history of the Southern Regional Council.

It seems to me that some counter should be made to Mr. Eugene Cook's position in which he would be taken to task for speaking for the colored people as to their aims.

Would he like to see any group of American citizens without ambitions and hopes to better themselves? If either the whites or the colored have weaknesses they should be brought out so that each side can have an opportunity of correcting them.

Be this as it may, I am sure that you are continuing to do constructive work.

With assurance of my high regard, believe me,

Sincerely,

Armand May/TG

Criticism - Cook File

November 15, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: GSM

November 15th, about noon, received telephone call from one Bill Burson, who described himself as an assistant to one Attorney General Eugene Cook. Said he had been instructed by the Attorney General to obtain from us a list of our present officers. Had thought of coming over during his lunch hour to pick it up.

I told him that he would be perfectly welcome to them, and to come ahead. About 12:20 p.m., he came in. Small fellow.

I had him seated and asked him what in the world had come over his boss that the man should depart so far from any reasonable course of action. Poor Mr. Burson stated that he was an executive assistant to Mr. Cook and was not in position to have any opinions on the matter. He did venture on his own that the factual charges, as to the record of various persons named as having records, would stand, would they not? Asked if we had seen the story in the Journal-American, and offered to send us a copy. I said that we had a copy. I said that this was perfectly libellous, and he said that as a former newspaper man, he was inclined to agree.

I asked him if he would send us a list of persons appointed by the Attorney General of Georgia to assist in segregation cases. He said that these persons now numbered seventeen, and he would be glad to send us a list.

I handed him a copy of the mimeographed manuscript, "The Attack on Free Opinion," with a corrected copy of our current letterhead, showing the officers and the principal staff members. Was at pains to include Leonard Haas as Counsel.

On the list of all persons who had ever served on the Executive Committee, I marked those who were currently officers, plus, also, those who were, as of October, members of the Executive Committee.

I was unable to resolve in the few moments available whether the Reverend Andrew Turnipseed was a member of the Executive Committee, and did not so mark him. My card shows him as having been elected to the Board and to the Executive Committee May 14, 1953, and as having accepted August 6, 1953, and as in the class of 1955.

I incline to the view that he is a member of the Executive Committee, although Mrs. Brantley tells me that he has never been on any list currently used by her. This may explain the mystery of why he never comes to meetings. He may never have been notified of meetings.

HCF
FBR
JC
MET
IO
FI
GSA
RA

eab/

File with MAW's letter to Hoover

Staff
HCF

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE No. _____

November 16, 1955

NOV 23 1955

Mr. M. A. Wright
President
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your recent letter, together with the enclosures, has been received.

You may be assured that the contents of your communication are being made a matter of permanent record in the files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

J. Ed. Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

Name 21 Pro-Reds on Board Of Dixie Race Study Council

By LEON RACHT and JEFFREY ROCHE

The board of directors of a Southern organization granted $240,000 by the controversial Fund for the Republic includes 21 members with past pro-Communist affiliations, a survey revealed today.

Investigation of the background of the Southern Regional Council also revealed that 13 of these supported the now-defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited as an arm of the Communist Party by two Congressional committees.

The Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, operates in 12 Dixie states. Its stated aims, in substance, have been to explore relationships between white and Negro in the South.

Early last year, the Council received the grant from the Fund which has been under strong attack recently for alleged left-wing activities. The Fund was set up by the Ford Foundation under $15,000,000 no-strings-attached grant.

Out of 14 members of the Council's executive committee, four were found to have supported pro-Communist enter-

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Operates in 12 Southern States:

Name 21 Pro-Reds on Dixie Racial Council

By LEON RACHT

Continued from First Page.

prises in one form or another. They are:

George S. Mitchell, executive director: sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress, cited subversive by the Attorney General.

Rufus E. Clement, chairman: sponsor of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, one of the oldest subversive organizations in the U. S. In addition, Clement has been a member of many other Communist fronts.

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House UN-American Activities Committee.

Paul R. Christopher: signed protest against Dies Committee, under auspices of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, cited subversive by Attorney General.

Besides these commie-fronters who boss the Council, the partial records of other board members follow:

Rufus B. Atwood: signed statement supporting Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to Daily Worker, Feb. 8, 1939.

B. R. Brazeal: Civil Rights Congress sponsor.

W. C. Brooke: sponsored Bill of Rights Conference, cited by House Un-American Activities Committee.

G. E. Clary: signed statement for Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, cited by Congress as Communist front.

Charles Clingman: sponsored dinner forum on behalf of Protestant Digest, cited by California Un-American Activities Committee.

Herbert Davidson: sent greetings to Mother Bloor (Communist heroine) Celebration Committee.

J. M. Ellison: Signed statement for National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions according to Daily Mirror, June 29, 1951. Organization is on Attorney General's subversive list.

Albert D'Orlando: Signed Amicus Curiae on behalf of the Rev. John Howard Mellish when latter was before Supreme Court fighting his ouster from a Brooklyn church for alleged pro-Communist activities.

Charles G. Gomillion: On advisory board and secretary of Southern Negro Youth Congress on Attorney General's subversive list.

Charles S. Johnson: Sponsor of American Committee for Foreign Born. Has other affiliations in same direction.

Ralph O'Hara Lanier: Also on board of Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Benjamin L. Mays: Has long list of affiliations with organizations cited by Attorney General and House Un-American Activities Committee.

Florence S. Sytz: sponsor, National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

L. E. Thomas: signer of First Line of Defense, according to Daily Worker, Aug. 29, 1948.

H. Councill Trenholm: sponsored program for W. E. B. Dubois, Feb. 23, 1951. Dubois is a veteran pro-Communist.

Carter Wesley: sponsored dinner honoring Communist leader Ferdinand C. Smith.

Josephine Wilkins: sponsored Council of Young Southerners, cited as Communist-front by House committee.

Those who were members of the openly pro-Communist Southern Conference for Human Welfare include Atwood, Christopher, Clary, Clement, Davidson, Johnson, Mitchell, Trenholm, Wilkins, Gomillion, Mays and Ellison.

Disclosure of the Southern Regional Council's heavily pro-Communist tinge is the latest blow at left-wing activities of the Fund for the Republic.

Earlier, the Fund came under strong anti-Communist attack for its allegedly slanted bibliography on communism in the U. S.; its employment of Earl Browder, former secretary of the American Communist Party, as a "paid informant;" and employment of Amos Landman as publicity man, three weeks after he took the 5th Amendment when asked if he ever was a Communist.

October 28, 1955

FILE COPY

Mailed Nov. 3-'55

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I enclose copy of an address delivered by Attorney General Eugene Cook of this state before the Peace Officers Association of Georgia at a meeting in Atlanta on October 19, 1955. Your attention is directed to certain references to the Southern Regional Council and its affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, which are found on page 6. We are also enclosing copy of a statement which the Council has issued in reply to Mr. Cook's allegations.

We naturally do not wish to rest under imputations of the sort made by Mr. Cook. For that reason, this morning I conferred with Mr. James L. McGovern, assistant special agent in charge, at the Atlanta office of the F.B.I. The purpose of my visit was to invite your organization to make some investigation of the Cook charges. We gather that it is not your policy to conduct investigations of general allegations of the kind made by Mr. Cook. Quite obviously this would be an onerous task. We do feel under the necessity, however, of having your files show that investigation was sought by us.

If, at any time in the future, you should feel disposed to conduct any investigation, you have our assurance that all relevant information will promptly be made available to you and your personnel will be pleased to render any assistance you desire.

Very truly yours,

M. A. Wright
President

cc: Mr. James L. McGovern

MAW/ra
Encls.

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

U. S. Mission to the UN
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.
November 22, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

You have done me a real favor in sending me these statements on the Georgia's Attorney General's attack on the Council. Something of the same kind of demagoguery occasionally erupts in Arkansas, and I need this material.

We are finishing our work here at the UN about December 10th. Will spend some time in Arkansas then and will be back in Washington for the reconvening of Congress, January 1. Hope to see you shortly after that. Power to you.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks -

helen bullard **walnut 3594**

criticisms
file

December 16, 1955

Dear Harold:

These are the only clippings we have seen (editorials) on Mr. Cook's speech. I thought I would send them just in case you hadn't seen them.

With kindest personal regards...

Helen Bullard

B

CHARLES A. RAWSON & ASSOCIATES
302 WHITEHEAD BUILDING, ATLANTA, GA.

Copy. File original

(8)

February 25, 1956

Hon. Eugene Cook
Attorney General of Georgia
State Capitol, Atlanta

Dear Gene:

I have your letter and the copy of the alleged account of my Augusta talk. The written statement bearing the name of C. C. Prescott is in no sense an accurate account of what I said. It is a distorted, garbled account, obviously dictated by the bias of the writer. Neither you, the Governor, nor any member of the General Assembly were even mentioned by name.

I did deplore the passage of the so-called "private school" laws which most people believe are unconstitutional. At no time did I recommend violence or extreme measures, but suggested cooperation between the two groups to work out a satisfactory solution. Dr. Lester Rumble, President E. C. Peters, and others present can verify these facts.

Your implied threat to my retirement benefits, earned by my forty years of service as an educator, is unworthy of the Eugene Cook that I have known in the past. It can only be interpreted as an attempt to stifle freedom of speech.

Yours sincerely,

Guy H. Wells

C
O
P
Y

(7)

February 21, 1956

Dr. Guy H. Wells
954 Los Angeles Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wells:

Mr. Carl C. Prescott of Millen, Georgia, handed me a typed statement, copy of which is herewith enclosed, respecting some alleged inflamatory and disparaging remarks you made at a meeting of the Inter-Racial Committee at Paine College a few days ago.

Please examine these alleged statements attributed to you and others present and advise me whether they are true. Should you fail to unconditionally deny them, I feel it is my duty to transmit them to the Government and members of the General Assembly, properly sworn to by Mr. Prescott.

I sincerely hope that you who are honored by the State to hold the position of President Emeritus of one of our highest institutions of learning and the recipient of a substantial retirement fund, did not so discredit Georgia's official segregation plan and libel members of the General Assembly, the Governor and me.

Incidentally Mr. Prescott advised me that his brother accompanied him and will verify the charges made.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Cook
Attorney General

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, MARCH 12, 1956, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 450

Guy Wells Urging Georgia Rotary To Back NAACP, CIO And Eisenhower

Democratic Party Will Go Down In Face Of Onslaught Of Eisenhower, Labor Unions, Negro Bloc Vote In 1956

Warren Bought Vote Of Africans For GOP In Anti-Segregation School Decisions

The Democratic Party is headed for the rocks again in 1956.

The issue of integration of the races is bound to sink the ship in 1956.

The Democratic Party is foolish to try to outbid the Republicans for the Negro vote in 1956. Eisenhower lost ninety percent of the Negro vote in 1952 and won by a landslide of electoral college votes.

Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, was wide open for integrating the races and for an FEPC Bill and other civil rights measures. He got the Negro vote and he lost every state outside of the South.

People Were Tricked

Eisenhower kept quiet and led the people of the nation to think that the question of integration and the question of civil rights was a matter to be left to the States.

He not only carried every state North of the Mason-Dixon Line, but several Southern states as well.

This time, Eisenhower will be bidding for the Negro vote. He will be bidding higher than the Democrats will even go.

All Negroes For Ike

Eisenhower is bound to get the Negro vote in 1956.

A Negro writer by the name of Ralph L. Roy, writing in the February 27, 1956, issue of the New Leader, intimates that the Negro will vote Republican this time.

Up until Roosevelt's time, the Negro always voted Republican and 1932 was the first year when the Democrats got the Negro vote. It looks as if they have headed back home.

Adam Clayton Powell, a Negro Congressman from Harlem and one of the Negro leaders of the country, speaking in Boston, on February 3, 1956, said that President Eisenhower has made "the greatest contribution to civil rights in the history of the United States."

Support Is Promised

Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Detroit, another Negro Congressman, said on the floor of the House in February, 1955 that "if the present President elects to run again" the Negroes would vote for him again unless the Democratic leaders in Congress outmatch what Eisenhower has done for the Negro.

Of course, this will not be done because the places of leadership in the Congress are held by Southerners.

Ike's Bright Stars

This Negro writer points out the following things in favor of the Eisenhower administration:

1. Abolition of segregation in the District of Columbia.
2. Integration in the civil service po-

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

The George campaign headquarters has adopted a slogan:

"Georgia for George."

That reminds me of a story they tell on Abraham Lincoln. They say that some good lady called at the White House to see Lincoln during the War Between the States.

At that time things were going bad for the Union Army and the South was having all the success.

Lincoln and his visitor discussed the awful plight of their situation at that time. Finally, the good lady said, "Well, Mr. Lincoln, we have the satisfaction of knowing that God is on our side."

Old Abe modestly replied, "My good lady, I hope we are on God's side."

Now, it seems that the George headquarters wants to move Georgia over on George's side.

Their desire is that we be for George.

Now what we need in Georgia is not somebody to be for George. What we need is somebody in the United States Senate to be for Georgia.

That being the case, I am going to propose a different slogan.

Let's have a Senator who is for Georgia.

Of course, I don't have much influence and will have little to do with it, but I propose this slogan:

"Talmadge for Georgia."

There is something funny about a long period of service in Washington. Those who stay there a long time get an inflated ego and think that the weight of the world rests on their shoulders and that they are indispensable.

This condition is produced, according to a friend of mine who ought to know, by a disease known as "Potomac fever."

Victims of the "Potomac fever" forget who elected them, forget where they come from and forget their states.

They become embroiled in grandiose schemes for ruling and controlling the world. To further their grandiose schemes they give away billions of dollars of your money. They tax us to support the world.

They become obsessed with the idea that it is their duty to tell the rest of the world what to do and to be in the midst of some asinine scheme to control the whole world.

It reminds me of a Senator from another state. A friend of mine from this Senator's state and I were interested in something in Washington and I asked the question if he thought the Senator would help us.

He replied in effect that this Senator had forgotten his own state and that he couldn't think about any problem unless it involved some grand international scheme. With a man whose mind is so occupied, he

(Continued on page 2)

Negroes Told To Use "Crowbar On Heads Of White People, Then They'll Respect You"

Dr. Guy Wells, a former President of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville, has turned into a complete renegade.

He heads the Interracial Committee in Georgia appointed by the Southern Regional Council and financed with Ford money.

He is going over the state taking advantage of the Rotary Clubs and former friends on a speaking tour seeking to sell the white people on mixing with the Negroes.

While engaged in this nefarious and hateful enterprise, he is a retired President of the school and is drawing retirement pay from the State of Georgia.

Wells Is A Traitor

If there ever was a traitor to the white people of Georgia, it is Guy Wells and if there ever was a Southern renegade, he is it.

The things advocated by Dr. Wells, are the things sought by the NAACP, Eisenhower, Stevenson and the CIO.

On February 13, 1956, he came to Augusta, Georgia, to hold an interracial meet at Paine College.

This meeting was attended by about a dozen renegade whites and twenty-five Negroes.

It was presided over by Dr. Lester Rumble, Pastor of the St. John's Methodist Church of Augusta, Georgia. In introducing the renegade Wells, Dr. Rumble looked at the mixed audience and said, "What a beautiful setting this is."

This news comes to us from two farmer brothers. One lives in Burke County and the other in Jenkins County. They are both Methodists and take an active part in their own church.

They knew that their former district superintendent was a member of the renegade Wells' Interracial Committee and they knew that they worked out of Wesley Memorial Methodist Church in Atlanta. They knew that Paine College was supported by the Methodist Church for Negro students. They knew that Dr. Lester Rumble was a prominent member of the Methodist Church.

Newspapers Were Present

When the newspapers carried a story that this meeting would take place and that Dr. Rumble would preside, they decided to attend and see what happened.

They are C. O. Prescott, of Perkins, Georgia, and Eugene Prescott, of Waynesboro, Georgia.

They attended and they have written for The Augusta Courier an account of this meeting.

They state that being members of the

(Continued on Page 4)

TO BE FULLY INFORMED ABOUT STATE AFFAIRS READ THE COURIER

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:
One year $4.00

HARRIS' POINT SOUND

(From the Savannah Evening Press, February 20, 1956.)

Roy V. Harris came to Savannah Saturday afternoon as a member of the Georgia Board of Regents and by invitation delivered an address at Savannah State College, the occasion being the dedication of two new buildings at that well-known and rapidly advancing Negro institution of higher learning.

Mr. Harris is against integration, a position which is also the official stand of the state government as expressed in legislative acts, statements by the executive, and actions of state agencies, such as the Board of Regents. Mr. Harris took occasion in his address on Saturday afternoon to expound this position and the reasoning behind it. He was given a most courteous hearing and reports from the meeting indicate his remarks were well received, winning applaus and compliments for the speaker.

The atmosphere was calm and the visiting regent made his address without any untoward incident of any sort despite the efforts of certain sources to work up hostility to Mr. Harris and to embarrass him and the college authorities who invited him to speak. It is not surprising that in this city with its history of amicable relations between the races and the long recognition of the right of a person peacefully to speak his piece that the efforts to disturb came to naught.

The address of Mr. Harris was in large part a review of some historical truths, namely, that the white people and the Negro people have gotten along well in the South when left to handle their own affairs and way of life without outside interference, that this relationship has resulted in unsurpassed advances on both sides during and since the years they worked to overcome the devastation of the War Between the States. There is, as we see it, no denying these facts. Progress in the South, as it relates to all the inhabitants, testifies to this and stands as a concrete example, substantial and real as opposed to a status more wordy than factual in many other sections where criticism of the South is indulged in for political and other motives of expediency.

Mr. Harris, as we view it, was on sound ground in sounding a warning against the danger in interference by outsiders who would exploit situations for reasons beneficial to themselves rather than to the racial welfare in this region. Such problems as still exist are not going to be helped toward a mutually satifactory solution by government fiat, by corecion, by harangues from those from afar who do not understand the situation at all. That the progress and the happiness of both races in the South will be maintained by actions and decisions of the home folks working with an understanding of the problems based on long experience was Mr. Harris' point, clearly and eloquently made.

MR. HARRIS' TALK

(From The Savannah Morning News, Monday, February 20, 1956.)

Savannahians can look with pride, we think, to the fact that a state leader in the pro-segregation field could have appeared here, sans disorder or disturbance, before an audience which normally would have been considered hostile. We refer to the address of Mr. Roy V. Harris of Augusta, a member of the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia, before the student body and alumni of Savannah State College. Mr. Harris appeared despite violent protest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The occasion marked a notable advancement in the field of higher education in Savannah. It also marked, we think, a notable advancement in the cause of race relations in our city. It proved for one thing that members of the two races can sit down, without rancor or confusion, and listen to the outline of the other fellow's problem.

Would such a thing be possible today in "enlightened" New York or Chicago? We sincerely doubt it.

MICHIGAN'S HYPOCRITE

(From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Chicago, Ill.)

No matter how often the hypocrisy of "Soapy" Williams is exposed, that over-age juvenile always bounces back with more of the same. The CIO's captive governor of Michigan has now recklessly called upon the President and the attorney general to enforce the federal civil rights law in southern states where Negroes have been subjected to violence, as at the University of Alabama, altho he knows that nothing short of a military occupation by federal troops could at present ensure compliance.

Williams is a pretender in this instance, irresponsibly playing to the galleries as he has so often done. He knows what his proposal implies and he realizes it could not be effected without bringing chaos to a section of the country, but if he can delude some voters into thinking he is their champion he will be satisfied.

"Soapy" wouldn't dream of calling out his state guard to stop worse excesses than those in Alabama if committted by any of the CIO unions who keep him in the state house at Lansing. He has protected one CIO goon in Sheboygan, Wis., for beating two men—one of whom died later—early in the Kohler strike, by refusing to permit his extradition from Michigan. That matter is still in the courts, where Williams has already been rebuked for his action. He is only against lawlessness when he hopes to garner a few votes by denouncing it.

WELCOME, GOVERNOR GRIFFIN

(From the Shreveport Journal, Shreveport, Louisiana)

On behalf of all Shreveport citizens who are opposed to integration of the races in the classrooms of our public schools as ordered by the Supreme Court—and we are convinced these include an overwhelming majority of the city's residents—The Journal welcomes Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia and members of his party.

This newspaper urges its readers to attend a mass meeting sponsored by the Shreveport Citizens' Council in the Byrd High School Auditorium at 8 o'clock tonight and hear Governor Griffin spell out the South's case against desegregation.

The Shreveport Citizens' Council has as its president Attorney Robert G. Chandler and as its directors many of the city's most prominent church, civic, fraternal and business leaders. They deserve the encouragement of YOUR attendance at this highly important meeting tonight.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

said, how in the world do you think we can get him to think about two little individuals like me and you?

These are the symptoms of "Potomac fever."

We need somebody in Washington to represent Georgia people. We need somebody who is on Georgia's side.

So, instead of trying to push Georgia over on somebody else's side, let's get us a man who's on Georgia's side.

Now, I have nothing against Senator George. I have nothing but the kindest feelings towards him. As a matter of fact, I have helped him in every campaign he has had and I recognize that in the past he has rendered great service in the Senate.

At the same time, I have been sorely disappointed in him in recent years. I think I can list most of the things that caused me disappointment:

1. He supported the Republican farm program. He and the group with which he plays in the Senate could have defeated the Republican farm program.

Now, as a result of cooperation of some Democrats from the South with the Republican Party, the farmers of the South are almost prostrate. The farmers of Georgia have been given no protection.

During the Eisenhower Administration, the prices of farm products have gone way down, and coupled with the droughts we have had and the declining market, the farmer is getting squeezed. As a matter of fact, we have got a labor government in Washington. Both the Democrats and the Republicans are bidding for the labor vote and they are letting the farmer go.

With the Republican Administration, the farmer is the forgotten man and the cooperation that George and others have given the Republicans in this respect has been a sore disappointment.

2. While the farmers have been thrown to the dogs, we have been giving away billions of dollars to the people of foreign nations.

It seems to be the keynote of the Republicans that we must feed and support the foreigners and turn this country over to minority groups while the rest of us are cast aside.

In view of all the billions of dollars that the Eisenhower Administration has spent abroad, it certainly seems that they would be willing to do a little something for our own people.

When did it become a crime to do something for our folks? When did it become a crime to do something for the American farmer?

3. Senator George has been the main cog in the Republican foreign policy parade. He has headed the committee in the Senate and he has been instrumental in helping shape the Republican foreign policy.

(Continued on page 3)

CIO Using Negro In Effort To Grab Power -- Editor Says

Union Is Seeking To Get Strangle Hold On South, Writer Declares

Davis Lee, the Negro publisher of the Newark, New Jersey, Telegram, in his issue of February 26, 1956, says that the fight for integration is a smokescreen to conceal the fact that the CIO is using the Negro as a tool to organize, control and dominate the South.

"This is a grab for power, and it is the kind of game that the Negro is not trained to play," says Lee.

Lee reminds the Negroes that the North and South split once before and the Negro was the cause. The first split resulted in a war and while the white people killed one another, the Negroes stayed home and minded the kids. In the first conflict, Lee says, the Negro had everything to gain and nothing to lose. This time he has everything to lose and nothing to gain.

Used As A Tool

According to Lee, this time the Negro is being used as a tool.

His editorial in this respect in full follows:

The North and the South are split once more, and again the Negro is the cause. The last time it was a declared war, and while the white folk killed one another, the Negroes minded the kids.

In that conflict the Negro had everything to gain and nothing to lose. This time he has everything to lose and very little to gain. This time the Negro is a tool, he is being used.

CIO Backs Plan

This fight for integration and so called civil rights is a smoke screen set up to conceal the real issues. The carpet baggers are headed south again, but this time their goal is unionization. The CIO didn't pour all of that money into the support of this integration fight out of altruism.

That money given to finance the school cases before the United States Supreme Court was an investment. The labor boys have been trying to organize the south for sometime, but have not been able to scratch the surface, but now the Negro is obligated, he will be organized, and his dues for membership will repay that money a thousand fold.

His vote will help change the south and the nation, and before we realize it we will be living under a virtual dictatorship. This is a grab for power, and it is the kind of game that the Negro is not trained to play.

Southern Negro

The Southern Negro will not be told that Northern Negroes are denied membership in practically every important phase of unionism; that they are even denied membership in the craftsmen, engineers, electricians unions, at Government operated ship yards. They won't tell them that many of the top Negro union officials head up Jim Crow unions.

Negro Top Brass

No, the Southern Negro is going to be sold a bill of goods, and any Negro who dares to oppose this program, and questions the motives, will be branded a traitor to his race.

Negro top brass in this fight for integration have resorted to the Hitler methods to get results. Negro leaders throughout the nation have been forced to fall in line or face being branded a traitor.

After viewing from ringside the pressure tactics being employed, and being a victim, too, you wonder if the Negro believes in justice, fair play. Does he believe in freedom of expression, of thought? Does he grant to the other fellow those rights which he claims for himself. No, these Negroes who are fighting for integration are motivated by prejudice, by hate for a people whom they feel enslaved, sold, raped and murdered their fore parents.

Might Be Killed

They are not susceptible to reason. And if you attempt to reason with them, you might lose your life. These agitators will not stop at anything, even murder to achieve their goal. They are willing tools of these labor boys who intend to make our country over to their liking.

There are lots of well meaning men and women throughout this nation who are going along blindly with this movement not realizing that it is going to result in a dictatorship, and that we will end up with a regimented, thought-control, expression-control system of Government.

To further illustrate how serious the situation has become, and to show how warped our leaders are, and to what extent they will go to muzzle and to silence the opposition, I wish to quote from a letter written by the President of the San Diego Race Relations Society of California to a Negro in Newark about me:

"The occasion of this writing results from my reading of an article printed in my January 17, 1956, issue of the Congressional Record, to wit: 'L. Mendel Rivers, Congressman from South Carolina, in the Appendix section of the Record quotes one Davis Lee, Publisher of the Newark, New Jersey Telegram, who in an article of the Telegram goes all out in lauding what he describes 'the good people of Mississippi.'

Called Brazen Effort

"I consider this article the most brazen effort to the colored people of America, a shocking disgrace blurted out and doubtless condemned by all respectable citizens of our country, and these regardless of color, religion or racial identity. We out our way in bewilderment pause in questioning if the writer of this article is mentally ill, or just what is behind the scenes to motivate the publication? Personally I consider this writing by Davis Lee an approval of the murder of the colored baptist preacher, the colored farmer, the poor little Emmett Louis Till. However, bag and baggage—body and soul—I feel that Davis Lee should some night between sun-down and sun-up scamper off to the State of Mississippi and forthwith file application for membership in the White Citizens Council. Please advise me on just what are the colored citizens of Newark doing about this article? Were such an article written and published by a colored publisher in California, I doubt he would find even one advertiser continuing an ad in his paper, more over, he would doubtless lose all subscribes. I am at least interested in knowing the reaction of our people in Newark. Please advise. Signed: Dennis V. Allen."

Negro Will Lose

It is obvious from the foregoing the type of pressure that is being applied to deprive Negroes of their rights of freedom of thought, expression and opinion. No man who believes in our system of constitutional Government would urge a boycott against another, and put him out of business just because they have diffrent points of view.

I haven't gone along with these agitators because there are 10,000,000 Negroes in the south who are wholly dependent upon white people for everything, and these agitators are not in a position to offer a tangible substitute for the assistance these Negroes get from white friends.

I haven't gone along with these agitators because I feel that in the end the Negro is going to lose more than he will gain. I haven't gone along with these agitators because I have absolute faith and confidence in the system of Government that our fore fathers left us. I could not conscientiously support a movement that I felt would destroy our way of life, and this present movement is not only going to do that, it is going to make enemies of our tried and trusted friends.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from page 2)

It was he who called for a meeting of the top leaders at Geneva and as a result of his call, Eisenhower arranged for our allies to meet with the Russians at the Geneva Conference.

They were met at Geneva with a lot of smiles and bowing and scraping by the Russians and we took a licking.

The Geneva Conference once again proved Will Rogers' old statement that we have never lost a war nor won a conference.

George and the Republicans have let the Russians outsmart them on every point and once again they have made monkeys out of us.

The essence of our foreign policy has been the giving away of money. It has been based on the idea that we could bribe nations and peoples to be our friends.

Bribery never pays. It never has and never will. An old timer once told me never to try to bribe anybody. He said that if you ever once buy a man you have got to keep buying him. He said that you could always find somebody that would sell, but any man who would sell wouldn't stay sold. You have to keep buying him and every time he ups the price. That is exactly the same experience we have had in trying to buy friends by this give-away program. They want more the next time to stay your friend and then when they have milked the cow dry they turn against you. That's what's happened in Greece. That's what's happened in England and that's what's happening the world over.

To begin with, we started out sending our Army to Greece to protect them from the communists. We have given them millions of dollars in aid and now they have upped the price. They say if we don't give them the Island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean they are going communist.

Italy and France have been working on us with the threat of going communist and you can't keep buying them.

The time has come when we ought to take some of this money and spend it looking after our own folks. Either that or we should reduce taxes and let some of our people keep some of this money in their own pockets.

4. Senator George had a chance to bring about a reduction of taxes and, yet, once again, he went Republican.

He voted against the bill to reduce the little man's income taxes. It would have given about twenty dollars' savings to every taxpayer. Yet at the same session of Congress he voted to increase his own pay by seventy-five hundred dollars a year. If I recall the figures correctly, he raised his own pay from $15,000 to $22,500.

If there ever was a time when we ought to stop some of our give-away programs and reduce taxes on the little fellow, it is now.

We need a reduction in federal taxes more than anything else. They keep promising the people of the states federal aid for this and federal aid for that in order to keep the high tax rate. When the federal government takes money to Washington for the purpose of sending it back to the states to operate or build schools or roads, or something else, at least half of it sticks to somebody's fingers in Washington. We never get back what we pay.

It is time that we recognize that the states are now able to take care of themselves and the government should let the states operate their own business.

This bunch in Washington are keeping taxes high so that they can have a lot of money to give to the states for the sole purpose of controlling the states.

They are trying now to pass a bill to give the states a lot of money for the schools. The sole purpose of this drive is to get control of the schools.

We all know that if they ever get control of our schools that they will mix the races in the public school systems and that Washington will dictate what is taught to your children.

The only way to keep them from doing this is to keep them from having enough money to do the job.

The way to insure this is by cutting taxes and keeping the money out of Washington.

You can rest assured that if Washington ever controls the purse strings of your schools that they will control the schools.

The only way to keep local control is to support the schools with local

(Continued on page 4)

Warren Bought Vote Of Africans For GOP In Anti-Segregation School Decisions

(Continued from Page 1)

sitions of the government.

3. The appointment of dozens of Negroes to high offices.

4. Outlawing segregation by government contractors.

5. Chief Justice Warren's decision destroying segregation.

6. "Ebony", a Negro magazine, in an article in June, 1955, entitled "Negroes in White House Society", commended Eisenhower for dropping all the remaining social barriers at the White House.

Reasons For Support

This same Negro writer points out several other things which he says will cause the Negro to vote Republican. They are:

1. Reluctance of Northern Democrats in Congress to fight with Southern Congressmen.

2. Adlai Stevenson favors mixing us up gradually instead of all at once.

3. Southerners are now criticizing Eisenhower and that gets the Negro on the other side.

4. Republicans are courting the Negro vote and seeking to divide the Democrats.

5. That Brownell and the President will advocate that Congress pass a lot of so-called "civil rights" measures.

Hungry Republicans

The Republicans are going after the Negro vote because they want to control the politics in a few big cities like New York, Chicago, and Boston which usually go Democratic. They believe by taking the Negro away from the Democrats they can control these big cities.

Roosevelt could have won every time without the Negro vote and Eisenhower won in 1952 without the Negro vote. The Democrats can win this time without the Negro vote if they will carry an appeal to the white people and will refuse to engage in trying to outbid the Republicans like an auction sale for the Negro vote.

If they try to outbid the Republicans they will alienate the South and there is no telling what the Southern people may do.

The Southern people might, out of disgust, vote the Republican ticket feeling that it is safer on economic grounds and to show their resentment against their own party's stabbing them in the back.

New Movement Seen

Then too, it is still possible for a movement to originate in the South similar to the movement which backed Strom Thurmond for President in 1948 and resulted in his carrying four states as a protest against the position of the Democratic Party.

The Democrats are divided on the integration issue. The Republicans are united.

If the Democrats continue to fight among themselves and with the Republicans putting up a united front on this issue, the Democratic Party is headed for disaster.

Stevenson can't pacify the South by saying that he wants to mix the races up a little bit at the time instead of all at once as Eisenhower seeks to do.

Texas Baptist Minister Brands Race Mixers As Idiots

Northern People, National Council Of Churches Are Meddling Again

Dr. W. A. Criswell, of Dallas, Texas, Pastor of the largest Southern Baptist Church, in speaking at Columbia, South Carolina, recently, said that the stuff that the integrationists are trying to ram down our throats in the South is all "foolishness" and "idiocy."

The people of the North ought to leave the South alone, he declared.

In striking out at integration he also hit the National Council of Churches for their spurious doctrine.

State-Wide Meeting

Dr. Criswell addressed a state-wide conference on evangelism meeting at the First Baptist Church in Columbia, South Carolina, on the subject of segregation. He said that the integrationists had tried to make him feel cheap and did everything they could to give him an inferiority complex.

"They try to make me feel like a dirty, lowdown, mangy louse of a dog," he said.

"They tell me that if I am a Christian I must agree with them," he declared.

NAACP After Them

Speaking further, he said:

"Why the NACCP has got those East Texans on the run so much that they dare not pronounce the word chigger any longer; it has to be cheegro.

"I want to look at this thing called desegregation. I have been on the mission fields around the world and there are places where desegregated life is just marvelous. In Arizona we support a college which accepts Mexicans, Negroes and anyone else. In heaven we'll all be together.

"But this thing they are trying to ram down our throat now is all foolishness; it is idiocy.

"I was asked by the editor of the Dallas News to write a letter on segregation and the churches. So I sat me down and wrote him. I told him that a man who says he is altogether desegregated is soft in the head. We have one daughter and you never saw such segregation as my wife and i try, so we can place around her just those friends and companions that will bless her life. We want no promiscuous relationships for her. And don't think that colored people have anything to do with it; we have some poor white trash, from whom we segregate her.

"In our home we have certain friends. Why not be the great democrat and invite everybody in! That wouldn't be a home! The point of a home is that it is man's castle where he lives with a woman he loves and his children and from which he excludes what would be harmful. He lives there in a segregated society.

"The same thing applies to our churches. (And he gave as an illustration a Roman Catholic cathedral near his church and said it wouldn't be right for the Catholic bishop to intrude on Baptist services and vice versa. "We don't hate or despise Catholics; we just mutually agree to worship apart as we feel we should.

Right To Worship

"It is the same way about colored brethren; we don't look down on them or despise them. (And he described some Negro churches near his own and said they had every right to dress and worship and conduct their services in their own way, different as that might be from the way of the First Baptist Church of Dallas).

"All we ask is for them to let us meet together and sing a hymn and rejoice in Jesus. We will have the same attitude toward them. And we'll all get along famously together . . . This is a free America. God bless them.

"What shall we do when a colored family comes down the aisle and asks to join our churches? I'll tell you what we do in my church. We say: 'We are grateful to God for these friends; God loves them and Christ died for them. But if they belonged to this church, all their lives they would labor under a great handicap. This man could never be a deacon in our church; these children couldn't grow as they should. If they will go over to one of these good colored Baptist churches nearby, this man can be a deacon, this woman can teach in Sunday School; they can grow and God will bless them and they will be happy in heart. It is a kindness and goodness to them for them to go over there while we try to develop our people here."

Southern Baptists

In reference to the National Council of Churches, he also said:

"In our day we (the Southern Baptists) are looked upon as peculiar, queer people. All the enlightened ones, all the intelligentsia are saying that we gotta all be together in local and national and world councils of churches. They tell us, 'Brother, if you have any vision of the Kingdom and love the brethren, you will come along.'

"And they teach that spurious doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man—which is a denial of everything in the Bible. They tell us to join in and have a great super church. Once there was such a super church and we call its time the dark ages.

"What do they want to do with us when we join up? They want to swallow us up and speak for us, going before committees of congress to espouse this and that in our name. But the things that they speak—half of them—are just as blasphemous and unbibical as they can be . . .

"If they can't consume all our thoughts and energies, they will try to make us look cheap . . . They have a funny doctrine; they take one little failure and add him to another little failure and another and another and then they say, 'Just look at this great thing we have.'"

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from page 3)

money.

5. If the State of Georgia ever needed a spokesman in Washington, we have needed him during the last five or six years.

The federal government, under the Republicans and the Democrats, has been trying to destroy our way of life in the South and to mix the white and Negro races.

They have done everything that they could do.

During all of this time we have heard not one single word from Senator George.

Not one single time has he risen to the floor of the United States Senate and with his thundering eloquence denounced the Democrats or the Republicans, or done anything to stave it off.

He has failed to present the case for the South to the people of the nation from the eminence of the position which he occupies.

During the last few years every word that he has uttered has been played in the newspapers all over the nation with glaring headlines.

If he had presented the case for the South on the floor of the United States Senate every person in America would have had the opportunity to read it and the fact that the presentation came from a man who occupied his position would have commanded respect and attention.

He has had a greater opportunity to do a service for his people than any Georgian has ever had since before the War Between the States.

Yet, he failed to do it. He saw the opportunity. He knew the oppority was there.

The Augusta Courier for years has been calling on Senator George, and the other members of the delegation from Georgia, to do this very thing.

I know he gets a copy of the Courier. He couldn't help but know that somebody was calling on him to come to the rescue of his people.

But he kept quiet. He said nothing. He refused to join up with Jim Davis, "Tic" Forrester, Jack Flynt and the others that we have had in the Congress trying to present our side of the picture.

The first utterance Senator George made was when the Supreme Court came out outlawing segregation.

The Senator then said in effect that the Supreme Court said go slow, but it said go.

That statement of his left the implication in the minds of the people that since the nine buzzards on the Supreme Court had handed down their edict that there was nothing we could do but go along with them slowly.

Then later, he changed his tune a little. He says it is not a national problem. He says that it is a problem to be handled on the local level.

Now, we didn't get this decision from the local level. This edict was handed down from the national level.

It has got to be fought on the national level.

The newspapers and magazines have brainwashed the people of the nation outside of the South against us. We must counteract the nationwide publicity.

I say this because we have got to win the battle in the field of public opinion.

Now, we have been calling on Senator George from his eminence to help us combat the propaganda against us. We have been calling on him week after week to speak out.

We have been calling on him to use the eminence of his position to tell the people of the nation about the case for the South.

The Augusta Courier has written open letters to Senator George and the other members of the delegation calling on them to do this very thing.

The Senator has treated the appeal of The Augusta Courier not only with silence, but with contempt.

He seems to take the position that his eminence is so great that he can't be bothered with such trifling matters.

He seems to take the position that it is a matter to be handled on the local level, in the counties, towns and communities.

His position seems to be that the people of the state should be thrown to the wolves. Let the matter be handled in the communities—on the local level, when it is the national level that's making the fight against us.

What can the people of Vienna, Georgia, do—or the people of any other community do—when their leaders lie down and say boy, this ain't my fight, it's yours.

I say frankly to you we need a champion in the United States Senate and we need someone who will sound off from that lofty position and tell the people of the nation the facts of life as they exist in the South.

Negroes Told To Use "Crowbar On Heads Of White People, Then They'll Respect You"

(Continued from Page 1)

Methodist Church they were anxious to know what was going on by this Interracial Committee since it was getting such support from prominent Methodists.

Says Griffin Is Crazy

After being introduced, Dr. Wells started out by praising the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation. He apologized for the stupid members of the legislature and the stupid Governor of Georgia.

About Wells' speech they write:

"Dr. Wells praised the Supreme Court decision. He told this group that he wanted to apologize for the crazy, stupid legislators and the Governor of this State.

"He said someone once asked to see a peanut and was shown a member of the Georgia legislature. He then asked to see a mule and they showed him Marvin Griffin and at this the audience applauded vigorously.

"Most People Are Colored"

"Dr. Wells stated that two-thirds of the people of the world were colored people and that it was time for the white people to look up to them. He also told of three politicians going to heaven. One of the politicians was Eugene Cook, Georgia's Attorney General. Wells says that Gene asked St. Peter if there was any segregation there and St. Peter said, 'Get back to Hell, Gene, where you belong,' and there was great applause from the audience again.

"Wells said that they must work on the women as the women were more favorable to their cause. He also stated that Bishop Moore was with them one hundred percent and that most of the daily newspapers, preachers, and educators were with them.

"He assured the audience that although the Atlanta newspapers have not come out as boldly for race mixing as he would like on account of business and economic reasons, that he was sure they were with him.

"He told the group that the educators of the state could not express themselves in favor of race mixing on account of the governor and he hoped that soon the governor would be eliminated.

"Dr. Wells also told the group how to get the white people to agree to mixing the races. He told them a story to illustrate.

"He said a man once bought some mules that had not been broke and he asked the seller to break them for him. He said the seller put a halter on one and then took a crowbar and knocked the mule to his knees and said that was the first thing you had to do to make a mule respect you. Dr. Wells then pointed his finger at the club and said, 'Now that is what you have got to do to make some white people respect you.'

"He also said that they would not be able to organize in some areas on account of the criticism and the hostile feeling of the people, but they would get to all the communities before they were through with it.

"Dr. Wells stated that he was afraid to go in Bill Bodenhamer's home county of Tift. (Dr. Bodenhamer is Executive Secretary of the States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.)

Scattering Hate

"The unbelievable thing about this Interracial Committee is that it is broadcasting prejudice and hatred over the state and trying to wash it down the throats of the people with religion.

"They are simply making tools of the Negro and we wonder how long the good colored people are going to let a few white scalawags, like Guy Wells and Dr. George Clary, be the cause of stirring up strife between the white and Negro races.

Methodist In Mess

"We have no ill feeling towards the Negro, but we know that Guy Wells and his group are stirring up hatred and bitterness and it will eventually lead to bloodshed.

"We hate to see some of our good Methodist preachers going along in this kind of a movement.

"If we get rid of these scalawags and double-talking white people, we can have peace and harmony between the races in Georgia."

THE COURIER GOES INTO HOMES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

GEORGIA DEPARTMENT OF LAW

OPINIONS OF
ATTORNEY GENERAL
EUGENE COOK

RECEIVED AUG 10 1956

Vol. 3, No. 7 | Atlanta, Georgia | July 15, 1956

COOK ATTACKS CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS BEFORE SENATORS

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee in Washington July 13 in opposition to all of some 10 civil rights bills before that group on grounds they are not needed.

Mr. Cook told the committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), that the bills represented further attempts for the federal government to usurp the sovereign rights of the individual states.

He noted that as of the date of his appearance in Washington there were over 50 of these civil rights bills pending before Subcommittee two of the House Judiciary Committee and about 10 before the Senate Judiciary group.

"The only inference to be drawn from this vast array of highly punitive, far-reaching legislation is that the idea prevails in certain quarters that the several sovereign states of this Union constitute inherently evil, oppressive, callous and tyrannical wielders of power which must be checked . . .," he said.

Mr. Cook said "it is certainly a sad commentary" that these bills go "much further in policing and restraining states' rights and individual liberty than was done with respect to the Communist Party . . . "

"I think," he said, "it is also not without significance that the multitude of these 'civil rights' proposals are systematically ignored for long periods and then suddenly resurrected with unerring faithfulness during election years."

He said the proposals in election years apparently are part of "a mad scramble to corral the minority bloc votes."

"This fact alone," he said, "is sufficient to indicate that the majority of Congress realizes there is no need for such legislation, but on the contrary, is tacit recognition of the existence of blocs and pressure groups which are concerned with their self-interests . . . "

Mr. Cook said "that all of this election year agitation is politically inspired is further evidenced by recent newspaper reports that the public relations director of Citizens for Eisenhower has announced their strategy to be exploitation of the race issue during the coming campaign."

"The Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools has already set us back 50 years in race relations," he said, "and I earnestly and respectfully urge this body and all political candidates not to take any action that would further impair the excellent understanding that has prevailed between the two races in the South for so long and is now being seriously threatened."

The Georgia legal officer said "all of the bills come before the Congress concealed in a hypocritical cloak of self-righteous and pious protestation against bigotry and prejudice by those who would wave the Constitution on high whenever it suits their purpose."

Mr. Cook said "a study of the many and all embracing civil rights laws presently on the books will readily demonstrate the absence of need for the proposed legislation."

"If these measures succeed," he said, "it will be only a matter of time before the next move will be federal legislation touching the substantive law of torts, property and the administration of estates."

"I do not conceive it to be the proper function of this Congress or any other branch of the Federal government to be constantly sniping at the powers and sovereignty of the states, for it is by their remaining sovereign that the liberties of all our people will be best preserved."

He told the committee he doubted whether the anti-lynch proposal, S. 900, would be constitutional even if it should be passed by Congress and signed into law by the President.

Mr. Cook said the bill "is so revolutionary and contrary to our established federal-state scheme of government that I for one marvel that anyone would propose such a measure."

Under provisions of this bill, he said, where a member of a minority race group commits violence against a member of the majority race, such action would merely constitute assault

(Continued on Page 2)

OPINIONS OF
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
-:- -:- -:-
Official Publication of the
Georgia Department of Law
-:- -:- -:-
EUGENE COOK
Attorney General
-:- -:- -:-
Published monthly at
201 State Capitol
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Copies of opinions cited herein can be obtained by writing to the Attorney General at the address given above.

Vol. 3, No. 6 June 15, 1956

Cook Attacks —

(Continued from Page 1)

and battery under state law.

"But if a member of the majority similarly violated the rights of a member of the minority . . . it would rise to the level of a federal offense, and the accused could be punished not only under federal law, but also in state courts."

"For committing identical acts," he said, "the white man would be tried in two courts and given two prison sentences whereas the Negro would be tried only in state court and receive only one."

Mr. Cook said that in his opinion "this bill does not guarantee equal protection; it assures unequal protection."

"Under the pretense of vindicating the Constitution, the sponsors of S. 900 would justify legislative defiance of the Eleventh Amendment's commands that suit may not be brought in federal court against a state without its prior consent."

Passing to another of the bills, Mr. Cook said apparently the proponents urging passage of S. 906, calling for creation of a five-member Civil Rights Commission, "desire creation of a Gestapo. . ."

He said the commission would be able to "pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our children solely to appease the politically powerful minority pressure groups inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

Mr. Cook pointed out in the minority report on H.R. 627, on omnibus bill embracing the provisions of S. 906 and other proposals that the commission would have a right to hold hearings in some far-off remote place and require attendance of witnesses at their own expense.

Similarly, he said, the report noted that the commission would be authorized to utilize the "services, facilities, and information of other government agencies, as well as private research agencies."

The report concluded, he said, with the observation that these "'private agencies" would probably be the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other like partisan political-action groups.

"Thus, the situation would be created where governmental powers would be delegated to these private groups to investigate and harass other citizens and organizations," Mr. Cook stated. "The awful power of the state would thereby be given to a few as against the many."

He said that before the Congress authorizes the government to enter into such an unholy partnership with these minority groups, it would do well to study some of their pronouncements.

"Save only the Communist Party . . . the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures is the NAACP," Mr. Cook related, "and while this self-proclaimed pious group fervently crusades against prejudice and race bigotry out of one side of its mouth, it conducts a conspiracy against the white man out of the other."

Mr. Cook said that in the October, 1955 edition of the NAACP's publication, The Crisis, "quotes are made gleefully predicting the downfall of the white race, and urging the colored people to revolt and take up arms against their white brothers."

In its November, 1955, issue, he said the magazine "vehemently justifies the merciless slaughtering and raping of innocent white French inhabitants in Oued-Zem by the Colored Berber tribesmen on the ground that the Frenchmen deserved such treatment."

The Georgia Attorney also opposed S. 902 which would elevate the civil rights section of the Department to the status of a Civil Rights Division. An additional assistant attorney general would direct its activities.

Mr. Cook said that in view of U. S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell's "own admission that civil rights complaints are at an all time low, it seems difficult at this time to justify expanding this phase of the Justice Department's activities."

"This very fact," he said, "will encourage meddling and baseless suits by the new board of bureaucrats who will surely perceive that they must stir up litigation to justify the expense of their existence."

" . . . It is anticipated that additional personnel will be required should other proposed civil rights measures be enacted, this apparently having reference to the bills which would confer unheard - of - injunctive powers on the (U.S.) attorney general," he said.

"Reduced to simple language," he said, "the police state must have an adequate supply of storm troopers to keep the states and their citizens under constant fear of being enjoined, sent to jail, called up before some commission in far off places in a hostile surrounding, and kept in a general state of intimidation to appease the vociferous minorities which by their militant organizations have now apparently wrested control of our government from the people."

Mr. Cook spoke of the dangers of S. 903, which relates to voting. He said the "most disturbing" part of S. 903, which would give the U. S. attorney general "power to institute injunction suits on his own election, and without regard to whether the party whose rights are affected actually desires such litigation."

He said that "such a procedure is contrary to every recognized principle of English and American jurisprudence."

He noted that the first provision of the bill attempts to amend the Hatch Act, 18 U.S.C.A. 594, by adding to the section penalizing attempts to interfere with voting by anyone in a national election, the words "primary election," so as to include same within the section's coverage.

"Laying aside all other questions," he stated, "the amendment here sought to be added is not necessary. In Terry v. Adams (1953), the Supreme Court has already construed 42 U.S.C.A. 1981 as being applicable to primaries."

"Traditionally, under our system of government," he said, "the Court decisions have followed the legislation, but apparently some believe that procedure to be old fashioned, and that now, the courts are empowered to legislate initially to be then followed by Congressional recognition in the form of statutory enactment."

Mr. Cook said that Section 3 of S. 905 "attempts to do exactly what the Court in the Slaughter House cases . . . said could not be done—and that

(Continued on Page 3)

Cook Attacks —

(Continued from Page 2)

is to make every violation of law a federal offense."

He said "a judge who makes an error in deciding a case in state court could be prosecuted in federal court and sentenced to jail because of his honest mistake of judgment as to what constituted a denial of due process."

"This section would require a state court judge to outguess the Supreme Court by predicting what it would eventually hold, on pain of imprisonment."

He said Paragraph 3 of the illegal obtaining of confessions likewise subject to prosecution.

"Paragraph 4," he said, "would make every illegal arrest a federal offense." Mr. Cook added that "the legality of an arrest is determined under state law, and the effect of this proposed paragraph will be to make one arrest a federal offense in one state while the same arrest would not constitute such an offense in another state."

Mr. Cook branded S. 901, which would outlaw the poll tax as a condition of voting in a national election, as "nothing less than another political gesture toward the pressure groups accustomed to insistent wailing about the poll tax."

He noted that Georgia abolished its poll tax in 1945 but the state constitution still authorizes the legislature to levy a poll tax.

"So far as I know," he said, "there is no likelihood in Georgia of such (poll tax) legislation but in view of the rising costs of government and the tendency of the Supreme Court to dry up sources of state taxation, it may some day . . . become necessary for all states to levy such taxes to defray election expenses."

He added that "at a time when national income is at an all time high, it is difficult to see how the small exaction represented by a poll tax could prevent ayone who so desires from voting."

Mr. Cook said he saw "no immediate objection" to S. 904 which relates to returning or placing one in peonage by enlarging coverage of the section to cover attempts to do such acts."

But he added that "while I see no immediate objection to this amendment, I likewise see no need for it, since the number of prosecutions under these laws are becoming progressively smaller."

On S. 907, an omnibus bill including in one all the others and adding a provision for a Joint House Senate Committee on Civil Rights, Mr. Cook said "there is no reason apparent as to just why the question of civil rights requires creation of a joint committee any more than other subjects of legislation."

He said "this bill would also add provisions outlawing segregation in interstate commerce. In view of the recent action by the I.C.C. (Interstate Commerce Commission), it is difficult to see how this law is needed, unless the proponents, like I, believe the I.C.C. to have exceeded its statutory powers."

He said S. 3605, the administration version of the "Civil Rights Commission," is "even more explicit in authorizing payments to private individuals and organizations."

Mr. Cook stated that "this bill is otherwise similar to S. 907 and the remarks previously made with regard thereto will apply here also."

The Georgian quoted statistics which he said indicated a great disparity between the number of Negro law violators as compared to the percentage of the Negro population.

Despite this, he said, "no one has even remotely suggested the need for federal legislation to protect the white people against the disproportionate number of Negro criminals."

"Although there are very few reported crimes of violence committed by whites against Negroes in Fulton County — Georgia's most populous county — hardly a day goes by without some report of a white person being raped, robbed, assaulted or murdered by a Negro in the Atlanta area," Mr. Cook said.

Nevertheless, he said, Georgia is confident it "can adequately protect the rights of all in keeping with repeated holdings of the Supreme Court that it is the States who are the primary guarantors of all civil rights under our form of government."

Mr. Cook noted that his office "has not hesitated to take quick action to protect all citizens against lawlessness."

He all called attention to the fact that Georgia revoked the charters of the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians several years ago when both were found to be advocating private assumption of governmental powers.

"The only reports of incitement to violence we have had in Georgia," Mr. Cook told the committee, "have come not from the foes of racial amalgamation, but from its proponents."

He noted that on Feb. 13, 1956 at Paine College in Augusta the Chairman of interracial committee appointed by a left-wing organization named the Southern Regional Council, whose predecessor, the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare advised all Negroes in Georgia "to use crowbars on the heads of white citizens in order to enforce their respect."

Talmadge Memorial Can't Hold Mental Patients Against Their Will

The Attorney General has ruled that the Eugene Talmadge Memorial Hospital in Augusta will need special statutory authority in order to retain custody of mental patients against their will.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook pointed out in his ruling of June 8, 1956 that such authority thus far had been granted only to the Milledgeville State Hospital.

The Attorney General's official opinion was issued at the request of Chancellor Harmon Caldwell of the University system. The State Board of Regents operates the Talmadge Hospital as the State Medical College which is part of the University system.

Chancellor Caldwell pointed out that the hospital is planning to accept mental patients for psychiatric treatment.

He wanted to know whether the hospital had the authority to retain custody of mental patients who voluntarily enter the hospital but decide they want to be released even when such release would be dangerous.

Mr. Cook advised the Chancellor that the Board of Regents may desire to seek such authority for the Talmade Hospital at the next session of the General Assembly.

Until such authority is granted, he ruled, "there is always the avenue of having a person committed to the Milledgeville State Hospital through the Court of Ordinary in the event that an unsafe mental patient should voluntarily desire to leave Talmadge Hospital.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook has ruled that the State Game and Fish Commission is without authority to issue honorary lifetime hunting and fishing licenses to anyone except persons over 65 years of age.

Mr. Cook made the ruling June 26, 1956 at the request of Director Fulton Lovell, director of the Game and Fish Department.

HAAS, HOLLAND & BLACKSHEAR

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
M. HARDEMAN BLACKSHEAR
JACK H. ZINKOW

ROSE M. SCHREIBER
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON

LAW OFFICES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 17, 1956.

RECEIVED AUG 18 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have only one minor suggestion to make in the proposed draft of your letter to Mr. Cook. I would eliminate the second sentence of the third paragraph beginning "We think it is unfortunate * * *" and substitute the following as a separate paragraph.

> "Inasmuch as these erroneous statements appeared in an official publication, we are confident that you will be glad of the opportunity to correct the record."

I return to you herewith the enclosures. With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Joseph F. Haas

For Haas, Holland & Blackshear

JFH:RS
Encls.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

Mailed to Mr. Joseph Haas 8/10/56

1. Ga. Dept. of Law Bulletin, V3, #7, 7/15/56
2. Proposed Ltr to Atty. Cook (attached).
3. Atty Cook's speech dtd 10/19/55
4. SRC memo to Bd. Members dtd 10/20/55
5. N.Y. Times clipping dtd 9/13/56
6. Augusta Courier, 3/12/56
7. Ltr from Attorney Cook to Guy Wells 2/21/56
8. Ltr from Guy Wells to Attorney Cook 2/25/56
9. Maw's correspondence with J. Edgar Hoover, FBI, November, '55.

August 10, 1956

Mr. Joseph Haas
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Leonard has very kindly sent us this bulletin from the Georgia Department of Law with the passage on page 3 marked.

We have drafted a proposed letter to Mr. Attorney General Cook and we request your judgement as to the propriety of dispatching the letter as is or in altered form.

The history of the matter contains an address made by Mr. Cook October 19, 1955, to the Peace Officers Association of Georgia in which (page 8) he spoke denouncingly of the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee for Interracial Cooperation. The Council dispatched to its Board members on October 20, 1955, the attached counter-information.

We suppose that Roy Harris and his paper, The Augusta Courier, are Mr. Cook's sources for the charges often repeated by Mr. Cook that the Southern Regional Council is a successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. In this connection a fairly recent quotation from Senator Eastland (enclosed) is of interest.

The matter about a speech at Paine College is raised in the enclosed issue of the Augusta Courier. In connection with that, here is correspondence which passed between Mr. Cook and Guy Wells, Executive Director of the Georgia Committee for Interracial Cooperation.

I enclose, as additional information, a copy of a letter from the President of the Council to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, and Mr. Hoover's reply.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls (as listed on the attached sheet - to be returned)

Proposed Letter to Attorney General Cook
August 10, 1956
(As submitted to Mr. Joseph Haas)

Honorable Eugene Cook
Attorney General of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cook:

We note in the July 15, 1956, issue of the official publication of the Georgia Department of Law that, in a speech before the Senate Judiciary Committee, you took occasion to repeat untrue statements concerning the Southern Regional Council and one of its state chairmen.

To set the record straight -- the Southern Regional Council is not a "left-wing" organization nor is it the successor to "the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare." Our predecessor was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. (1919-44).

As to the speech at Paine College in Augusta, we believe that you had already been informed that the account of the speech you quote is entirely untrue. We think it is unfortunate that the chief law enforcement officer of Georgia should use himself to spread garbled reports and vicious untruths.

We would appreciate it if you would set the record straight in your publication.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

August 21, 1956

The Honorable Eugene Cook
Attorney General of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cook:

We note in the July 15, 1956, issue of the official publication of the Georgia Department of Law that, in a speech before the Senate Judiciary Committee, you took occasion to repeat untrue statements concerning the Southern Regional Council and the state chairman of one of its affiliates.

To set the record straight -- the Southern Regional Council is not a "left-wing" organization nor is it the successor to "the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare." Our predecessor was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. (1919-44).

As to the speech at Paine College in Augusta, we believe that you had already been informed that the account of the speech you quote is entirely untrue.

Inasmuch as these erroneous statements appeared in an official publication, we are confident that you will be glad of the opportunity to correct the record.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Cook File

SCHEDULE "A"

Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois
Action Committee to Free Span Now
American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions
American Christian Nationalist Party
American Committee for European Workers' Relief
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American Committee for Spanish Freedom
American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Committee to Survey Labor Conditions in Europe
American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity
American Council on Soviet Relations
American Croatian Congress
American Jewish Labor Council
American League Against War and Fascism
American League for Peace and Democracy
American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association (also known as Amerikos Lietuviu Darbininku Literaturos Draugija)
American National Labor Party
American National Socialist League
American National Socialist Party
American Nationalist Party
American Patriots, Inc.
American Peace Crusade
American Peace Mobilization
American Poles for Peace
American Polish Labor Council
American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee)
American-Russian Fraternal Society
American Russian Institute, New York, also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia
American Russian Institute of San Francisco
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles
American Slav Congress
American Women for Peace
American Youth Congress
American Youth for Democracy
Armenian Progressive League of America
Associated Klans of America
Association of Georgia Klans
Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung)
Association of Lithuanian Workers (also known as Lietuviu Darbininku Susivienijimas)
Atlanta Peace Council
Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party
Baltimore Forum
Black Dragon Society
Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Massachusetts
Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee
Bulgarian American People's League of the United States of America
California Emergency Defense Committee
California Labor School, Inc., 216 Market Street, San Francisco, California
Carpatho-Russian People's Society
Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women
Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai)
Central Japanese Association of Southern California
Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront)
Cervantes Fraternal Society
China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
Chopin Cultural Center
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City)
Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
Citizens Protective League
Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
- Civil Rights Congress for Texas
- Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York

Columbians
Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola
Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom
Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
Committee for Nationalist Action
Committee for the Negro in the Arts
Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia
Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights
Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange
Committee to Aid the Fighting South
Committee to Uphold the Bill of Rights
Committee to Defend Marie Richardson
Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas
Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates
Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affilates, including:
- Alabama People's Educational Association
- Florida Press and Educational League
- Oklahoma League for Political Education
- People's Educational and Press Association of Texas
- Virginia League for People's Education

Connecticut State Youth Conference
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers
Congress of American Women
Council of Greek Americans
Council on African Affairs
Council for Jobs, Relief and Housing
Council for Pan-American Democracy
Croatian Benevolent Fraternity
Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan)
Daily Worker Press Club
Daniels Defense Committee
Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)
Dennis Defense Committee
Detroit Youth Assembly
Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee)
Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims
Families of the Smith Act Victims
Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U.S.A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America)
Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society
Frederick Douglass Educational Center
Freedom Stage, Inc.
Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands)
Friends of the Soviet Union
Garibaldi American Fraternal Society
George Washington Carver School, New York City
German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund)
German-American Republican League
German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft)
Harlem Trade Union Council
Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee
Heimuska Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibei Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association)
Hellenic-American Brotherhood
Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists)
Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans)
Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association)
Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense
Hungarian-American Council for Democracy
Hungarian Brotherhood
Independent Socialist League
Industrial Workers of the World
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidaries and affiliates
Japanese Association of America
Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai)
Japanese Overseas Convention, Toyko, Japan, 1940
Japanese Protective Association (Recruiting Organization)
Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City
Jewish Culture Society
Jewish People's Committee
Jewish People's Fraternal Order
Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
Joint Council of Progressive Italian-Americans, Inc.
Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Missouri
Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of U.S. Citizens of Japanese Ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan)
Knights of the White Camellia
Ku Klux Klan
Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft)
Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kreighshilfswerk)
Labor Council for Negro Rights
Labor Research Association, Inc.
Labor Youth League
League of American Writers
Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts)
Macedonian-American People's League
Mario Morgantini Circle
Maritime Labor Committee to Defend Al Lannon
Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace
Maurice Braverman Defense Committee
Michigan Civil Rights Federation
Michigan School of Social Science
Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans)
National Association of Mexican Americans (also known as Asociasion Nacional Mexico-Americana)
National Blue Stars Mothers of America (not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942)
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
National Committee for Freedom of the Press
National Committee to Win the Peace
National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy)
National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
National Labor Conference for Peace
National Negro Congress
National Negro Labor Council
Nationalist Action League
Nature Friends of America (since 1935)
Negro Labor Victory Committee
New Committee for Publications
Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theatre)
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
North American Spanish Aid Committee
North Philadelphia Forum
Northwest Japanese Association
Ohio School of Social Sciences
Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners
Original Southern Klans, Incorporated
Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Palo Alto Peace Club
Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)
Peace Information Center
Peace Movement of Ethiopia
People's Drama, Inc.
People's Educational Association (Incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc.), also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School
People's Institute of Applied Religion
People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights
Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
Photo League (New York City)
Political Prisoners' Welfare Committee
Polonia Society of the IWO
Progressive German-Americans, also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago
Progressive Party
Proletarian Party of America
Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area
Puertorriquenos Unidos (Puerto Ricans United)
Quad City Committee for Peace
Revolutionary Workers League
Romanian-American Fraternal Society
Russian American Society, Inc.
Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War)
Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts
Santa Barbara Peace Forum
Schappes Defense Committee
Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
School of Jewish Studies, New York City
Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Serbian-American Fraternal Society
Serbian Vidovdan Council
Shinto Temples
Silver Shirt Legion of America
Slavic Council of Southern California
Slovak Workers Society
Slovenian-American National Council
Socialist Workers Party (including American Committee for European Workers' Relief
Socialist Youth League
Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society)
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association, Los Angeles)
Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Tom Paine School of Westchester, New York
Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council
Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union
Union of American Croatians
Union of New York Veterans
United American Spanish Aid Committee
United Committee of Jewish Societies and Landsmanschaft Federations, also known as Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Fraternal Organizations
United Committee of South Slavic Americans
United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization
United May Day Committee
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Voice of Freedom Committee
Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, New Jersey
Washington Bookshop Association
Washington Committee for Democratic Action
Washington Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights
Washington Commonwealth Federation
Washington Pension Union
Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation
Workers Alliance (since April, 1936)
Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League
Yiddisher Kultur Farband
Young Communist League
Yugoslav-American Cooperative Home, Inc.
Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc.

The above schedule is not an allegation or an expression of opinion by the State of Georgia that the organizations listed thereon are in violation of State or Federal laws. The questionnaire is for the purpose of obtaining a complete personal history, as is required by law. This schedule is not all inclusive, and any organizations to which you belong, or have belonged, which are not covered by your answer to Item 16 (d) should be reported under Item 17. Answers to all items are required by law to be made under oath.

22. LIST CHRONOLOGICALLY ALL OF YOUR RESIDENCE FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS:

DATES		STREET	CITY	STATE
From	To			

23. REFERENCE: Give three personal references, not relatives, former employers, fellow employees, or school teachers, who are responsible, reputable, adults, business, or professional men or women, who have known you well during the past five years. Include your family physician if you have one.

NAME	RESIDENCE	BUSINESS ADDRESS	No. Years Acquainted
(1)			
(2)			
(3)			

24. MILITARY SERVICE: (Past or Present)

SERIAL NUMBER	BRANCH (Army—Navy—Etc.)	YEARS	
		From	To

25. Have you ever been arrested, charged, or held by Federal, State, or other law-enforcement authorities, for any violation of any federal law, state law, county or municipal law, regulation, or ordinances? (Do not include anything that happened before your sixteen birthday. Do not include minor traffic violations for which a fine of $35.00 or less was imposed. All other charges must be included even if they were dismissed.) Yes_____ No ✓

REASON CHARGED OR HELD	DATE	PLACE WHERE CHARGED OR HELD	DISPOSITION

26. SPACE FOR CONTINUING ANSWERS OR EXPLANATIONS: (Show item numbers to which answers or explanations apply. Attach a separate sheet if more space is needed.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

NOTE: Before signing this form, check all answers and explanations to see that you have answered all questions fully and correctly. This form is to be executed under oath subject to the penalities of false swearing in accordance with the provisions of the Georgia Laws 1953, November-December Session, pages 73 et seq.

AFFIDAVIT OF VERIFICATION

Georgia _____ County

Personally appeared before the undersigned attesting officer, duly authorized to administer oaths _____, who, after being duly sworn, deposes and says and declares under penalties of false swearing that he is the person who executed the foregoing instrument; that he has read and completed the same and knows and understands the contents thereof; that the matters stated therein and the answers and information furnished by him in the foregoing questionnaire, including any attachments thereto, are true and correct.

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME

_____
(Signature of Affiant)

This _____ day of _____ 19____

_____
Notary Public

County of _____ My commission expires _____ day of _____ 19____

(Affix Seal)

INFORMATION TO BE FURNISHED BY EMPLOYING AGENCY

INSTRUCTIONS TO AGENCY: If this questionnaire is executed by applicant, insert "APPL" in this space for date of appointment, and show date of application. This questionnaire must be executed and notarized under the supervision of the security officer in your agency or department, and must be signed by him.

DATE OF APPOINTMENT	TITLE OF POSITION	DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY	DUTY STATION

This form has been executed under my supervision. I have personally examined it and found all questions to be answered completely.

_____
(Signature of Security Officer)

FILE COPY

THE SEGREGATION DECISION --

ITS PRESENT EFFECT AND FUTURE THREAT

An Address By

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK

It shall be my purpose to analyze for you the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 and its implementation decree of May 31, 1955 respecting segregation of the races in our public schools, and to give you some of my views respecting the application of the decision and decree to our State Constitution, laws, schools and people.

This decision affects 22 sovereign states and the District of Columbia. Its impact upon our social order is so violent that one hesitates even to consider the possible public reactions in Georgia and other Southern States when enforcement proceedings are instituted under it. The very least to be expected is that litigation resulting from it will consume the better part of the next century.

Before we proceed to the specific position of the State of Georgia under this ruling, let us thoroughly understand the background of the five cases which prompted it and the factors considered by the Court in framing it.

The suits were filed by negro parents in the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware and the District of Columbia. The basis of the cases from the four states was that segregation of the races -- by and of itself -- denies negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed them by the Fourteenth Amendment even though physical facilities for education are absolutely equal. The District of Columbia petition challenged school segregation on the contention that it denies negroes their liberty without due process of law as guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

When the cases finally reached the Supreme Court, they were consolidated and argued together. The Court, when it acted, issued only one ruling.

The question which the Court had to resolve, so far as the States were concerned, was whether the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was violated by State requirements for segregated public schools. This meant the Justices found it necessary to determine the intention of the framers and ratifiers of that Amendment.

In arguments before the Court, it was established as a matter of incontrovertible history that the same Congress which submitted the Fourteenth Amendment enacted legislation before, during and frequently after submission providing for segregated schools in the District of Columbia; that 23 of the then-existing 37 states either continued or instituted segregation upon ratification of the Amendment; and that three of the five states which discontinued segregation upon adoption of the Amendment later re-established it.

Up to the time of these cases, segregation as manifested by "the separate, but equal, doctrine" had been upheld at least five times by the Supreme Court, at least 13 times by lower federal courts and 59 times by the highest courts of the several states. A Supreme Court of Republican judges decided that doctrine of separate, but equal, facilities in 1896 in the classic case of Plessy v. Ferguson.

Yet, despite this persuasive legislative history and judicial precedent, the Supreme Court pled ignorance by declaring it "inconclusive." And, instead of holding that the "separate, but equal, doctrine" of the Plessy Case was wrong, it concluded that it was not supported by "modern authority."

This "modern authority" was cited by the Court in a footnote to consist, not of case decisions, but rather of treatises on psychology and sociology by authorities of questionable character and doubtful loyalty.

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi disclosed -- in a speech from the floor of the Senate last May 26, -- that two of the six principal authorities listed by the Court have no less than 28 citations of communist-front activity in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives. Furthermore, he reported, 16 of the contributors to the book, "The American Dilemma," which was cited in its entirety as an authority by the Supreme Court justices, have long records of affiliation with and participation in communist and subversive organizations and activity.

The origin of the doctrines accepted by our nation's Highest Tribunal as "modern scientific authority" can be traced to Karl Marx and it can be proved that their propagation is part and parcel of the conspiracy to divide and destroy this government through internal controversy.

It is difficult indeed for a true American to understand how the members of the Supreme Court of the United States could issue a bald decree overriding the Constitution solely on the basis of the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and enemies of our republican form of government.

Since the original decision dealt only with the abstract principle of law, the cases were set for reargument on the question of putting it into effect. The decree issued on May 31 of this year is the result of those rearguments.

Briefly, the holding of the Court wasthis:

First, all public school segregation laws of the states which were parties to the suits were voided.

And, second, the Supreme Court remanded the cases to the Federal District Courts for the framing of decrees and determining of time-tables for the admission of negroes to public schools on a non-segregated basis.

The Court did not set a date by which segregation must be abolished. Nor did it set a specific deadline for the District Courts to do so.

Instead, the Court declared that the lower courts should require "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with the ruling. It provided that if, after such a start was made, the defendant states could show a need for additional time, the lower courts were authorized to grant it. It stated that the various administrative problems encountered in a transition from a segregated to a non-segregated basis could be considered in formulating the final decrees in those cases in which it is established that segregation exists because of race or color.

In its broad application, the effect of this decree was to constitute the Federal District Courts as super boards of education in those school districts where cases are pending. And those misguided persons who have publicly rejoiced at the reference to "local solution of the problem" had best look again. "Local solution" as used in this instance simply means that the Federal District Courts are to stand over local school boards with the threat of contempt proceedings.

To put it bluntly -- there will be about as much exercise of free will as in a shotgun wedding.

Subsequent to the rendition of this decision and decree, my office has been deluged with correspondence from public officials and private citizens requesting clarification as to what effect, if any, they have had upon Georgia's segregated school system.

Many have asked whether Georgia's constitutional and statutory provisions requiring segregation have been invalidated.

Others have asked whether city and county boards of education are required to begin desegregation.

And some have asked whether local officials should hold conferences with representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a view toward working out voluntary agreements for effecting integration.

My answer to each of these questions has been in the negative.

To properly understand Georgia's present position with respect to the Supreme Court decision, one must first understand the peculiar nature of a judicial decree.

Courts do not render judgments which bind or affect the public generally. Their pronouncements are confined to what the law terms "parties to the record" -- a designation given to the specific individuals named in the pleadings against whom relief is prayed.

Although four of the segregation cases originated in the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware, the states themselves were not defendants because, under the Eleventh Amendment to the United States Constitution, states cannot be sued by private citizens.

Instead, in each case, only one county board of education in each of the four states was named defendant. And, as a result, the only entities bound by the ruling in these cases are the county boards of education specifically named in the suits; for instance, the Board of Education of Clarendon County, South Carolina.

In the implementation arguments before the Court last April, Justice Black specifically raised the question of who would be bound by the decision. He asked United States Solicitor General Sobeloff whether South Carolinians outside Clarendon County could be affected by the Court's ruling. To which Mr. Sobeloff replied:

Obviously no. Under no view of the class action rule can people in other districts be affected, either entitled to relief or bound by the proceedings in these cases."

That is a candid admission by the Solicitor General of the United States who appeared in court supporting the cause of the NAACP that not only would other states not be affected by the decrees but also that even the other counties in the states involved would not be touched.

The Supreme Court itself previously had held that an injunction decree -- which is the type issued in the segregation cases -- cannot legally bind persons not parties to a suit. And it further had ruled in an earlier case that an injunction cannot be issued in such broad language as to bind an entire state in a case affecting only one of its political subdivisions.

Georgia was not a party to the segregation cases and declined to participate upon invitation in the implementation arguments before the Supreme Court. In so refusing, it was sought by responsible state officials to avoid any possible holding that Georgia had thereby become bound and to give solemn recognition to the policy of the State -- as evidenced by action of the Legislature and vote of the people -- that segregation would not be abolished in Georgia schools.

There are both constitutional and statutory provisions in the laws of this State which require segregation in our public schools. Since Georgia was not a party to these suits, these laws are still in effect and, until they are declared otherwise, are presumed to be constitutional.

Even should a suit be brought in Georgia, any one action could affect only one of our 204 city and county school systems.

To bind all of these systems, 204 separate suits would have to be brought. And -- even assuming a decree should be issued striking down this state's statutory and constitutional provisions requiring segregation -- the other 203 school districts could still legally require segregation as an exercise of the inherent powers vested in the local boards of education to govern their respective systems.

Under Georgia law, the control and management of the various school systems are confided to local boards of education which are given "wide discretionary powers" and the right to determine "what is best for school pupils."

Moreover, the District Courts to which the South Carolina and Virginia cases were remanded stressed the fact that Clarendon and Prince Edward County school officials were not bound to proceed with desegregation until final decrees ordering it are issued. Both Courts allotted time for the two systems to make studies of the problems which would arise should integration be required.

Unfortunately, many people have gotten the idea that the Supreme Court ordered immediate integration of the races in our schools -- an impression initiated, aided and abetted by the NAACP.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Actually, in its usually-subtle manner, the NAACP has substituted the word "integration" for the word "discrimination."

The Court, in handing down its decision, was dealing with the question of whether denial of admission of a negro to a white school on account of race or color was an unconstitutional act of discrimination. In fact, as the District Courts in South Carolina and Virginia have been quick to point out, the phrase "integration of the races" is not to be found in the U. S. Supreme Court's decision or subsequent decree.

A study of the Supreme Court's ruling and its interpretation by the Federal District Courts brings out three significant facts:

1. Any steps designed to integrate the white and negro races in the public schools are premature and not demanded by the decision if segregation be justified on any reasonable grounds other than race or color.

2. Neither the original decision nor the subsequent decree ordered integration of the races in the public schools but simply held that admission could not be denied on account of race or color.

3. Segregation of the races may be continued on account of numerous factors and problems wholly unrelated to race or color.

The District Courts in Virginia and South Carolina recognized another factor which must figure in any final implementation decrees; that is, that local school trustees in most Southern States will be without funds to operate public schools when, and if, integration of the races in the classrooms is ordered.

That is the situation here in Georgia.

Local school authorities are helpless to effect classroom integration -- even should it be ordered -- because state law denies state funds to any school system which permits integration of the races. The local school authorities are without authority to force the Legislature to change its position. By the same token, the United States Supreme Court and District Courts have no authority to force a State Legislature to levy taxes for the support of public education, whether segregated or otherwise.

That should make it crystal clear that -- even after many years of initial litigation here in Georgia -- we will be confronted with a choice not between segregated and integrated public schools, but rathe between segregated public schools and private schools.

You will recall that, in the general election of November 1954, the people of Georgia adopted the so-called "private school" amendment to the State Constitution. This amendment authorizes the Legislature to appropriate grants to individuals for educational purposes. If implemented, it would result in Georgia school children attending segregated private schools at State expense.

Therefore, it would be inappropriate for school authorities to seek meetings with representatives of the NAACP to devise ways and means of working out a plan of classroom integration of the races.

If any good were to come from such conferences, it is apparent that the participants would have to meet on a common ground of purpose The purpose of our school officials by law is promoting the welfare of our public school system. So long as the radical and uncompromising leaders of the NAACP refuse to confer on this basis -- but are insistent on encouraging a forced intermixing of the races for their own sake -- nothing could be gained through conversations with them.

It is my view that the local school authorities are fully qualified to do that which is in the best interests of the public and the pupils and that an anti-Southern New York group should have no voice in the manner in which these authorities act.

Another fact which needs to be emphasized is that the State of Georgia does have the right and authority to require that teachers in the public schools do not subscribe to or teach any theory of social relations contrary to the Constitution and laws of Georgia.

Although much has been said about the "right to teach," it has been generally overlooked or ignored that that right is a state-created right and, as such, is conditional. There is nothing violative of a teacher's rights of freedom of speech and belief in the requirement that he or she swear to uphold the Constitution and laws of this State and not to subscribe to or teach anything contrary to them.

The State-created right to teach in the public schools is conditioned by law upon the meeting of four requirements. They are:

1. the issuance of a certificate of qualification by the State Department of Education.

2. the issuance of a license to teach by the local school authorities.

3. the execution of a contract of employment between the local authorities and the teacher.

4. the taking of an oath by the teacher that he or she does not subscribe to and will not teach any theory of social relations contrary to the Constitution and laws of Georgia.

It odes not seem to me to be out of harmony w ith our democratic way of doing things for the State to require by law that the men and women who teach our sons and daughters be sincere believers in Constitutional government and the Southern way of life. Certainly, I think it is proper for the State to make certain that no teacher contributes a portion of his or her salary as dues to any organization which, in turn, uses that money to file suits seeking to disrupt or destroy our segregated public school system.

In conclusion let me say that I believe that segregation can be maintained in Georgia within the framework of the law.

If it be said that we are circumventing the Supreme Court, the unqualified answer is "yes". Congress and the people have furnished many precedents for this.

The Fourteenth Amendment, upon which the Court's decision rested was itself designed to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case which held a negro could not be a citizen.

Previously, the people ratified the Eleventh Amendment so as to circumvent the Court's decision in Chisholm v. Georgia, holding the states subject to suit in the federal courts by private citizens. Subsequently, the people ratified the Sixteenth Amendment to get around Supreme Court decisions holding the Federal Government powerless to levy an income tax. And, very recently, the Congress circumvented the Court's decision by passing the Tideland's Legislation.

Even, however, if it should be found that we are violating the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court, our only reply to the Court will be, "You have shown us the w ay."

Segregation, like all other social problems is not something that can be abolished by judicial decree. It will exist in Georgia as long as the people desire it, the United States Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding.

As it was said in Plessy v. Ferguson:

". . . The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced comingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet on terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals - - - Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United cannot put them upon the same plane."

Whether you happen to approve or disapprove of segregation as a personal matter is of no concern.

Those whose honest beliefs may be against segregation have lost just as much by the Court's decision as those who favor it.

The preservation of liberty through an honest and conscientious interpretation of the Constitution by the Court transcents all other considerations of personal likes or dislikes.

If the Court interprets the Constitution according to its own notion of what the law ought to be, rather than what the law is, we no longer have a government of laws, but of men.

If the Court can disregard the Constitution to accomplish a result you approve, it likewise can ignore it to reach a result you disapprove.

And therein lies the most ominous threat of the decision we have just discussed to our Republic.

I thank you.

# # #

From: Charles A. Rawson,
223 Peachtree Street, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

HB

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, MAY 3, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 352

Ford Foundation Gives 1-4 Million To Atlanta Anti-Segregation Group

Talmadge Reviews Five Years Of Progress In Georgia To County Commissioners Association In 1954 Meeting

Segregated Schools, Colleges Will Be Kept, Governor Promises Again

In a speech to the County Commissioners of Georgia, meeting in Savannah, Governor Talmadge reviewed the progress made in Georgia during the last five years and voiced the opinion that the people of Georgia are steadfastly determined "in our course that mixed schools and colleges shall not come to pass in Georgia."

His speech is as follows:

"At no time in the 40-year history of this organization have we met less feeling of frustration and more sense of real accomplishment.

"As individuals, and through the good offices of your Association, you all are entitled to a large share of the credit for the unparalleled progress your State has made during the last five years.

"Working with your officers, members and attorneys, during the course of my administration, has been both pleasant and productive.

"Through great programs which you and I, and your General Assembly, have inaugurated, each and every county government in Georgia is much stronger and more serviceable to the people than was the case a few years back.

"This one fact, I consider, the true index of the success of my tenure as governor.

"You have had an administration which was actually spawned in the county courthouses of the State, a product of the grassroots, so to speak.

"You have had an administration which, without any reservation whatsoever, believes in local self-government.

"We have acted in scores of ways to render effective help to our county and city governments.

"Such a constant, active policy has paid dividends to the people. We have completed now or have under way a gigantic amount of public building totalling over three-quarters of a **BILLION** dollars.

"These schools, roads, hospitals, health centers, college buildings, institutional structures and many others are lasting improvements. They are out there in brick, steel, stone and concrete to serve present and future generations of Georgians. They will continue to provide vital service as our State grows and prospers to take its rightful high place on the roll of the sisterhood of States.

"Your government, State and County, is keeping pace with the advancement going on about us. In fact, we believe, that we have to a great degree, helped stimulate the growth of new industry and business, as well as the improvement of our agriculture.

"This is shown by the fact that Georgia led the entire South last year in industrial development with the establishment

(Continued on Page 2)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

We have been trying to tell you from time to time that everybody who leads the fight on communism in this country finds that he immediately becomes a victim of a nation-wide effort to destroy him in every way possible.

We have called our readers' attention to the fact that Martin Dies, the Texas Congressman, became the victim of a vicious, organized campaign which resulted in destroying his health, breaking him financially and defeating him politically.

In the campaign to destroy Dies there was enlisted thousands of well-intentioned, but little thinking, citizens all over the nation.

It was a nation-wide campaign and millions of dollars were spent to literally crush Martin Dies.

Back in Congress today, Dies says that he is neither physically or financially able to undertake the fight again. He lost everything on the former occasion and the good, decent, patriotic people of America failed to come to his rescue.

The people of America let Martin Dies become a victim of the campaign run by the communists and their sympathizers.

We have also called your attention to the fact that the communists have shrewdly maneuvered all of us to the point to where we are now fighting one another over the methods employed by Senator Joe McCarthy.

Here we are today lined up and scrapping one another over Joe while the communists are forgotten and they are shrewdly carrying on a nation-wide campaign to tear us assunder and then pitch us all to the wolves.

Now, J. Edgar Hoover, the boss of the F. B. I., makes a speech and confirms everything we have been trying to tell you.

In a speech to the annual convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington on April 22, 1954, Hoover said that everyone who has dared to expose the communist threat has become the target of "experts in character assassination."

No truer statement was ever made. All public people who today stand firm in their fight against the communist threat are constantly the victims of these character assassins.

The funny thing about it is that most of the dirty work isn't done by the communists themselves or those who are closely aligned with them. Most of the character assassination is done by people who have a reputation for respectibility and for some unknown and unexplained reason have aligned themselves on the side of some of the communist objectives in this country.

In this group are to be found newspaper people, radio and television commentators, a lot of writers, a few ministers and an innumerable amount of crackpots of every known variety.

And of this group, J. Edgar Hoover said:

"One of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves."

Concluding this thought, Hoover also said:

"The psuedo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectibility invites."

The communists are always crusading for something. They adopt some immediate objectives and some catchy slogan. As soon as they do, this group of so-called liberals over the country joins in the chorus.

Then when someone undertakes to expose the communists for what

(Continued on Page 3)

Talmadge, Byrnes Attacked; McGill Southern Regional Council Leader

The Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta, has been granted nearly a quarter of a million dollars by the Ford Foundation. (1)

The basic objective of the council is to destroy racial segregation in Georgia and other southern states. It was incorporated under the laws of Georgia, January 6, 1944: its principal office and place of business is in the City of Atlanta. Its charter authorizes the establishment of branch offices elsewhere within or without the State of Georgia.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, of Atlanta University, are two of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Conference, Inc.; they are charter members.

McGill is a bitter foe of racial segregation in public schools in Georgia and in other southern states: he is an avowed enemy of racial segregation in any form.

McGill was recently appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the Ford Foundation. (2)

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, now is associate director of the Ford Foundation. Like McGill, he is a bitter foe of racial segregation and fights it at all times and under all circumstances.

Hutchins, as principal speaker at the annual Urban League dinner meeting at Temple Israel auditorium, of Saint Louis, Mo., on February 26, 1954, said that segregation in public schools is on the way out and there is very little opponents of desegregation can do to prevent the breakdown.

Taking the position that school segregation is doomed on economic, legal and moral grounds, Hutchins declared that threats by Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina, to abolish public schools in their states probably will not come about.

"If they (Governors Byrnes and Talmadge) get away with it, they won't get get away with it long," Hutchins said, stating that Federal authorities could not condone such acts.

What significance could there be about the large gift of money to the Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta, by the Ford Foundation recently, in view of the fight underway in Georgia to preserve racial segregation in the public schools of the State?

McGill, a charter member of the Council, is opposed to racial segregation. He has fought it openly at times and under cover for years.

Excerpts from the Council's statement

(Continued on Page 3)

THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

GOV. TALMADGE PROVES A GOOD AMBASSADOR

(From The Atlanta Constitution, April 15, 1954)

Gov. Herman Talmadge proved a good spokesman for Georgia accomplishments, her ideals and aspirations in his address Tuesday before the Traffic Club of New York City. While there specifically to tell the nation's shippers of the opportunities afforded by the state's new port facilities at Savannah, he proved a fine ambassador for all aspects of Georgia life and progress.

He began his speech in a manner we like. "I am not here," he declared, "as an apologist like some of my predecessors on the rostrums of the North and East. Neither have I come as a critic. I rather am here as an ambassador of a great state and a sturdy people."

The Georgia governor denied the charge that the state is attempting to improve itself at the expense of others. "We are not trying to bribe industry from any other parts of the country," he declared. " We offer only our resources and our people — but not for exploitation, human or otherwise. We offer nothing not offered to our own citizens."

The governor was able to offer the proof of his statements—proof that all Georgians already know well.

He was able to tell them the ramarkable story of the development of the Georgia port at Savannah, which is now handling more tonnage than at any time in recent history. The Georgia Ports Authority, the agency created to operate the facility, has "in four years financed the construction of modern wharves, transit sheds and handling equipment while at the same time earning its purchase price three times over."

The governor brought credit to himself and to Georgia in his New York appearance. We applaud him for it. We need more ambassadors who will tell the real Georgia story.

MIXED SCHOOLS

THE DEVIL'S BREW FOR GEORGIA

Segregated Schools, Colleges Will Be Kept, Governor Promises Again

(Continued from Page 1)

of 270 new or greatly expanded plants, each representing additional capital investment of over $50,000. These new factories are affording new employment to 15,000 persons and are adding $50 million a year in payrolls to the overall economy.

"A goodly share of these plants are locating in the smaller cities and towns, many of which previously had no industry. They are being welcomed as new citizens and a valuable addition to the community. They furnish, for the first time, steady opportunities to female workers in the towns and help round out the income of farm families through part-time employment. Others, which have been most helpful, buy and process products of the farm as well as afford employment.

"This new purchasing power means added markets for finished goods. Properly encouraged and backed by an aggressive State administration, this will continue. Growth will beget growth. Let us keep up the good works.

"Perhaps the most outstanding contributions this administration has made toward strengthening local government in Georgia is through the following programs:

"1. Leaving property tax to the counties and cities.
"2. Allocation of Gas and Tag Tax receipts to roads.
"3. Doubling grants to counties for road work.
"4. Unprecedented support to Education.
"5. $225 million in new school and college buildings.
"6. Highway Reform.
"7. Trebling of Welfare program.
"8. Hospital and Health Center construction.
"9. Medical Center for indigent sick.
"10. Expansion and improvement of institutional care.
"11. Statewide forestry protection.
"12. New Farm Market facilities.
"13. Making prison population productive through segregation of offenders.
"14. All-out backing to youth activities.
"15. Interest in and support to soil conservation and farm extension work.

Of all these, education has claimed our first attention. We are providing 53 per cent of our total annual State revenues for school and college operation and capital outlay. This percentage is unmatched effortwise by no other State in the Union. Teachers' salaries have been increased 125 per cent in the last five years.

"The Talmadge administration has supplied more money for education than all other preceding administrations combined since public schools were founded in 1871.

"Even in spite of the fact that appropriations to all agencies except education were trimmed last year by six per cent so that we could continue to operate on a solvent basis, the appropriation for schools has been paid in full and the minimum foundation program is being carried forward.

"I am happy to report to you this morning that relations between the races in Georgia are the best they have been in over half a century. We are making progress and getting along well. We Georgians believe that unmolested, without outside interference and agitation, we can work out all our problems to the best interests of all concerned.

"Every thoughtful person knows that social equality is a relative thing unobtainable through court decision or government edict. But we all know that equality before the law and in opportunity is a fair concept possible of achievement.

"The major concern of my administration has been to advance the education, health, welfare and prosperity of all our people.

"To that end, lies the only road to happiness and contentment — the American way.

"It is regrettable that all of the strides we have made in the last few years toward equality of opportunity within our existing pattern of life stand in grave jeopardy.

"The separate but equal doctrine, which has stood the test of time and judicial decision for lo these eighty-eight years, is now being frontally challenged before the Supreme Court of the United States.

"You, ladies and gentlemen, have heard my late father, Eugene Talmadge, and myself discuss this issue and warn of the impending consequences.

"Vast forces with heavy financial backing are still arrayed against us. Only through unity, thick skins and stout hearts can we win through in this crisis.

"You will recall that in 1950 when you elected me your governor the principal plank in my platform was the solemn promise:

"SO LONG AS I AM YOUR GOVERNOR, THERE WILL BE NO MIXED SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN GEORGIA!

"That promise will be kept by me inviolate and can be kept in the future by any chief executive who will stand by his guns and fight and not throw in the towel as some of the weak sisters have done.

"At my request, the Legislature during its adjourned session created the Georgia Commission on Education. About half of its 21 members were designated by the Assembly and I appointed the other half. It is composed of some of the most distinguished educators in the State and other outstanding Georgians.

"Honorable Durwood Pye, Atlanta attorney and an authority on Constitutional law, who I believe addressed you earlier, is Secretary to the Commission. Honorable B. D. ("Buck") Murphy, noted lawyer of Fayetteville and Atlanta, is attorney for the Commission.

"I don't think that you need have any fears that this counsel will explore and exhaust every legal remedy available to us.

"The Commission will study any decision which the high federal court passes down in the segregation cases. Ultimately, the responsibility for recommendations to the General Assembly to overcome an adverse decision, if it should be forthcoming, rests with the Commission.

"The Attorney General of Georgia and other competent legal authorities have advised me on two definite propositions of law in the event of an adverse decision on public school segregation in a Georgia case. They are:

"A. Under our State Constitution and laws, the power of our State and Counties to levy taxes for public schools would fail the moment the races are mixed in them.

"B. Having thus failed, the Legislature could proceed to provide for subsidizing the children of Georgia in attendance at segregated private schools meeting all of the standards now current in our present system for both pupils and teachers.

"Now, this is an interpretation of the State Constitution and our law as it exists. How the federal courts would construe it is something else.

"So that there can be no room for doubt about the authority of the Legislature to act in case it becomes necessary to preserve separate schools in Georgia, over two-thirds of the membership of the General Assembly, at its last session, voted to submit a constitutional amendment to the people which would serve to further strengthen and re-enforce the existing law in this regard.

"The amendment, if adopted, would take no affirmative action whatsoever.

"Its language is permissive only.

"It would not affect our present public school system.

"It would be inoperative until and unless an adverse decision on segregation in a Georgia school case forced the Legislature to take counteraction.

"Thus, it is plain for all to see, including the Justices who now transiently compose this nation's highest tribunal, that if our public school systems in Georgia and throughout the South are ever harmed or destroyed, it will be by the Supreme Court.

"It can only come through the ignominy of a court of law handing down a purely political decision.

"It can only come if this court should seek to substitute unsound and unrealistic ideas of social relations for long-established law and the federal and State Constitutions.

"We pray that such a calamitious day will not be forced upon us for it will destroy civilization as we have known it in the South. Such a decision would rend our nation asunder in this hour of international peril. Having been thus divided, we would be easier prey for our red foes.

"Let us not delude ourselves for one moment. If the Court outlaws segregation in the public schools, no amount of gerrymandering or legal fiction, as have been suggested by some, will delay the immediate application of federal judicial power in all cases thereafter when the question is presentel to federal district courts.

"There will be no protracted litigation and judges, where their responsibility has been so recently defined, cannot be relied upon to grant supersedeas to delay the hour of final decision.

"My friends, we face extreme threats, and if they come, only extreme measures can meet them.

"In any event, the present administration stands with calmness and dispassion.

"But we are deliberate and steadfastly determined in our course that mixed schools and colleges shall not come to pass in Georgia."

Talmadge, Byrnes Attacked; McGill Southern Regional Council Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

of policy are:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South free of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and no longer will be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part towards its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied, for it is nothing else than the American ideal."

Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, like McGill and the Southern Regional Conference, of Atlanta, is a bitter foe of racial segregation.

McGill and Hutchins hold in common their determination to end racial segregation in Georgia and in other southern states. The focal point of their attacks now is on the public school systems. Both of these men are officials of the Ford Foundation.

Hutchins told his Saint Louis audience that the United States Supreme Court's decision that "separate cannot be equal," in its ruling on the Sweat case in Texas, will have some bearing on the five school cases now pending in the high tribunal.

Formerly, the Southern Regional Council was financed in the main by substantial grants from the Rosenwald Foundation.

The Rosenwald Foundation, according to Dr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, of Philadelphia, chairman of the board of trustees, devoted its major activities to:

"Creation of equality between whites and Negroes and to the promotion of interracial relations in the South."

It was during the late 30's and 40's that the first large scale direct attack was made on segregatin in the South: it was made by Rosenwald Fund workers.

Since the death of the Rosenwald Fund, the Southern Regional Conference has been existing on grants from individuals and certain out-of-state groups. Now, its coffers have been handsomely replenished by a huge sum of money from the Ford Foundation.

Dr. George S. Mitchell has headed up the Council as its executive director since 1947. He came to Georgia in 1944, the year in which the Southern Regional Conference, of Atlanta, was incorporated in Fulton County Superior Court.

Prior to coming to Georgia, Mitchell had seen considerable service in the Federal government: he was in the Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture and the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mitchell's first job after coming to Atlanta was Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-Political Action Committee from which he became Director of Veterans Service of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council was incorporated in Fulton County, Georgia, Superior Court January 6, 1944: its objects and purposes as set out in its petition for incorporation are:

"The objects and purposes of said corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial developments; to attain through research and action programs, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and intergrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship: and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

The petition for charter sets out that the Council's membership is self perpetuating and shall be composed of the incorporators and others as the incorporators shall designate according to such rules and by-laws as may be adopted by the corporation.

The Council is a non-pecuniary corporation with no capital stock. It has the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, etc.

The petition for incorporation of the Council was filed by Haas, Lyons & Hurt, attorneys of Atlanta. The petition was filed in Fulton Superior Court, January 6, 1944; the order of incorporation was signed by Superior Court Judge Frank A. Hooper, Jr., January 6, 1944, for a period of 35 years. It is recorded in Book 062, page 46, Clerk's office, Superior Courts, Atlanta Circuit.

Does the large grant of money to the Council from the Ford Foundation mean that funds will be expended by the Council in an effort to propagandize against racial segregation in Georgia's public schools and to try to defeat the proposed amendment to Georgia's constitution, to be voted on in the General Election this fall?

That proposed amendment to Georgia's constitution provides:

"Section 1. That Article VII of the Constitution of Georgia be amended by adding thereto a new section, to be numbered Section XIII, as follows:

'Section XIII. Paragraph I, Grants for Education:

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of State, county or municipal funds to citizens of the State for educational purposes, and in discharge of all obligation of the State to provide adequate education for its citizens.' "

The Association of County Commissioners of Georgia, in its annual convention at Savannah, April 20, 1954, unanimously endorsed that proposed amendment to the State's constitution. The resolution of the commissioners endorsing the proposed amendment said in part:

"The experience of generations and the lessons of history have demonstrated that where the two races live together in great numbers as in this State, the best interest of both are promoted by their education in separate schools. Upon the principle of parallel civilizations our institutions are erected, having as their goal their excellence of the individual rather than the reduction of the mass to some undetermined level."

Will the people of Georgia allow the millions accumulated by the Ford Motor Company and expended through the Ford Foundation and the Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta, to destroy the white man's civilization in Georgia?

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

they are and to expose the movements for what they are, then the great band of liberals all over the country joins hands with the communists and their fellow travelers in a mighty crusade to assassinate the character of any individual or person who seeks to expose the communists' objectives.

The liberals in this country helped the communists destroy Martin Dies. The so-called liberals in this country are today calling for Joe McCarthy's scalp.

The so-called liberals can see no harm in the communists, but to them, old Joe is a terrible monster to be destroyed. If you don't believe what I am saying just listen to the news commentators on your radio. Listen to the news commentators on your television set. Just read the columns of the Drew Pearson type of liberal in this country.

Every one of them has joined in every character assassination campaign conducted by the communist party and their sympathizers.

Just listen to Edward R. Murrow some night. Even Malenkov wouldn't sound near as bad as does Edward R. Murrow.

It is a strange thing that these liberals never criticize the communists. They are always after the enemies of the communists.

These so-called liberals belong to Truman's crowd who holler "red herring." They defended Hiss and every one of the rest of the traitors until they were caught red-handed and convicted.

They now swell the chorus of the communist hymns of hate and the communists' attempts to destroy and assassinate the character of every individual who fights the communist cause.

You will notice that you have never heard Harry Truman talk about any of this group. On the contrary, he hollered "witch hunt" and "red herring" and tried to stop every effort on the part of Congress to expose the communists in government.

You will recall that Adlai Stevenson always played along with this bunch of liberals and talked about the witch hunt and the red herring and the attempt to determine guilt by association.

They always associated with this so-called liberal group and followed their line.

They minimized from the very beginning the influence of the communists in government even though they knew that the communist scientists had delivered to Russia every secret discovery in the field of atomic energy.

They weren't concerned about it at all.

It reminds me of a rape story in the Georgia Law Reports. The Judge who wrote the decision on the Court of Appeals bench said that the young lady in question wasn't seriously concerned about her virtue and that the only signs of concern that she exhibited during the time of the escapade was that her sister's dress which she was wearing not be mussed up in any manner, shape, form or fashion to the extent that she took it off and hung it up in the tourist court.

These so-called liberals are in the same position today. They are not worried about the government being destroyed by the communists or overthrown in a communist movement.

Their first concern is the destruction of those who fight the communists and the efforts to divide and conquer the American people.

And talking about dividing the American people, we have a recent example that makes you want to vomit.

Recently, the Ford Foundation granted the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Now, the object and purpose of the Southern Regional Council is to divide the people of the South and to create chaos, confusion and violence.

Its objective as stated in its charter is the destruction of the pattern of segregation.

As soon as the charter was granted they issued a statement of policy. This statement said that they looked forward to a South of the future where "segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit" and no longer will be imposed.

That is the object of the Southern Regional Council. It was so stated at the time it was created.

Now it is anticipated that the Ford Foundation gave this one quarter of a million dollars to the Southern Regional Council to carry out its avowed purpose.

Now mind you, this grant is given at a time when an adverse decision from the Supreme Court of the United States is anticipated and at a time when we all look forward to chaos, confusion and violence as a

(Continued on Page 4)

The Letter Column

Editor
The Augusta Courier
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In answer to questions that have arisen regarding the reciprocal agreement between South Carolina and the State of Georgia on the Clark Hill impoundment, I offer the following in an effort to make it clear as to just what waters may be fished in under this agreement.

It will be noted in the agreement and I quote, "It is the desire of the States of Georgia and South Carolina to adopt and enforce rules and regulations covering the preservation, propagation and taking of fish in and from the waters of the Savannah River, between Clark Hill Dam, the highway bridge between Calhoun Falls, South Carolina, and Elberton, Georgia, including the waters impounded by the Clark's Hill Dam, but not in streams running into said body of water."

The words "Including the waters impounded by the Clark Hill Dam" mean all of the Lake whether it be on some particular creek where the lake backs up this creek or river.

There seems to be some confusion that maybe only the Savannah River may be fished according to this agreement; however, by the impoundment of the Clark Hill Dam means any area including the actual high water mark, and streams running into the lake are not covered by this agreement. The stream running into the lake is no longer a stream after it reaches the actual lake level.

I trust this will clarify this situation.

Yours very truly,
Fulton Lovell
Director

FL:jc

Talmadge Scored Big Hit With N. Y., Pittsburgh Talks

ATLANTA,—For sometime many Georgians have been convinced that Herman Talmadge is the most progressive governor in Georgia's history. Now they are hailing him as the state's No. 1 ambassador of good will; a salesman par excellence for our commonwealth. And for good reason, too. His latest public performance above the Mason-Dixon offered convincing evidence of that. In New York and Pittsburgh, where he delivered speeches and made several television and radio speeches, he made a big hit.

In all his talks he did a good job of spreading the virtues of his native Georgia, never missing a trick. But in Pittsburgh especially he laid it on the line for industrialists who may be looking southward. On that score he had this to say to the Pittsburgh Personnel Assn., a 37-year-old organization composed of some 650 members representing a cross-section of manufacturing, business and educational leaders:

"We of the South are particularly interested in the attitudes and motivations of financiers and industrialists. We are interested because we are in the midst of a tremendous industrial revolution and we are eager to attract the plants of responsible firms to locate in our region. But we are looking for that industry which will come in as one and join in full partnership in our development. That which would exploit our people, our resources and our vast potential while giving nothing in return is not welcome.

"Of course, I can speak only for my own state. But I can tell you without equivocation that we are innocent of charges of offering unfair inducements to industries to relocate their plants in Georgia. We have not consciously raided industry from any other section of the country. Neither have we offered any handout except the outstretched hand of help and cooperation.

"We do not wish to profit by the loss of any other section. The industry which has come to Georgia has done so voluntarily and officials of our new plants tell us they are glad they have come."

Talmadge cited the City of Rome in Northwest Georgia as an example of the state's growing industrial might. He gave details of the $100-million industrial expansion under way in the area. One by one he told of the many advantages Georgia has to offer. He reviewed in much detail the great progress that has been made under his administration on all fronts. He closed with a stern warning against the spread of Communism in America and expressed confidence in the American people to meet head-on the problems that lie ahead.

All in all, Georgia's young governor was at his best in representing his state on the national scene.

Gillis Tells Of Wonderful Progress In Roadbuilding

Highway Chairman Is Given Rousing Demonstration By County Officials

Georgia has made wonderful progress in roadbuilding during the past five years and for the first time in the history of the state, every county has shared in the road funds.

This statement was made by Jim L. Gillis, Chairman of the State Highway Department to the county commissioners meeting in Savannah on April 19, 1954.

At the conclusion of his speech the county commissioners gave a rousing demonstration for Gillis and the speech he made.

To some, the demonstration by the county commissioners meant that they were anxious for him to be a candidate for Governor and others interpreted it as being a demonstration of the respect and devotion on the part of the county commissioners towards Gillis.

It is true that Gillis has made a remarkable record as chairman of the highway department and Georgia, for the first time in its history, has a real roadbuilding highway department.

Gillis' speech in full follows:

It may be that I will make two speeches to you today for I feel like the colored man who got his nerve together and took a flight in an airplane. As he climbed out after the ride, he turned to the pilot and said: "Suh, Ah has to thank yuh fo' both dem rides."

"What are you talking about?" said the pilot. "You had only one ride."

"No, suh," returned the passenger, "Ah done had two—mah fust and mah last."

It is an honor for me to be here and discuss with you our road problems.

I think we should proceed on the assumption that our problems are financial in character. Our job has been to provide the ever-growing physical needs of an economy that during the past few years has been undergoing great change. Growing population, higher levels of employment, more production, expanding consumer income have revolutionized the transportation requirements of our country.

The changing economic picture has been one predominantly of growth. The most important single factor in the growth picture is population. There are 30 million more people in the United States today than there were in 1940. Every person in the nation requires an average of about 16 tons of materials per year to keep him going. He eats ¾ of a ton of food. Another 2 tons of agricultural products are needed per person each year to provide clothing, paper and miscellaneous products.

This means transporting 2-¾ tons of materials 30 million times from farm to market, transporting the produce to factory and processing center, trucking the goods to the retail store and driving to the store to keep the home supplied. Heat, light, power for the home and factory and transportation system requires another 7 tons of fuel per year per person and each of our 30 million new inhabitants requires 5 tons of building materials—stone, sand, gravel, cement and lumber—per year.

Every additional person in the nation means an additional 5000 miles of travel per year.

That is what recent growth has meant to the nation. Our State has been affected proportionately and that is the burden that growth has imposed on our transportation system and in turn on the highway department and you as county commissioners, who are called upon to provide the facilities.

Georgia, with a 73% increase in automobile registrations since 1940, is 7th among all the states in growth in car registrations. One reason for this growth in highway use is that the places people like best are the places where the motor vehicle is needed most. The suburbs of our metropolitan areas have been growing three times faster than the central cities and the states that show the most rapid growth are the states where the automobile and truck have come to be relied upon to a major degree to support expanding business and industry.

In these areas, walking to the store or to work has not only become unfashionable, but in many cases unthinkable. Homes, schools, businesses and shopping centers are being located on the assumption that people move on wheels. Industries have been locating out of town where land is cheaper and more plentiful, and the great size of the modern factory requires that workers be attracted from widely scattered areas, by highways.

Along with the rise in population, there has been a rapid growth in the amount of goods and services produced by the State's economy. Transportation requirements have also been multiplied by the changing distribution of income.

A recent survey showed that for every 100 households receiving $5,000 income per year, 85 had at least one car and 15 had two cars or more.

The revolutionary changes in our economy have not been limited, however, to the growth brought about by the population and income factors. In addition, there have been tremendous strides in science and industry in the last few years. Among these are the whole field of electronics, synthetics and a host of chemical products that have meant new demands for materials, new factories and new requirements for transportation.

Many of these factories have been established in the South, and particularly in our own state. You, as county officials, have no doubt been instrumental in having these industries located in our State. You are to be commended for this for we can justly be proud that our State has been recognized as having many possibilities for industrial expansion.

In the area of finance, our problem is that of raising the extraordinary amounts of capital needed to permit the construction of highways to take care of emergencies resulting from these conditions.

Under the new bill, just passed by the Congress, Georgia will receive in Federal aid about $20,299,000 per year for highway purposes, an increase of $7,038,000 over the present amount, most of this increase being for work on the primary system.

The new bill provides $7,796,000 for Federal-aid primary roads in Georgia, an increase of $1,737,000; it sets aside $5,954,000 for Federal-aid secondary roads, an increase of $1,326,000; it earmarks $2,515,000 for work in cities with a population of 5,000 or more (but still on the primary system), an increase of $559,000; and it makes available $4,034,000 for Interstate routes in Georgia, an increase of $3,416,000 for this work.

The bill requires that every dollar of Federal funds be matched with a dollar of state or local funds, with the exception of Interstate funds, which are to be matched on a ratio of 60% Federal and 40% State funds.

We are all aware of the wonderful progress we have made during the past five years. More actual road building has been done than in any other like period. For the first time in the history of the State, every county has shared in the road funds. The progress we have made to date could not have come about without the understanding, cooperation, advice and influence of the county commissioners. For this we are grateful.

The needs of the highway department have had the sympathetic attention of our Governor and we extend to him our sincere acknowledgement of his friendly interest in the road problems of the State and the individual counties. His help in carrying the program to this point in his administration has been invaluable. For his patience, tolerance and vigorous assistance when required, we offer our sincere thanks.

The members of the general assembly have shown a very constructive interest in highway problems and they have been active in authorizing steps designed to aid in solving financial problems. We are honored to have this confidence and understanding.

The Bureau of Public Roads have been most cooperative. They have said on a number of occasions that Georgia has the best operated highway department in the southeast. For this we are grateful.

Georgia is a great State! With God's help and your continued cooperation we will build from the mountains to the sea the greatest system of roads in the United States!

I thank you.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

result of the effort made to abolish segregation in the public schools.

Now why would the Ford Foundation grant this money at this particular time?

It can be for only one purpose and that is to help them to wage a fight to destroy segregation in the South and to mix and mingle the races.

Now mind you, this money which the Ford Foundation gave them came from you people who buy Ford automobiles. Every time you buy an automobile you contribute money into this Ford Foundation and the Fords in turn take the money to destroy you and your children.

The next time you think about buying a Ford automobile, just think about that.

Now the money the Ford Foundation has is not their money. The Ford Foundation has this money to dish out due to a loophole in the federal taxing laws and while it was legal, it is nothing more or less than stolen from the federal government even though the stealing is legalized.

Here is why I say it. These giant corporations can set up a foundation devoted to what they call charitable and eleemosynary purposes and then it isn't subject to taxation.

These giant corporations can take money which would go to the Federal government in the way of taxes and put it in a foundation and then spend the money as they see fit.

That is exactly what the Fords have done. They have set up a foundation and instead of paying the money to the government in the way of income taxes, they put it in the foundation and then use it for any purpose that they see fit.

Now they have taken this money which should have gone to the United States Government, put it in a foundation and turned it over to the Southern Regional Council to spend it to destroy segregation in Georgia.

Now what can you do about this situation?

There are two things you can do. You don't have to buy a Ford automobile the next time, for one thing. Then the other, you can sit down and write your congressman a letter today and tell him that these foundations should no longer be exempt from taxation.

The tax exemption of these foundations is a crying shame.

Now if you or I would like to help some poor devil by helping send his sick child, his wife or himself to the hospital and contribute to the cost, we must pay income tax on the money we contribute. We can't deduct it from our income tax returns.

If you have an aged father or mother and are contributing to their support this cannot be deducted from your income tax return. You must pay it.

If you had a little spare money and would like to contribute it to help a niece, a nephew or grandson or granddaughter, you must then pay income tax on the amount you contribute.

But the Ford Foundation can put millions of dollars every year into the Ford Foundation and they can deduct it from their tax returns. This means that they take the money which would have otherwise gone to the federal government, put it in a foundation and they can spend it where they believe that it will help their business of selling Ford automobiles.

They do it by making grants to all kinds of crackpot organizations like the Southern Regional Council.

This Southern Regional Council picked up one of the platforms of the Communist Party in America and that was the destruction of the pattern of segregation in the South.

This Southern Regional Council is helping the Communists carry out this part of their platform.

The Communists care nothing for the negro or the South. Their only hope and only aim is to divide Southern people and keep us in a fight.

The Southern Regional Council is helping them in their objective and the Ford Foundation is financing their activities.

Now, sit down and write your congressman today and insist that he sponsor a movement in congress to make these giant corporations which are now setting up these foundations pay income taxes just like you and I do.

We are allowing these giant corporations to set up these foundations, take millions of dollars and use it to control and influence the thinking of the people of the nation and to aid the communists and the wildcat liberals in the darndest wildcat schemes ever dreamed about.

Unless these foundations like the Ford foundations are curbed and made to pay taxes like you and I, they will eventually destroy this great country.

You haven't forgotten about the Rosenwald Fund. The Rosenwald Fund was set up by old Julius Rosenwald for the sole purpose of starting this fight to destroy segregation.

Now, it looks like the Ford Foundation has taken up where the Rosenwald Foundation left off. Sit down and write your congressman and senator and unless they are willing to do something about these foundation funds, let's elect somebody to the Senate and Congress who will do something about it.

Georgia's Traffic Death Toll Higher Now Than Year Ago

ATLANTA,—The death toll on Georgia's highways and streets continues to mount. Evidence of this is seen in the latest figures of the State Department of Public Safety's Accident Reporting Division, just released by Lieut. R. V. Richards, director. Here's what they showed:

From the first of the year through April 12 a total of 253 persons died in Georgia as a result of traffic accidents. That compares with 241 killed in the same period a year ago, or an increase of five per cent.

As in the past many of this year's victims were children. And in that connection the Georgia Citizens Council, sponsors of the state-wide traffic safety campaign, issued this warning to motorists: "Expect the unexpected where children are concerned. Drive slowly. Children move fast. Be especially alert in areas where schools, playgrounds and residences are located."

The Citizens Council urges teachers and parents to impress upon youngsters the importance of being alert in traffic at all times. Tell them over and over again to cross streets at crosswalks and with traffic lights, and never to play in the streets.

63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JUNE 28, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 360

Southern Regional Council Financed By Ford Exposed As Haven For Commies

Atlanta Constitution's Ralph McGill One Of Incorporators Of Bi-Racial Group

The Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial organization and recipient of a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, is a haven for known communist fronters and could well become the Communist Party apparatus in the South.

That conclusion was reached by this newspaper only after a thorough and searching study of the council's history and activities since it was chartered and headquartered in Atlanta, January 6, 1944.

Our investigation has established the following concerning the organization:

1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

Branded as Communists

2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as Communists in testimony before congressional committees by former associates in the party.

3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as Communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a Communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable

PHILIP G. HAMMER

effort, has instead been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

These are serious charges but we have the uncontrovertible proof of them all.

Ford Foundation Funds

The Ford Foundation is, in effect, financing communization of the South and ultimate destruction of this country and her free enterprise system under which all of the Ford fortune was accumulated.

Taking our investigation of the Southern Regional Council up, chapter and verse, let us first start by considering Dr. George S. Mitchell, an incorporator of the Council, its director of veterans services during the period 1945-'47 and its executive director since that time.

Born in Richmond, Va., Mitchell studied at University of Delaware, Johns Hopkins and at Oxford University in England. He is a Ph. D. and taught economics at Columbia 1929-'35. After that he went into federal government service.

It is interesting and indicative to note that his career from 1935 to 1944 closely parallels that of other "liberals" of the time who served in the Agriculture Department under Henry Wallace and later

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL leaders shown at anti-segregation session, from left to right, A. T. Walden, Negro lawyer of Atlanta, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Rufus E. Clement, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

Even the buzzards who have been clamoring for the Supreme Court to destroy segregation are finding now that the implications of the Supreme Court decision are even more than they can stomach.

Some of these buzzards are beginning to find out that they have fallen into a trap and they have a decision based on a line of reasoning which they don't like.

Even the old Saturday Evening Post is crying because the Supreme Court didn't base its decision on the Constitution of the United States instead of upon the writings of a few crackpot sociologists and psychologists.

In its issue of June 19, 1954, the Saturday Evening Post said:

"The court might well have based its decision exclusively on the Constitution without the precedent which Chief Justice Warren established by citing, along with a few legal cases, works like Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development, by K. B. Clark, and Personality in the Making, by Witmer and Kotinsky."

And amidst their tears they also quote from the Washington correspondent of the New York Times, James Reston, who wrote:

"'Relying more on the social scientists than on legal precedents—a procedure often in controversy in the past—the court insisted on equality of the mind and heart rather than on equal school facilities.'"

And in this editorial, the Saturday Evening Post wallows in its own tears when it laments that Chief Justice Warren said that separate schools for colored people generate "a sense of inferiority which affects the motivation of a child to learn."

Now, why do they finally cry over this decision?

Well, they are just beginning to wake up.

They are just now finding out that the Supreme Court decision was not justified by either the constitution or the precedents of the past. To find something to base their decision on, the Supreme Court Justices had to dig down in a few books written by crackpot sociologists and psychologists and come up with a decision.

Now here's why the Saturday Evening Post cries. But, let's let you read what they say. Here it is:

"However, it is also true that the fact that A lives in a bigger house than B can engender a feeling of inferiority in the latter. Reliance on sociology alone, particularly in view of the socialistic thinking of many modern sociologists, might well establish the doctrine that 'equal protection of the laws' necessitates equal housing facilities, equal incomes and parity in motor-vehicle horsepower."

Now you see the trap that the private enterprise advocate in the person of the Saturday Evening Post has fallen into.

They are just waking up and they are about to realize that eventually they will have to wallow in the slime which they created like a big fat pig wallowing in the filth of his own pen.

It is no more than this bunch of buzzards deserve. But it is awful to contemplate when we know that this bunch of buzzards have drug all the rest of us down by this kind of a crazy line of reasoning.

Now the Supreme Court ought to do something about me. I think I have been badly discriminated against and I once had a bad inferiority complex.

I can remember 'way back when I was a small kid along between 1900 and 1906 or 1907 when I lived 'way out in the sticks. Occasionally, we went to town in a buggy or in the old surrey with my father and we stood around town looking at all the folks who lived in town. I thought that they were all way above me and all I had was a nickel to get a bag of gum drops and I had a bad inferiority complex.

We later moved to town and some of the town kids looked down upon and made fun of the young kids from the sticks.

I went to school when we moved to town under these conditions but my sense of inferiority didn't affect my motivation to learn. Instead, it created within me a dogged determination to show these young up-starts something.

As I go back in my mind over the period of the last fifty years and think about those who made fun of us who happened to be children from

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

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Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

Board Of Education Is Following The Law

(From The Atlanta Journal, June 16, 1954.)

THE STATE BOAD of Education has pledged formally not to spend any money on nonsegregated schools. The board says in a resolution written Tuesday that it will void all commitments and allotments to any school system which fails to maintain separate schools for white and colored races.

The resolution actually is not a new statement of policy occasioned by the recent United States Supreme Court decision, but a restatement of policy already written into Georgia law.

The General Assembly provided in the appropriations act, passed early in 1953, that state funds cannot be paid to any county or independent school system or to any unit of the University System in which segregation is not maintained.

The law is based on the separate school clause of the State Constitution and was passed in anticipation of possible court action that might force some school system or University System unit in Georgia to end segregation.

The State Board of Education's resolution was, technically, unnecessary, since the appropriations act would automatically take care of any situation arising.

Nevertheless, the board's action is useful. It serves to refresh Georgians' memories on provisions of the appropriations act. It shows also that the board is aware of its obligations under state law and intends to uphold the law. Citizens naturally expect this of a state agency.

There are other aspects of the situation which might well be pointed out in the interest of clarity:

First, that the appropriations act, as now written, would not stop all state funds for all public schools in event school segregation is ended somewhere in Georgia. It would stop only funds going to the particular, individual county or independent system, or University System unit, where segregation actually was discontinued.

Second, that school building funds would not be withheld in any circumstances, even from the nonsegregated system. This is state law; it also is the State Board of Education's policy as defined in the resolution.

This provision protects Georgia's great school building program and assures the soundness of bonds issued by the State School Building Authority. This program, designed to raise the level of all public school facilities in Georgia, both white and Negro, may prove to be one of the state's greatest aids in meeting segregation problems.

Third, that budget increases voted by the state board—$7,401,869 for the next fiscal year—were not made necessary by the Supreme Court ruling. They are normal, automatic increments arising under the Minimum Foundation Program.

The State Board of Education is proceeding under the law. The Georgia Education Commission, which is specifically charged with recommending ways for Georgia to meet school segregation problems, also is proceeding according to law.

This is the orderly working of government, and a pattern worth maintaining as the state faces the difficult decisions ahead.

ANOTHER ERROR

(From The Hattiesburg (Mississippi) American, May 31, 1954.)

The Supreme Court made an error in ruling out segregation in public schools.

And now some thoughtless Negro agents of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are making another error. They met in Jackson Sunday and adopted a program calling for an immediate campaign to end segregation in Mississippi schools.

Obviously these Negroes are unaware of the situation in this State. They are doing the very thing that will produce the worst possible racial relations. They should be denounced by the more intelligent members of their race.

No amount of force will enable the Negroes to attend white schools, even though they might wish to. They ought to realize this and save themselves and others a lot of distress.

The problem shapes up something like this:

The Negroes say they are prepared to go to court to have the segregation decision enforced. What happens when they go to court? The judges, the court officers, the people who will compose the juries are Mississippians. If a criminal charge is filed the Federal district court grand jury will have to consider it. Is any Mississippi citizen, white or black, so stupid as to believe that such a grand jury will return an indictment? If the grand jury were called up before the United States Supreme Court itself and reprimanded the jury foreman would reply about as follows: Your Honors, we will have to indict ourselves, if necessary, because we will continue to refuse to bring in an indictment in this case or any case like it.

Atlanta Constitution's Ralph McGill One Of Incorporators Of Bi-Racial Group

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transferred, almost as a group, to the Foreign Economic Administration.

Incorporation of SRC

Mitchell jumped from government service in 1944 to the job as Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-Political Action Committee. He served for nearly two years in this job before taking a position on the executive staff of the Southern Regional Council which he now heads.

Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Howard W. Odum applied for the SRC charter to Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944. The Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member, were attorneys for the applicants for the charter. It was granted for a period of 35 years.

Records and reports of proceedings of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities reveal Dr. Mitchell as a member of the top-level "Board of Representatives" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Dr. Rufus E. Clement is listed as a member of the powerful executive board of the SCHW; Dr. Charles S. Johnson is named also as a member of the executive board of the SCHW and was extremely active in promoting the affairs of the conference, while the name of Dr. Howard W. Odum appeared on the list of sponsors for the second Southern Conference for Human Welfare held in Chattanooga, Tenn., as contained in the call for the conference.

Group Switched Over

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, was an early member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare but wrote later after discovering communist infiltration into the group that "when this happended I knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that the Southern Conference was finished even as it began."

Thus, it is apparent that when the heat of public inquiry was turned on the SCHW by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, its leading lights set up the SRC to catch the ball after the SCHW was exposed as a red-front and its usefulness was at an end. This will become more and more apparent as our story unfolds.

The real policy makers and directors of the old SCHW were Clark Howell Foreman, its president, and Aubrey Williams, ex-officio member of its board of representatives. Both these men have been listed on official publications of the SRC as members of its Board of Directors. Both of them have been branded as known communists in testimony before congressional committees.

Clark Foreman Named

Louis Budenz, former communist, testifying before the House Committee investigating tax-exempt foundations December 23, 1952, identified Clark Foreman "as a communist party member."

Aubrey Williams was nailed "as a secret communist" earlier this year at the New Orleans hearings held there by **Sen. James O. Eastland** for the Senate Internal Security Committee.

John Butler, Dallas nursery operator and a former red, testified: **"I heard his name mentioned time and time again as a communist member." Paul Crouch,** another former Communist, testified that he knew Williams as a **"secret member of the Communist Party."**

Investigation discloses that others who held high office or took an especially active part in the Communist-front SCHW are now either officers, directors or executives of the SRC.

Listed In Daily Worker

Marion A. Wright, President of the SRC, was listed in the DAILY WORKER of May 20, 1947 (page 5) "as having signed a statement of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare," according to records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

Albert W. Dent, Vice-president of SRC,

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

President Dillard Univ., New Orleans La., identified "as a member of the Southern Council of the SCHW; sponsor 2nd SCHW and sponsor Southern Negro Youth Conference, a red-front."

P. B. Young, ex-vice-president SRC, Publisher, Norfolk, Va., JOURNAL and GUIDE, signed statement of SCHW, according to DAILY WORKER, May 20, 1947.

Guy B. Johnson, ex-vice-president, Southern Regional Council, Chapel Hill, N. C., Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, was a consultant on Panel IV—Citizenship and Civil Liberties of the SCHW as shown by official records of the group.

Director of SRC

Directors of the SRC who also held important posts or were active in the SCHW include the following: **Dr. Howard W. Odum,** Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill, N. C.; **F. D. Patterson,** Pres., Tuskegee Inst., Tuskegee, Ala.; **Paul Christopher,** Regional Director, CIO-PAC, Knoxville, Tenn.; **Miss Josephine Wilkins,** Atlanta, Ga.; **Aubrey Williams,** Montgomery, Ala.; **Clark H. Foreman,** New York, N. Y.; **Dr. Rufus E. Clement,** Pres., Atl. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **Louis E. Burnham,** Birmingham, Ala.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Pres., Palmer Inst., Sedalia, N. C.; **Dr. Ira De Reid,** professor, Atl. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **Dr. C. S. Johnson,** Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville. Tenn.; **Dr. Benjamin E. Mays,** Pres., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.; **Guy B. Johnson,** University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; **William E. Cole,** Knoxville, Tenn.; **Donald Comer,** industrialist, Birmingham, Ala.; **David D. Jones,** president, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; **Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick,** Bishop, Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.; and **Glenn W. Rainey,** professor, Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta.

The above lists prove beyond the shadow of any doubt that the SRC is the successor group to the exposed communist-front SCHW. The same people who organized and operated the latter group are now manipulating political action on the part of the SRC.

Carefully Camouflaged

The House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities concluded following its investigation of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as follows:

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is perhaps the most deviously-camouflaged communist-front organization. When put to the following acid test it reveals its true character:

"1. It shows unswerving loyalty to the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy.

"2. It has consistently refused to take sharp issue with the activities and policies of either the Communist Party, USA, or the Soviet Union.

"3. It has maintained in decisive posts persons who have the confidence of the communist press.

"4. It has displayed consistent anti-American bias and pro-Soviet bias, despite professions, in generalities, for love of America.

"In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are associated with organizations or campaigns for the defense of the Communist Party or individual Communists, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies—issues which have nothing to do with the South—one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Names of SRC Officers

Names of SRC officers, who have been

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linked with one or more communist-fronts other than the SCHW in the official records, reports and proceedings of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities include the following:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Dir., SRC, Atlanta; **Albert W. Dent,** V. P., SRC, New Orleans, La.; **Virginius Dabney,** Editor, TIMES-DISPATCH, Richmond, Va.; **Forrester B. Washington,** Atlanta, Ga.; **Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.,** Atlanta, Ga.; **Dr. Charles S. Johnson,** Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn.; **Aubrey Williams,** Ed., So. Farm and Home, Montgomery, Ala.; **Clark Howell Foreman,** New York, N. Y.; **Dr. Howard W. Odum,** Univ. of N. C.; Chapel Hill, N. C.; **Carter Wesley,** publisher, Houston INFORMER, Houston, Tex.; **Gordon B. Hancock,** professor emeritus, Va. Union Univ., Richmond, Va.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Va. Union Univ., Richmond, Va.; **F. D. Patterson,** Pres., Tuskegee Inst., Tuskegee, Ala.; **Florence Sytz,** Dir. Tulane Sch. Social Work, New Orleans, La.; **Paul Christopher,** Reg. Dir. CIO-PAC, Knoxville, Tenn.; **Will W. Alexander,** Chapel Hill, N. C.; **Rufus E. Clement,** Pres., Atlanta Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **Mrs. M. E. Tilly,** Field Secretary (Women's Division), SRC, Atlanta, Ga. **Dr. Bejamin E. Mays,** Pres., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga;. **Louis E. Burnham,** Birmingham, Ala.; **Charlotte Hawkins Brown,** Pres., Palmer Inst., Sedalia, N. C.; **Harry Stanley Brav,** Vicksburg, Miss.; **Dr. Ira De A. Reid,** prof., Atl. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **R. B. Atwood,** professor, Kentucky State College, Frankfurt, Ky.; **Mrs. Grace Towne Hamilton,** Atlanta; **Dr. Luther P. Jackson,** president, Virginia Voters League, Petersburg, Va.; **Rev. D. V. Jemison,** president, National Baptist Convention, Selma, Ala.; **Dr. David D. Jones,** president Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; **Z. A. Looby,** attorney, Nashville, Tenn.; **G. D. Rogers,** president, Central Life Insurance Co., Tampa, Fla.; and **Dr. Jacob L. Reddix,** president, Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.

Two Known Commies

The AUGUSTA COURIER had anticipated, when beginning its investigation of the Southern Regional Council, that it would find a handful of people in it with Communist front associations. But the Courier was, to say the least, amazed to find two known Communist on its Board of Directors and 38 others who have associations with Communist fronts in varying numbers and degrees. It would be impossible to congregate this many people with such backgrounds and affiliations except by design.

When the U. S. Supreme Court announced its ruling declaring segregation unconstitutional in the public schools of the South SRC chief, Dr. Mitchell, was quoted in the press as hailing the decision. He said integration would **"give every child equal opportunity . . . and would enrich this and every other Southern community."**

Besides Dr. Mitchell's top policy job in the SCHW, his name has also cropped up in connection with other communist-front organizations such as the Civil Rights Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Communist-infiltrated Brookwood College and others, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

We are informed by a reliable source, who has knowledge of the inner-workings of the Southern Regional Council, that a group of project personnel has been named to spend the $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

Morris B. Abram

This list includes the names of Morris B. Abram, Atlanta attorney, and newly-named Director of SRC, as a worker on the field staff of the Ford project, and Philip G. Hammer, Executive Officer, Committee of the South, also of Atlanta, presumably as a paid employee of the central staff of SRC's project personnel which will work to mix the races in the classrooms of Southern public schools.

Hammer was a speaker at a recent meeting of the Association of County Commissioners of Georgia. Apparently officials of this group did not know about Hammer's record of association with communist fronts.

Hammer was president of the Washington, D. C., Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and was also listed as a member of the Washington Bookshop, another subversive communist front. No one could have held such a high office in the Washington SCHW organization unless he could be fully trusted to carry out instructions.

This same Hammer was born in Philadelphia, Pa. He studied under Dr. Frank Graham at the University of North Carolina and at Harvard. Upon coming to Washington, he was employed in the office of Bob LaFollette, liberal Senator from Wisconsin. From there he went with the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture under Henry Wallace. He later was included in the mass transfer of "liberals" to the State Department for work in the Foreign Economic Administration and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In spite of the fact that Hammer held responsible government positions all during World War II, even though he was of military service age, he terminated his employment abruptly in late 1945. He is reported to have come to Atlanta in 1946 in an effort to get a magazine started which he hoped to edit, but could not make financial arrangements and left, only to return in 1947 as a business analyst for the Atlanta firm of Joseph K. Heyman.

He resigned from this position in March 1950 to become Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission and as such was author of the "Plan of Improvement" legislation which took most of the effective governmental powers away from Fulton County and vested them in the Mayor of Atlanta who twice has been elected to office not by a vote of white people but by the bloc vote.

Hammer's Activities

Our investigation shows that Mr. Hammer, in addition to his Communist front affiliations, was named as a member of the National Executive Council of United World Federalists in early 1949. This is an organization which proposes the surrender of our national sovereignty to a super world government which would have police powers and could arrest individual citizens of member nations.

During the summer of 1953, Hammer took a three months' leave from his job as Director of the Committee of the South to direct an intensive study for the Ford Foundation Educational Fund. Main purpose of the study was to convince the Supreme Court that a ruling by it outlawing segregation could be implemented and enforced. This work was known as the "Ashmore Project" under which school segregation in the Southern States was studied with a view towards devising ways and means to eliminate it.

Hammer has been a frequent guest at the "Hungry Club," a negro luncheon group, where he has dined with its members. He told delegates to the recent Southern Interstate Conference of the National Council of Jewish Women that plans to preserve separate schools in Georgia "won't last as long as the white primaries."

Voters League Official

His wife Jane is First Vice President of the Georgia League of Women Voters and is Editor of "GEORGIA VOTER" a bi-monthly publication of the organization, in which its policy is enunciated. The announcement bulletin of Spelman College for 1952-53 lists Mrs. Hammer as a teacher of Philosophy there. Both the Hammers have been very active in directing the fight against the county unit system in Georgia.

Another so-called "liberal" who will help SRC spend the Ford grant is Morris B. Abram. While Abram has never been associated with any organization which has been branded as a communist front, he was a member of the National Executive Council of the United World Federalists.

UWF, according to an article printed in the Congressional Record, **"was created by communists, fellow-travelers and communist sympathizers whose whole purpose is to so weaken us as a nation that we become impotent."**

Abram's other activities include lectures at negro colleges, attendance at negro banquets, inflamatory addresses before NAACP groups, legal representation of publishers and producers of questionable books, magazines and motion pictures seeking to destroy the morals of our youth and segregation in the South. He now is a candidate for Congress in the Fifth District of Georgia on a platform recommending abolition of the county unit system.

A member of President Truman's notorious Civil Rights Commission is field secretary of the Woman's Division of the Southern Regional Council. She is well-known to Georgians as Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta.

Methodist Federation

Records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities show that Mrs. Tilly was an active member of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a communist front. In the report on that group branding it as such, Mrs. Tilly's name appears throughout the context.

Other communist-front activities with which she has been connected according to House Committee records include the following:

"A facsimile of the signature of Mrs. Dorothy Tilly (Mrs. M. E. Tilly) is found on a Jan. 19, 1951, letterhead of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; on this letterhead, another dated May 25, 1951, and in the Daily Worker of Dec. 27, 1950 (page 9), her name appears as an initiator of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; the Daily Worker referred to identified her with the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

"In the Statement of Policy, issued by the National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives in December 1950, Mrs. M. E. Tilly was named as a member of the Executive Board of that Committee. The Daily Worker of July 28, 1950 (page 8), reported that she signed a statement of the same committee, regarding Korea. A letterhead of the National Committee . . . dated Sept. 16, 1950, also named Mrs. Tilly as a member of the organization's Executive Board (from the Committee's Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive which was released on April 25, 1951, (page 56). Identified as being associated with the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Mrs. Tilly was named as one of the sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in Chicago, May 29-30, 1950 (from the Conference Program printed in the 'Peace' Offensive Report, (pages 143-151).

Aid To Communists

"The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives . . . was formed to further the cause of 'Communists in the United States' doing 'their part in the Moscow campaign' (report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive referred to above.) The Mid-Century Conference for Peace (May 29-30, 1950), was cited as having been 'aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding-board for Communist propaganda' (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 1, 1951)."

Harold C. Fleming, director of information and a spokesman for the Southern Regional Council, was quoted recently as terming the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing school segregation as "wholesome and healthy since it gives responsible Southern leadership a chance to work this thing out in a climate that can be relatively free of dissention and dispute and to what is the law of the land."

Mr. Fleming's statement reinforces what we have said all along—that this Ford Foundation money will be used to force an end to segregation upon us and for political action to elect candidates for office who are in sympathy with the Council's pro-communist, anti-Southern aims and ideals.

Grant of $75,000

Further along this line the Ford Foundation has made a more recent grant of $75,000 to Editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch for an information agency to "condition the minds of Southern people" that nothing can be done to prevent the destruction of segregation.

"News" releases extolling methods used by various Southern States to end segregation in schools will be ground out by this organization known as the "Southern Educational Reporting Service." It will be staffed by liberal "newsmen" with headquarters in Nashville, Tenn. Its real purpose is to coordinate the activities of various groups and organizations which seek an end to public school segregation.

It also is revealing to note that Constitution Editor McGill, an incorporator and leading apologist for the SRC, has been appointed by the Ford Foundation to a membership on the Board of Directors of the subsidiary Fund for the Advancement of Education. The Fund was established by the Ford Foundation in 1951 to support **"new and experimental programs in formal education."**

The SRC has been anticipating a ruling adverse to segregation and received the Ford grant for the purpose of conditioning the minds of Southern people to the idea of mixing the races in the classrooms of the South.

Commie Party Platform

Stripped of all its window-dressing, the aims, purposes and platform of the Communist Party, the defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and now the Southern Regional Council are one and the same. They are identical on all points.

"The Southern People's Common Program for Democracy, Progress and Peace" as contained in the Communist Party

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the sticks, I can hold no resentment against them and I am glad they did it.

I can say that because we have done better than those who laughed at us and we have been luckier than those who laughed at us. Somehow, I believe that the fun they poked at us gave us a motivation that we would not have had and created within us a dogged determination to get ahead.

Now I tell you this story which applied to me and my brothers and sisters for the sole purpose of showing you how ridiculous the Supreme Court decision is.

According to the Supreme Court decision, we were discriminated against and were entitled to go to court and do something about it. But what could have been done?

Now, the whole idea illustrates how ridiculous it is for the Supreme Court of the United States to undertake to create a state of equality of the mind and heart throughout all of the one hundred and sixty million people in this country.

How many white people are discriminated against today? How many can gain admittance to the fine country clubs and golf clubs over the country? How many of you could become a member of the Augusta National where the President of the United States belongs and where he comes to play golf and relax with his millionaire cronies?

Now aren't you discriminated against when you are kept out of the Augusta National Golf Club?

Following the line of reasoning of the Supreme Court decision, you and I ought to sue Ike and the Augusta National for discriminating against us.

Frankly, I couldn't sue them because it does not create within me an inferiority complex because I am so discriminated against. I have lived through such a turbulent career and have had such a hard time until I have finally found out some of the facts of life. And I now don't give a damn about belonging to such organizations.

I have no objection to their existence. They are fine. I like to see them and I like to see those who are able, be able to enjoy such. I am proud that Ike comes here for his vacation and to find some rest and relaxation from his worries.

But the point I am trying to drive home is the ridiculousness of the line of reasoning which led to this Supreme Court decision.

A lot of people have inferiority complexes because a lot of other people have bigger houses and better homes than they do. So, following the same philosophy involved in this Supreme Court decision, the Supreme Court should now see to it that everybody has the same size house.

Likewise, it is discrimination against me that I am forced to drive a Chevrolet and a lot of other people are driving Cadillacs.

Now, when is Chief Justice Warren and the Supreme Court Justices going to furnish me with my Cadillac so that I will not have a feeling of inferiority when all these Cadillacs pass me by?

Now, here is where we are headed and the Saturday Evening Post sized it up thusly:

"The rise of the sociology textbook on the horizon suggests the possible beginning of judicial toleration for the notion that the reserved rights of individuals as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights could be subordinated

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Daily Worker lists in detail the platform of the party and its program of political action in the South.

Its main goal is to dilute the influence of responsible people and concentrate all governmental power in the South in the hands of bloc voters and minority ele-

MORRIS B. ABRAM

ments. It would do this through abolition of white party primaries, county unit voting system and the checks and balances provided by our system of constitutional government. It would overthrow segregation in all phases of Southern life, socialize industry and divide up the property of the people.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as Mr. McGill admits, was dominated by those who advocated and fought for such a program.

SRC's Policy Statement

The Southern Regional Council has picked up the ball and is now working to destroy us. It seeks the defeat of officials like Byrnes and Talmadge and every conservative senator and congressman in the South. It seeks the election in their stead of left-wingers "who will go along" with their communistic programs. In other words, it is an effort to destroy us from within.

The SRC's avowed statement of policy calls for the destruction of the South as we have known it. It says:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part towards its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied, for it is nothing else than the American ideal."

Plant News Stories

The main purpose of the Southern Regional Council during the period immediately preceding the Supreme Court decision was to convince the Court through statements from sympathetic agencies, planted news stories and other activity that the people of the South would bow down and accept a decision abolishing segregation.

During the years since its establishment, the Southern Regional Council has centered its fire on white primaries, poll taxes, election laws and other projects designed to pave the way for the election outlawing segregation itself.

Principal financial support for SRC during its early years prior to 1948 came from the Rosenwald Fund Foundation. This Fund was dedicated to "the creation of social equality" among the races in the South, according to Dr. Lessing T. Rosenwald of Philadelphia, chairman of its Board of Trustees. It provided SRC with an annual grant of $25,000 for its operations.

With the demise of the Rosenwald Fund a hasty mobilization of communist fronters sought other means to continue financing SRC's anti-segregation activities.

Tennessee CIO Director

Among those attending these fund-raising drive meetings was Paul Christopher, Tennessee CIO director. From his presence and the continuing interest of CIO-PAC officials in posts of key responsibility in SRC, it is evident that the group has received financial support as well as active cooperation from the powerful labor political organization.

Records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities show that Paul R. Christopher was a vice president for 1947-48 for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and was also listed as a member of that organization's National Committee. Other documentary evidence shows that Christopher's name appeared in a list of individuals who signed the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The National Federation has been cited as an organization "by which communists attempted to create sympathizers and supporters of their programs and as subversives and communists." A Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "one of the most viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."

Another notorious communist fronter who has been particularly active in fund-raising for the SRC, a collaborator in its administration, is Dr. Channing H. Tobias, formerly of Augusta and Atlanta and now president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York City.

Communist Fronts

A digest of Dr. Tobias' record of affiliations with communist fronts, as contained in records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, takes up nearly four single-spaced typewritten pages.

He was a member of the Executive Board and held other high functionary positions in SCHW.

The House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in a report to a Committee of the U. S. Senate, furnished documentary evidence showing Tobias to be linked with nine organizations cited as communist fronts by the Committee.

The Southern Regional Council also has worked closely with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in all of its activities. A. T. Walden, Atlanta negro attorney and counsel for the NAACP in Georgia, has been notably active in helping raise funds for SRC's anti-segregation activities.

Civil Rights Group

While it is not known whether Walden was a member of SCHW, the Daily Worker of Oct. 7, 1952, (page 3) reported that he would lead a workshop discussion on civil rights at a meeting in New York City of the National Lawyers' Guild. The Guild has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist front and the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party in the United States.

This same Walden also signed a letter addressed to the U. S. House of Representatives opposing the Mundt Anti-Communist Bill as shown on the mimeographed letter which includes a list of individuals who signed the same dated May 12, 1948.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University and the first negro ever to be elected to Atlanta's City Board of Education, has been extremely active in SRC's operations since it was founded by him and others in 1944. He is generally regarded as a protege of Atlanta Constitution Editor Ralph McGill.

Clement ran for his Education Board post against a white man and with every support possible in the news columns of the Atlanta papers and the Hartsfield-Walden organization won the election. He did this even in spite of the fact that records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and documentary evidence possessed by it show that he has been active in at least 12 communist-front groups and movements.

Source of Ford's Money

No one knows exactly how many active, paying members SRC has on its rolls. It claims "around 3,000 or 4,000." However, some observers are doubtful whether its real membership extends much further than its so-called "Board of Directors" and "project personnel" who will spend the Ford Foundation's grant.

It would be interesting indeed to see a list of members of the Southern Regional Council compared with a membership list of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Certainly, if the officers of both groups are practically identical, one could conclude with assurance that the same is true for the membership.

Many Southern taxpayers have raised the point that SRC's pro-communist, anti-segregation activities are financed by money good law-abiding Americans pay in federal taxes. They say this because donations to SRC are exempt from taxation due to its classification as a "charitable organization."

This is also true in regard to the grant from the Ford Foundation. Profits made by the Ford Motor Company on the sale of Ford automobiles and tractors go tax free to the Ford Foundation as dividends on common, non-voting stock held by the Foundation.

So, in reality, taxpayers of the United States and purchasers of Ford products are financing this activity to destroy Southern institutions.

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to policies which a majority might think 'socially' necessary. Such doctrine would break down an important roadblock to the socialization of the United States, which nobody, including the nine justices of the Supreme Court, wants."

Now, Chief Justice Warren and the dumbbells who sit on the Supreme Court bench with him have catapulted us further towards socialism in this one decision than all of the other forces and circumstances put together during the last one hundred years.

Something must be done to curb the unbridled license and ruthlessness of the Supreme Court and in this connection even the Saturday Evening Post says:

"Somebody is certain to remind the justices that even social progress will be better safeguarded if Congress reads the sociology textbooks, since it is Congress which passes the laws."

So, it looks to me as if I will continue to have my feeling of inferiority until the Supreme Court gives me the nicest house in town and my Cadillac.

Suppose you write your Senator and Congressman and demand yours now. Don't wait until you are dead with old age. Get it while you can enjoy it.

Most of these writers on sociology are socialists anyhow and what are we going to do when the socialists say that it is necessary that we have socialism and everybody have the same things?

That is where the decision leads to and it creates a serious situation in this country.

It is time that the Saturday Evening Post and a lot of other dumbbells wake up and realize that all of this clap-trap is leading us into socialism at a mile a minute.

And don't forget that communism is the Russian style of socialism. Socialism means government ownership and operation with everybody working for the government. Communism simply means that you have socialism with a one-party system and a little handful of dictators running the party.

When everybody works for the government and the government can assign you to a job and a place to live, then who is going to vote against the government? It can't be done.

That, my friends, is the Russian style of socialism. Communism is the inevitable result of socialism.

A lot of people in Georgia have been calling people like me demagogues, race haters, race baiters and everything else. It is about time that you realized we have been telling you the truth.

State's Greatest Natural Resource Is Forest – Herman

ATLANTA, — What is Georgia's greatest natural resource? It's her timber, in the opinion of Gov. Herman Talmadge, himself a farmer, who offers as proof of its value the fact that last year 35 new forest industries representing a combined investment of more than $140.8-million were established in the state.

Addressing an estimated 5,000 persons attending the recent 60th Anniversary celebration of the City of Kingsland, the farmer-governor said Georgia's economic future—particularly that of South and Coastal Georgia—depends "in large measure upon a coordinated program of development and conservation of our timber resources." He cited evidence of the "remarkable strides toward that end" made during his administration. Said he:

"The greatest natural resource we possess in Georgia is our forests. Two out of every three of our acres are devoted to timber in some form. And because of the combined advantages of a mild climate and abundant rainfall, we can produce pulpwood in about twelve years and saw logs in 20 to 25 years.

"Proof of the economic potential of this resource is the fact that last year 35 new forest industries representing a combined capital investment of $140,863,500 were established in Georgia. These new industries include three pulp mills valued at almost $100-million; eleven lumber firms and factories producing oak flooring, blinds and awnings, handles, doors, windows and sashes and boxes. They will add new millions to Georgia's payroll every year."

Declaring that unfortunately Georgia neglected its timber resources to a great degree until recent years, Talmadge said:

"As late as 1948, we had fire protection in only 32 of our 159 counties. We were exercising few, if any, sound forestry practices and were realizing about $300-million annually from timber, pulpwood and naval stores.

"Happily our legislature realized that our greatest resource was being neglected and in a period of four years we have advanced from 46th to first among the states in the number of privately-owned timber under fire protection. Now we are havesting some $600-million worth of timber products each year.

"As laudable as this is, think what we could be doing had we initiated our conservation practices 25 or 30 years ago. Instead of realizing $600-million a year from our forest resources, we would be getting about $1.5-billion this year. Thus it is easy to see that our timber resources, properly utilized, are capable of making us one of the wealthiest states in the Union."

As an excellent example of the development of Georgia's timber industry, the Governor cited the St. Mary's Kraft Corp. plant located in Camden County near Kingsland. It has, he said, contributed immeasurably to the growth and prosperity of Coastal Georgia, employing 850 workers with an annual payroll of some $4-million.

Talmadge Reviews State's Progress; Warns Of Threats

ATLANTA, — In two unrelated speeches, delivered on successive days within a few miles of each other, Gov. Herman Talmadge made these pertinent observations:

1. "There is no more convincing proof of the tremendous progress Georgia has made since 1948 than the achievements of your state government in promoting the education, health and welfare of all the people. I am proud that I can report to you that during my term of office the State of Georgia has spent almost three-quarters of a billion dollars on permanent and lasting improvements."

2. "At the present time Georgia and other Southern states face the most critical situation in their history as far as education is concerned. Grave threats loom ahead because of the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which seeks to abolish segregation in our schools. This is a question which affects the future of every citizen and I hope that its menacing import will be set forth at all public political meetings we are to hold in the near future."

You can readily deduce from these remarks that Gov. Talmadge is (1) very proud—and justly so—of the great strides that have been made on virtually all fronts in Georgia in recent years and (2) he is extremely disturbed over these outside threats and how the next administration will face up to them.

FILE COPY

THE AUGUSTA COURIER: AN ANALYSIS

(Issue of May 3, 1954, the Augusta Courier, published by Roy V. Harris.)

1. "SRC, of Atlanta, had been granted one quarter of a million dollars by the Ford Foundation."

The grant referred to was not made by the Ford Foundation, but by the Fund for the Republic.

2. "[Ralph] McGill was recently appointed a member of the executive committee of the Ford Foundation."

McGill has never been so appointed. He is a member of the Board of the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

3. "This SRC picked up one of the platforms of the Communist Party in America and that was the destruction of the pattern of segregation in the South."

Anybody who is even slightly familiar with the Communist party platform knows this is false. The official Communist doctrine as formulated decades ago calls for the establishment of an independent Negro republic encompassing the so-called black belt of the Southern U.S. This objective, which has never been repudiated by the Communist Party, is about as far as you can get from the program of the SRC. The SRC, like its predecessor the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, has always worked soberly and quietly; the Communists have carried on noisy campaigns designed to exploit injustices to Negroes for their own purposes. The SRC was established during World War II (1943 and 1944) at a time when the Communists professed no concern for the status of the Negro in the South, since they wanted to see all national energies devoted to assisting Soviet Russia by opening a second front against Germany. Statements by the Soviet press as well as

(Issue of May 3, 1954, continued)

analyses by American experts on international affairs make it clear that the Communists are exploiting discrimination and segregation in this country among colored people elsewhere in the world. It is the pro-segregation extremists in the South who aid their purpose, not responsible Southerners like those in SRC who seek harmonious progress.

4. "The object and purpose of the SRC is to divide the people of the South and to create chaos, confusion and violence."

SRC's purpose demonstrably is, and always has been, to unite the people of the South and to avoid chaos, confusion and violence. This is borne out by everything the Council has ever said or done, and Harris, of course, produces no evidence to the contrary.

(Issue of June 28, 1954)

1. "SRC is the successor of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Committee investigating un-American activities."

This constantly repeated falsehood by Harris is refuted by a whole army of facts. SRC is the official successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919. SRC was organized in 1943 and chartered in 1944, at a time when the SCHW had been in existence since 1938 and was still going strong; they were generally regarded as rival organizations. Most of the principal founders of SRC had never had any connection with SCHW. The approach and program of SRC is markedly different from that of the old SCHW. The SCHW has a clear and acknowledged successor in the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Attempts to label SRC as a second,

(Issue of June 28, 1954, continued)

unacknowledged successor are obviously absurd. Evidence on this point in SRC's files include official records of its organization and letters from such founders as Msgr. T. J. McNamara, Goodrich C. White, J. McDowell Richards and Howard W. Odum.

2. "Two top members of the SRC's Board of Directors, who are also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as Communists in testimony before Congressional Committees by former associates in the party."

This frequently repeated charge by Harris is amplified elsewhere as a reference to Aubrey Williams and Clark Foreman. It is false on two counts. First, neither of these men was a member of the SRC Board at the time they were accused before Congressional Committees. The accusations against them were made by Louis Budenz and Paul Courch in 1953. Clark Foreman, who moved out of the South, was dropped from the SRC Board in 1949, and Aubrey Williams resigned, also in 1949 -- ironically because he did not feel that SRC went far enough in opposition to segregation. Secondly, neither Foreman nor Williams could conceivably be described as "top members" of SRC's Board, even during their terms of membership. Neither held any office or served at any time on the Executive Committee, and neither at any time played any significant part in formulating SRC's policy. Since the charge of Communist affiliation was made against these two men long after they ceased to serve on SRC's Board, it is not the business of this organization either to defend or denounce them. But it should be noted that both Williams and Foreman, under oath before congressional committees, branded their accusers as liars,

(Issue of June 28, 1954, continued)

and no charge of perjury was brought against either Williams or Foreman. Of course, Harris, with his usual lack of regard for accuracy and the reputations of others, makes no mention of these facts.

3. "At least 38 officers and members of the executive staff or directors of the SRC's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as Communist fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee investigating un-American activities."

(a) A culling of names from this issue turns up the following as persons referred to in this charge:

George S. Mitchell*	Ira Reid	Carter Wesley*
Howard Odum	Benjamin Mays*	Gordon Hancock*
Charles Johnson*	William Cole	J. M. Ellison
Rufus Clement*	Donald Comer	Florence Sytz*
Marion A. Wright*	David Jones	W. W. Alexander
A. W. Dent	Aubrey Williams	Harry Stanley Brav
P. B. Young, Sr.	Clark Foreman	R. B. Atwood*
Guy Johnson*	Bishop E. A. Penick*	Grace Hamilton*
F. D. Patterson	Glen Rainey	Luther Jackson
Paul Christopher*	Mrs. M. E. Tilly*	D. V. Jemison
Josephine Wilkins*	Virginius Dabney	Z. A. Looby*
Louis Burnham	F. B. Washington	G. D. Rogers
Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Bishop R.R. Wright, Jr.	Jacob Reddix

This totals 39, unaccountably. Out of 130 current and past board members of SRC, at the time of Roy Harris' writing, he has singled out 37 plus Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. Tilly of the staff. Of the 37, 21 were not even on the Board at the time of Harris' charges. This failure to distinguish between present and past Board members is part of Harris' deception in trying to inflate his fraudulent charges. (Moreover, one of the names, Harry Stanley Brav, refers to no one who has served on SRC's Board; Rabbi Stanley R. Brav

(Issue of June 28, 1954, continued)

is a former member, but could not conceivably be accused of un-Americanism.) Most of the persons named by Harris are outstanding Southerners whose position is public life would alone testify to their good character.

Harris' method has been to brand as "facts" material taken from the raw files of the House un-American Activities Committee. The Committee itself points out that it does not vouch for the accuracy or the significance of this raw material. The Committee calls it "unevaluated data." No attempt is made to ascertain whether this casually gathered material is accurate or inaccurate, whether an individual was associated with an organization before or after it was accused of pro-Communist leanings, what the nature and circumstances of the alleged association were. Obviously, loosely gathered and loosely handled material of this kind can be used to "prove" almost anything about anybody. (It has been so used, for example, against such noted Americans as Dwight D. Eisenhower, General George C. Marshall, and many others.) One of the past SRC Board members attacked by Harris was, at the time of writing, an avowed Dixiecrat!

4. "Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the SRC was listed as a top official of the SCHW in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts according to records and reports of congressional committees."

Dr. Mitchell was a "top official" of the SCHW only in the sense that he was a member of its Board, from which he resigned in 1947. To suggest, as Harris does, that this makes Dr. Mitchell a Communist sympathizer or that it proves an organic link between SCHW and SRC is ridiculous. As Ralph McGill and others have pointed out, SCHW attracted many distinguished and loyal

(Issue of June 28, 1954, continued)

persons to its membership. Only in the last stage of its existence did the SCHW come to be recognized as having an active pro-Communist minority within its membership, and by that time non-Communist liberals of the sort that compose SRC had almost entirely left the SCHW. Distaste for the makeup and methods of the SCHW was one of the reasons why some of these persons were attracted to the responsible program of the SRC at SRC's beginning. The other associations alleged against Dr. Mitchell in general here, and in detail elsewhere, are of the same order of innuendo and smear as those discussed above and have been answered in detail by Dr. Mitchell. Certainly no one who has known Dr. Mitchell throughout his career of public service would give any credence to charges of this kind. The high esteem in which he is held is testified to by his selection for the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South in 1953.

5. "The SRC, though claiming to be dedicated to "promote national harmony and reduce tensions' to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort has been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist party line as laid down for the South."

Harris produces not a shred of evidence to support the charge made here. The Council, from its beginning has been scrupulously non-political, and nowhere in its literature of its activities can the slightest evidence to the contrary be found. If there were any such evidence, Harris and his associates would long since have been successful in getting SRC's tax exemption revoked. Similarly with the charge about the Communist Party line. Notoriously the Communist line, in race relations as in everything else,

(Issue of June 28, 1954, continued)

has zigzagged all over the map. SRC's policy has been constantly to work for understanding and cooperation.

6. Harris summarizes George Mitchell's education.

A small point, but typical, that he leaves out Mitchell's several years of study at the University of Richmond.

7. "Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Howard W. Odum, applied for the SRC charter to Fulton County Superior Court January 6, 1944."

On the numerous occasions when Harris makes this statement, it is clear that his source is the official records of Fulton County. Yet he falsely includes Dr. Mitchell as an incorporator, although Dr. Mitchell was not even in Georgia or connected with SRC at the time of its incorporation. Similarly he omits the name of one of the actual incorporators who is listed in the official records and in everything that has ever been printed or said about SRC's incorporation. That person is Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church. This repeated falsification by Harris is indicative of his manipulation of the facts for purposes of petty misrepresentation.

8. "We are informed by a reliable source, who has knowledge of the inner workings of the SRC, that a group of project personnel has been named to spend the $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. This list includes the names of Morris B. Abram. . . and Philip G. Hammer. . . ."

This is about as much misinformation as can be packed into a few lines. It has already been pointed out that the grant to SRC was not made by the Ford Foundation but by the Fund for the Republic. No special group of

(Issue of June 28, 1954, continued)

project personnel "to spend the grant" ever existed.

9. Harris quotes SRC staff member Fleming, and comments that Fleming's statement "reinforces what we have said all along -- that this Ford Foundation money will be used to force an end of segregation upon us and for political action to elect candidates in office who are in sympathy with the Council's pro-communist, anti-southern aims and ideals."

The statement by Fleming, as quoted by Harris himself, is as follows: "The Supreme Court decision"was wholesome and healthy since it gives responsible Southern leadership a chance to work this thing out in a climate that can be relatively free of dissension and sispute as to what is the law of the land."

It is hard for a sane human being to understand how Mr. Harris can draw the inferences that he does from this statement. Another example of Mr. Harris' peculiar view of reality.

10. "The House Committee investigating un-American activities in a report to a Committee of the U. S. Senate, furnished documentary evidence showing [Dr. Channing] Tobias to be linked with nine organizations cited as communist fronts by the Committee."

Although Dr. Tobias has never been officially connected with SRC in any way, Harris first manufactures a spurious connection and than makes the above statement about Tobias. As one more measure of Harris' abuse of of the truth, it is noteworthy that he does not point out the sequel to the charges against Tobias. Following its hearing, the Committee unanimously exonerated Dr. Tobias of all charges of left-wing sympathy, and Dr. Tobias' appointment by the President to a U.S. Commission was speedily approved.

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JULY 5, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 361

Ford Foundation Gives Fund To Fight Segregation And Investigate Congress

Preservation Of Segregation In Schools Is Promised By Each Candidate In Race For Governor Of Georgia

Tom Linder Puts Those Advocating Mixing Of Races In Lunatic Fringe

All the candidates for Governor have now declared in no uncertain terms that they will preserve segregation in the public school system regardless.

Their statements range all the way from saying that they will cut off all the money and close the schools in any county that mixes the races to saying that it will be maintained, come "hell or high water", and one candidate has said that he will go to jail and run the state for four years from a cell rather than see the races mixed in the school system in Georgia.

On Friday, June 25, 1954 the last three candidates appeared before Governor Talmadge's Commission on Education in Atlanta. The other candidates had appeared at an earlier date.

Ben Garland was the first. He told the commission that he favored setting up an elaborate system of selecting students and having separate schools for the boys and girls and separate for the races.

Charlie Gowen still advocated his plan to let the county school superintendents designate the school which a child shall attend.

Marvin Griffin made known his plan. He plans to require outsiders to live in the state for a whole year before they can send their children to school and to enlarge the members of the board of education of each county from five to one hundred.

Fred Hand advocated keeping the law as it is and controlling the money so as to prevent the mixing of the races in any county.

Barfield advocated an amendment to the constitution to abolish the Supreme Court of the United States.

Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder presented a novel and a most unusual plan. The basis of his plan was to make every man, woman and child stand up and be counted and let it be known where they stand. He proposed to have a census made all over the state of all the children and parents and let them say whether they prefer to attend an all white school, all colored school or mixed school and that those who prefer a mixed school shall have their names published and allow everybody to know who they are.

Then he proposes to form what he calls a pool of available school children. Those who desire to attend white schools will be permitted to attend white schools and those who desire to attend colored schools will be permitted to attend colored schools.

Then the remnants, as Tom calls those who desire mixed schools, would be gathered together and he would employ a lot of psychiatrists and try to find out what's wrong with them.

Tom declared that his plan was entirely different from that advocated by the new-

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

I have been up to Atlanta for another meeting of Governor Talmadge's Commission on Education.

This commission was set up by the legislature and charged with the duty of recommending to the next governor and the next legislature a plan for maintaining segregation in the public schools.

Now, the legislature has by the act creating this commission fixed the state policy. They have said that we will have segregation and charged us with the responsibility of working out a plan to guarantee the maintenance of segregation.

The Governor of Georgia has stated that so long as he is governor we will have segregated schools and that he will use his authority to cut off the money from any institution or any county where they have mixed schools.

The Constitution of the State makes it illegal to spend money on mixed schools.

The legislature has in another respect fixed the policy. The legislature has provided that in the event any institution mixes the races that the funds are cut off immediately. The legislature has already provided that if any county mixes the races in its schools that the money will be cut off from that county immediately.

Now that is the policy of the present governor and the present legislature. That is the policy written into the constitution of Georgia and into the basic law of Georgia.

This policy will continue to be the policy of Georgia for the next four years. I make this statement because every candidate for governor has been before the commission and has guaranteed that he will maintain segregation during the next four years. As a matter of fact the candidates are in a race among themselves to see which one of them can express himself in the strongest language. Some of them have even stated that they will go to jail and operate the state government from a jail cell before they will sign a check to pay a single teacher or to operate a single school where the races are mixed.

So, every candidate for governor is taking the same position and so far as the next governor is concerned he will be standing in the same position where Herman Talmadge stands today regardless of who's elected.

Now what about the legislature?

We have tried to make a survey of the candidates for the legislature and so far as we are able to determine nearly every candidate for the legislature is running on the same kind of a platform. They are guaranteeing to keep segregation.

Now there may be two or three or half a dozen exceptions from some of the city counties. We have some strange people living in our cities this day and time.

It is my prediction that the next legislature will be just as solid as the last and that there will be only a few members who will believe in mixing the races. This lunatic fringe, as Tom Linder calls them, will be so small in number until they will have little effect in the legislature.

So, it seems to me that it is very definite that the policy of the state for the next four years will not change and that it will remain the same.

Now if the policy stays as it is, what will happen if negroes enter some white school in some particular county?

Well, here's what will happen. The money will be cut off immediately and both the white and negro schools will be forced to close. When this happens, the white people are going to become so aroused until they

(Continued on Page 3)

Tax-Exempt Millions Financing Fight Made Against White People In Georgia By SRC

Financing of pro-communist activities and subsidization of known communists and persons with records of lengthy association with red fronts have been an important factor in bringing about the present Congressional investigation of tax-exempt foundations.

Late last year the House of Representatives passed a resolution providing for the investigation of charitable foundations. Authored by Rep. Carroll Reese, of Tennessee, the resolution was passed on a roll call vote of 209-163.

The committee will conduct a complete investigation and study of the activities of tax-exempt foundations "to determine whether such foundations . . . are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; propaganda, or attempts to influence legislation."

Time for submission of a final report by the committee is fixed for January 3, 1955. In the meantime, a full-scale investigation and study of various foundations will take place.

$15 million Trust Fund

During the course of debate on the Reese resolution, many references to activities of the Ford Foundation were brought to light.

This is a trust which set up a $15 million fund to be used to "investigate" the investigating powers of the Congress, from what Mr. Reese termed, "a critical point of view."

Recently, this same Ford Foundation made a grant to the Southern Regional Council in Georgia to work for overturn of separate classrooms in the State for the white and colored races.

Detailed Exposure

Last week THE AUGUSTA COURIER carried a detailed expose which established these facts about the Southern Regional Council:

1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as communists in testimony before Congressional committees by former associates in the party.

3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of

(Continued on Page 2)

THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

SERIOUS CHARGES WHICH DEMAND A SERIOUS REPLY

(From THE STATESMAN, Thursday, July 1, 1954)

The AUGUSTA COURIER has raised serious charges against the Ford Foundation-financed Southern Regional Council. They are charges of such nature they demand a full and complete explanation by that bi-racial group which is working to destroy separate schools in Georgia and the South.

Replying to the COURIER's charges, an unnamed "spokesman" who obviously did not want his name revealed in connection with the organization, did not deny the charges but instead resorted to flimsy hedging. His statement answered nothing and attempted through raising a non-existent legal point to call attention away from the charges.

The point raised was that if officers of the Southern Regional Council were members of Communist-fronts why they have not been indicted under the Georgia Subversive and Sedition Act. Of course, no ground exists under the statute for such an indictment. As a matter of fact some of the leaders of this same Regional Council are those who sought behind the scenes to "water down" this law when it was passed by the Georgia General Assembly.

The Augusta newspaper, in a lengthy article documented by copious citations from the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and the Attorney General of the United States reported results of an investigation by, it into the membership, activities and affairs of the Southern Regional Council.

The newspaper charged as follows:

"It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

"Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as Communists in testimony before congressional committees by former associates in the party.

"3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as Communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a Communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to 'promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions' to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group."

We have known all along that there is nothing Southern, nor Regional about the Southern Regional Council, its membership or its aims. It is as alien to the way of life embraced by the South as independence is to the satellite nations enslaved by Soviet Russia.

The Southern Regional Council is an inter-racial organization in the truest sense of the word. It is as dedicated to destroying segregation in the South as the Communist Party itself.

The AUGUSTA COURIER charges that its Board of Directors is composed of men and women with records of affinity for Communist-front groups and causes, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and citations by the Attorney General of the United States.

The Council, under the direction of Dr. George S. Mitchell, espouses ideologies completely foreign to the South and is dedicated to the overthrow of every tradition and institution held dear by the region.

The Council's statement of policy dedicates it to a South "free of the stultifying inheritance of the past . . . where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit and will no longer be imposed."

Had the Ford Foundation bothered to check the background of this organization and its members with either the Un-American Activities Committee or the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it could have learned these things for the price of two three-cent postage stamps. Therefore, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that those in the Ford Foundation responsible for this grant were in sympathy with the avowed purposes of the Southern Regional Council and made no attempt to investigate it.

The man responsible for the grant was Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago. It is he who has been making speeches in his capacity as Associate Director of the Ford Foundation advocating an end to racial segregation and proposing complete integration of the races. It is he whose record, according to the records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and material appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, shows a particularly consistent attraction to Communist-front causes.

That this grant has met with revulsion among true Southerners is evidenced by the action of the Association County Commissioners of Georgia in condemning it at its annual convention earlier this year.

We cannot believe that this action has the understanding approval of the heirs of the late Henry Ford, that great automobile genius who made his fortune under the system the Ford Foundation now seems bent on destroying. We cannot believe that those in control of the Ford Motor Company now will let it stand.

Therefore, for all Southerners, we call on the Ford Motor Company and the Ford Foundation to do two things:

1. Revoke this grant and thus serve notice that it will have no truck with schemes to tear down traditions and constitutional government in any section of our great nation.

2. Discharge this man Hutchins and thus serve notice that the Ford fortune as dispensed by the Ford Foundation will be used for philanthropy and not political or sociological crusades.

Only in so doing can the Ford Motor Company and the Ford Foundation regain the confidence of their friends in the South.

Tax-Exempt Millions Financing Fight Made Against White People In Georgia By SRC

(Continued from Page 1)

Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

6. The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina. The charter of incorporation was applied for in Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944, and was granted for a period of 35 years. Attorneys for the applicants were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member.

Subsidization of the Southern Regional Council which is a haven for known communists and red fronters follows the pattern set by the Ford Foundation throughout the rest of the nation.

House Resolution

In order that our readers may know about the Ford Foundation and Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, who until recently headed it up, we quote the following excerpts form remarks made by Mr. Reese, of Tennessee, in the debate on House Resolution 217:

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I do not say this lightly, but in my opinion, the subject embraced in House Resolution 217, now before us, is one of the very important matters pending in Washington.

No one seems to know the number of tax-exempt foundations, There are probably 300,000 foundations and organizations which have great tax exemptions.

These exemptions cover inheritances, income, and capital-gains taxes.

The majority of these organizations are honestly and efficiently conducted. In the past, they have made a magnificent contribution to our national life. In the past, the majority have justified these tax exemptions, even though the probable cost to the taxpayers runs into the billions.

Right of Congress

Certainly, the Congress has a right and a duty to inquire into the purposes and conduct of institutions to which the taxpayers have made such great sacrifices.

In any event, the Congress should concern itself with certain weaknesses and dangers which have arisen in a minority of these.

Some of these activities and some of these institutions support efforts to overthrow our Governmnt and to undermine our American way of life.

These activities urgently require investigation. Here lies the story of how comunism and socialism are financed in the United States. where they get their money. It is the story of who pays the bill.

The method by which this is done seems fantastic to reasonable men, for these Communists and Socialists seize control of fortunes left behind by Capitalists when they die, and turn these fortunes around to finance the destruction of Capitalism.

Tax-free Trust Funds

The Members of this House were amazed when they read just recently that the Ford Foundation, largest and newest of the tax-free trust funds, had just appropriated $15 million to be used to "investigate" the investigating powers of Congress, from the critical point of view.

No Congressman, who has gone through such experiences, could fail to be alarmed at the fact that $15 million from the fortune of the late Henry Ford, who probably hated Communism more than any other American of his day, was to be expended to attack the Congress for inquiring into the nature and extent of the Communist conspiracy, on grounds that Congress was "abridging civil liberties" of individuals by requiring them to answer whether or not they were Communists.

Subversive and Procommunist and Prosocialist propaganda activities of the Ford Foundation.

Documentary Evidence

To illustrate the dubious staff and the many subversive and propaganda activities of the Ford Foundation, I offer the following examples from the extensive documentary evidence which I have in my possession:

1. Dubious staff of Ford Foundation.

The record of Robert Maynard Hutchins:

The keyman in the Ford Foundation is Robert M. Hutchins, formerly chancellor of the University of Chicago and until recently associate director of the Foundation. Because of the furor created by his part in making the grant to the Southern Regional Council he has been "promoted" to be President of the Fund for the Republic, one of the Ford Foundation's subsidiaries.

Ran The Foundation

While serving as associate director of the Ford Foundation, Hutchins ostensibly was a subordinate but, in effect, ran the organization, made its policy and determined who would receive Ford grants. During the time Paul Hoffman was the Foundation's president, Hutchins' prominent position was made possible by the fact that Hoffman considers Hutchins the greatest living educator and literally worships him.

With the resignation of Hoffman, H. Rowan Gaither, a San Francisco attorney, became president of the Foundation. But Gaither was a mere figurehead and Hutchins still ran the Foundation. And since there has been no formal announcement of a successor to Hutchins, it can be assumed that he still does.

In his capacity as the policy-maker of the Ford Foundation, Hutchins possesses a completely unprecedented financial

(Continued on Page 3)

Tax-Exempt Millions Financing Fight Made Against White People In Georgia By SRC

(Continued from Page 2)

power over education, the humanities, and the social sciences. By giving or withholding grants, Hutchins is in position to insinuate his views into any aspect of American intellectual life. Therefore, it is essential to inquire about Hutchins' views and his record concerning the Communist menace.

Testifying in 1949 under oath before the Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission inquiry into subversive activities at the University of Chicago, Hutchins admitted that he was a sponsor of the October 1948 meeting of the bureau on academic freedom of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Methodist Federation

Regarding the Methodist Federation of Social Action, Hutchins has said:

Believe you are advancing the cause of true Americanism.

The first page of the publication of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, where this quotation appears, asserts that the federation rejects the profit motive and favors a classless society. Does Hutchins think that such an ideology constitutes true Americanism?

The University of Chicago, under Hutchins' administration, has distinguished itself as the only institution of higher learning in America which has been investigated five times for immoral or subversive activities. These investigations are: First, Iillinois State Senate inquiry, 1935; second. University of Chicago Alumni Committee, 1947-48; third, University of Chicago Board of Trustees, 1948; fourth, Iillinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, March-June 1949; fifth, investigation and subsequent report to the Illinois Legislature by State Representative G. William Horsley, Springfield, 1949. The first investigation was a whitewash; the second requested the resignation of Hutchins; the third held its deliberations in secret; and the fourth and fifth did not clear the university. Both the majority report of the Illinois Seditious Activities Commission and the independent report of Representative Horsley condemned the university's administration severely and asked the legislature to deny tax exemption.

Seditious Activities

At the hearings of the Seditious Activities Commission of the Illinois Legislature at the 1949 investigation of the University of Chicago, Hutchins, after being sworn in, testified as follows:

The subpoena which I have received summons me to testify concerning subversive activities at the University of Chicago. This is a leading question, and the answer is assumed in the question. I cannot testify concerning subversive activities at the University of Chicago because there are none.

At the same hearings, Hutchins was asked the following question and made the following response:

Question. The records which I shall present through other witnesses show, in summary, that some sixty-odd persons listed in the latest available directory of the University of Chicago, as professors or professors emeritus, have been affiliated with 135 Communist-front organizations in 465 separate affiliations. Is that not something for which the university might well be alarmed?

Student Commie Groups

In the course of the same investigation it was disclosed that there were Communist and pro-Communist student organizations on Hutchins' campus. The student Communist club was freely admitted by Chancellor Hutchins, who said "the club has not sought to subvert the government of this State."

In his testimony before the same investigation, Hutchins stated that—

It is not yet established that it is subversive to be a Communist.

It must be noted that this testimony was given more than a year after the start of the Berlin airlift.

Hutchins Questioned

At the same investigation Hutchins was asked the following question to which he made the following response:

Question. Do you consider that the Communist Party in the United States comes within the scope of a clear and present danger?

Answers. I don't think so.

Hutchins was also asked:

Are you aware that the Communist front organization is a part of the Communist movement, just as much as the party itself?

No.

Then he was asked:

You haven't attempted to make a study of the Communist Party?

No, I haven't—

Hutchins replied.

He was also asked:

Is there any doubt that the Communist Party is a conspiratiorial Fifth Column operated in the interest of a foreign state?

I am not instructed on this subject—

Hutchins answered.

Such was the attitude of Hutchins toward communism after the start of the airlift, and at a time when the United States was spending billions of dollars abroad to fight communism.

The Daily Worker

On June 25, 1951, the Daily Worker, on page 2 under the headline "Ford Foundation Head Joins Blast at High Cost OK for Smith Act," the following item appeared under a Chicago dateline of June 24:

Prof. Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago and now associate director of the Ford Foundation, joined with Osmond K. Fraenkel, noted New York attorney, opposing the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the 11 convicted Communist Party leaders. Dr. Hutchins said that the majority decision indicates that we are at last up against a great crisis in this country. He spoke of the ruling as a complete reversal of earlier precedents set by the high court * * * Speaking here at an American Civil Liberties Union meeting in his honor, Dr. Hutchins declared that "it may now become more difficult for us to take some of the positions we have in the past." **He referred to his stated willingness to hire Communists as University professors. Hutchins told the Illinois Legislature that he would even take back into the university faculty Oscar P. Lange, who, as I pointed out before, renounced his American Citizenship to become Moscow's Ambassador for Communist Poland to the United Nations. "We may even have to decide whether we must violate the law in order to remain in conformity with our convictions," he said.**

Subversive Group

Hutchins wrote the introduction to a book entitled "Character Assassination," published in 1950, which was written by Jerome Davis, who has been in more than 40 Communist-front organizations. Hutchins also wrote the foreword to a book entitled "Political and Civil Rights in the United States." published in 1953, by Thomas I. Emerson and David Haber. Louis Budenz, testifying under oath, named as a member of the Communist Party, a charge which Emerson denied. But Emerson has been in a large number of Communist fronts and was head of the Communist-controlled National Lawyers Guild is a subversive organization, and it has been cited officially as such.

Hutchins, whose attitudes I have illustrated, is the key man in the Ford Foundation, which owns outright some 374,000 shares of stock of the 400,000 shares of stock in the Ford Motor Co., one of the biggest industrial giants in the whole world. The stockholdings, according to Henry Ford, II, amount to 90 percent of the outstanding stock of the Ford Motor Co. Recently the New York Times magazine pointed out that the Ford Foundation is the "virtual owner of the gigantic Ford Motor Co." According to Paul Hoffman, then president of the Ford Foundation, the Ford Foundation has made grants of $72 million in 2 years, 1951-52.

Grant of $15 million

So it may readily be seen that a grant of $15 million, to protect the civil liberties of Communists and to investigate the Congress of the United States, from the tax-exempt millions of the income from the stock of the late Henry Ford, a man of sterling character and unblemished reputation whose industrial genius helped build America, and whose faith in our institutions and our American way of life was never shaken, is really peanuts to the Ford Foundation which deals out grants with a lavish hand, both to the left and the right, mostly left. Here is the last of the great American industrial fortunes, amassed in a competitive free marketplace in the last 50 years, being used to undermine and subvert our institutions, $15 million being set aside to investigate the Congress of the United States. What a sad tribute to the man we all respected and loved, Henry Ford. He was a symbol of outstanding commonsense and public virtue. Never would he have approved such tactics by the Ford Foundation, to which he left his fortune estimated at over a half billion dollars in stock in the Ford Motor Co., the earnings of which go directly into the tax-exempt Ford Foundation.

In view of the attitude of Hutchins toward communism, it is not at all surprising that the Ford Foundation has made some highly dubious grants.

Hits at Talmadge, Byrnes

Robert M. Hutchins, Director of the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Fundation, in a recent speech in St. Louis, declared that segregation in the public schools "is on the way out and there is little Talmadge and Byrnes can do to prevent the breakdown.

Hutchins' intemperate and inflammatory statements give unassailable proof that the Ford Foundation has been turned into an agency to destroy segregation in Dixie.

He emphasized in his address that school segregation is "doomed on legal, economic and moral grounds, and pointed out that threats by Governors Byrnes of South Carolina and Talmadge of Georgia to shift public schools in those States to a private base would not come about.

"If they get away with it, they won't get away with it for long," Hutchins said. "If a state has not enough money to manage one good school system, how can they manage two?"

"Separate but equal then means equally bad," he added.

This is the same man who was instrumental in making the $240,000 grant to the Southern Regional Council which this newspaper has exposed as a haven for Communists and Communist-fronters.

This Ford money will be used to destroy segregation in the public schools of Georgia and throughout the South.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

will get busy. The good negroes in that county will also rise up and demand that the negroes stay in their schools and that the schools be reopened.

If this should happen in some county the weather is going to get so hot in that county until the little handful of negroes who forced that kind of an issue will either leave the community or they will decide to get back in their schools.

One man stated before the commission that if that kind of a thing should happen in his county there wouldn't be a negro left in the county in two weeks.

I know of a county where the white people have gotten together and agreed that if this kind of a thing ever happens in their county that they will not give a single job to a single negro. This means that the negroes will be forced to move out of that particular county.

Now, when this kind of a thing happens all over Georgia there is nothing the Supreme Court of the United States can do about it.

When this kind of a thing begins to happen over Georgia somebody is going to say to the Supreme Court like old Andrew Jackson did when John Marshall, the Chief Justice, called on old Andy to enforce the decision of the court in the case of the State of Georgia with the Cherokee nation.

Old Andy said that John Marshall wrote his decision, now let him enforce it and that decision of the Supreme Court has never yet been enforced.

Now, knowing this to be the policy of the state and after listening to every candidate for governor say that he guaranteed to continue segregation a little handful of women in Atlanta appeared before the commission with some strange doctrines and some strange ideas.

It is true that these women represented a very small segment of the women of the state. It is true that the organizations which they represented have very few members and their organizations are nothing but skeletons. But the fact that we have got such women as that in Georgia is certainly impossible to comprehend. How you can explain them is beyond me.

They take the position that it is our Christian duty to mix the white and negro children in the same schools and the same classes.

One of the women who spoke before the commission represented the Georgia League of Women Voters. We asked her how many negroes belonged to the League of Women Voters. She said none. We asked her how many had been solicited to join and she said none.

Then a woman representing a lot of church women in Georgia spoke. We asked her how many negro women belonged to that organization and there were none.

We asked her how many negroes belonged to any of the churches that she represented and she said none.

And one of the women speaking represented a large group of organizations including the B'nai B'rith, a Jewish organization. We asked how

(Continued on Page 4)

Tom Linder Puts Those Advocating Mixing Of Races In Lunatic Fringe

(Continued from Page 1)

ly-elected Governor of South Carolina who suggested three types of schools. One white, one colored and one mixed and all of the children would be given an opportunity to select which they wanted to attend.

Tom did not advocate educating this group who were dissatisfied with their own race and wanted to mix the races. He said in his opinion this group constituted a lunatic fringe and according to him, they are sick and need treatment instead of education.

Linder, upon being pressed as to what he would do with his so-called lunatic fringe stated that he would leave that up to the legislature and so far as he was concerned it didn't matter what the legislature did with them.

Linder was followed by Thompson. Thompson advocated:

1. Amending the Federal Constitution to prohibit the Federal Government and the Supreme Court from interfering with the operation of the schools by the states.
2. Keeping the Constitution of Georgia as it is since the constitution provides that tax money cannot be spent for mixed schools.
3. Keeping the provision in the appropriations bill which forfeits all state money to any county or local system that mixes the races in the public schools.
4. Continuing the building program now being administered by Speaker Hand's State School Building Authority.

Thompson took the position that we already have the machinery necessary to keep segregation in Georgia and that all it takes to have segregation is to have a governor and a legislature with the courage to maintain segregation.

He also stated that he had no objection to the Governor's constitutional amendment and argued that the governor's amendment would not abolish the public school system and only make it possible to subsidize students. Thompson contended that under the present constitution, the legislature has this authority and called attention to the fact that the state is now subsidizing students under the present constitution.

We now have all the candidates guaranteeing we will have segregation for the next four years. Every candidate is trying to go a little further and be more emphatic than the other. Even Speaker Fred Hand on television the other night stated that he would not sign a check for a single dollar to operate mixed schools and if that means going to jail he would operate the state from a cell for a period of four years.

This situation leaves that group referred to by Tom Linder as the lunatic fringe without a candidate. If their views are to be represented it will be necessary for them to get them up a candidate before the entries close.

But as this is written the entries have not yet closed and there is no representative of the lunatic fringe in the race.

It is going to be an interesting summer and most people are going to agree with most everything the candidates are saying.

Most people would be willing to join Thompson in amending the Constitution to prohibit the Supreme Court and the Constitution from interfering with the operations of the schools if they could.

Most of the people in Georgia believe that along with Tom Linder that these people who are dissatisfied with associating with their own race and want to mix the races constitute a lunatic fringe.

Now we are ready for the fire works and it is safe to predict that the lunatic fringe will not have a candidate in the race when the entries close.

Georgia Can Keep Segregation In Schools, Thompson Says

Amendment Proposed To U. S. Constitution To Nullify Ruling Of Supreme Court

Former Governor M. E. Thompson, who is a candidate for Governor, has made known his views as to the methods to be employed to maintain segregation in Georgia.

His speech to the State Commission on Education follows:

"The conclusively and permanently effective remedy for the non-segregation decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is to affirmatively nullify the decision by amending the U. S. Constitution so as to leave to the States the right to operate their own schools without Federal interference or control. This can be done in two ways. If I am your Governor, I will recommend to the Legislature that it initiate such a proposal, and will urge the Governors and Legislatures of other states to take similar action. I suggest that this Commission also urge our Congressional Delegation to immediately introduce such a proposal in Congress.

Next Week The Augusta Courier will carry the speech made by Tom Linder to the State School Commission.

"Every state should gladly support an amendment to the Federal constitution which makes it crystal clear that the sovereign states rather than the Federal Government would have complete power to operate and regulate their own public school systems. That is true whether the state involved desires a segregated or non-segregated system of public education. Such an amendment would have an excellent chance of adoption because it merely would again confirm the proprosition that the states should have the right and power to regulate their own internal affairs. No one should register serious objection to this declaration of policy which is so well intrenched in our American concept of Government.

"Meanwhile, we can effectively continue to have separate public schools for the races in Georgia, if we have a Governor and a Legislature with the courage and will to maintain segregated schools.

"We already have the necessary machinery in my opinion.

"I believe it can be done by keeping the Constitution of Georgia as it is and keeping in the appropriations act the present provision which makes the appropriation to each County subject to their maintaining separate schools.

"It is my opinion that since the same Constitution which gives the legislature the right to levy taxes for educational purposes to the support of SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR THE RACES, that we cannot legally levy taxes for the support of public schools in Georgia, UNLESS THEY ARE SEPARATE SCHOOLS. The provision in the appropriations act making the public schools appropriations contingent upon SEPARATE schools being maintained for the races, simply follows the Constitution of Georgia. There is no legal way for Georgia to levy taxes or appropriate money to support mixed or non-segregated public schools under our present constitution and laws.

"With the present provisions in our State Constitution and appropriations act, any Governor and Legislature can maintain segregation in our public schools if they have the will and courage to do so.

"If any attempt is made by any school official to use State money to mix the races together in our public schools while I am Governor, I will exercise my authority as budget director and instantly cut off the state money for that school and recommend the impeachment of that school official for violating the law of Georgia. Then, as a practical matter, when the State money is cut off, they will send their children back to their own separate schools in order to get their money restored.

"So it is that I believe that our present law is better than anything I have heard suggested. Any other plan which we may devise either directly or by indirection will, in my opinion, be declared to be unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, as that Court is now constituted.

"But, I believe it is conceded, even by that Court, that the U. S. Supreme Court cannot force us to operate public schools of any sort. The Supreme Court cannot force us to levy taxes to support mixed or non-segregated schools. The Supreme Court cannot force the Legislature to either levy taxes or appropriate money.

"One Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court has openly stated that this is the law during the argument in the Virginia case and no other Justice contraverted him.

"So, it seems to me that the only legal way we can keep our separate schools for the races is by controlling the money.

"It is my opinion that 99% of the white people and 99% of the Negroes in our State agree that separate schools are best for both races and will agree to maintain them. The negroes of several counties have already taken such action. So, these provisions now in the Constitution and now in the appropriations act are necessary only to prevent the 1% of the two races from attempting to cause trouble and strife.

"With respect to Governor Talmadge's proposed constitutional amendment: As I have heretofore stated, I can see no serious objection to this amendment, I do disagree with some of the implications that have been drawn from the proposal. It has been widely misunderstood as abolishing the public school system. It does no such thing. Here are the words verbatim, which it proposes to add to the Constitution: 'Grants for Education: Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of State, County or Municipal funds to citizens of the State for Educational purposes, in discharge of all obligations of the State to provide adequate education for its citizens.' This amendment simply proposes to permit the Legislature to subsidize the school children. The amendment is completely ineffective without action by the Legislature, and it only permits the Legislature to do the exact thing as stated.

"The Board of Regents is now subsidizing students and sending them out of the State. This is being done under our present Constitution without the proposed amendment. This is being done under an agreement which was inaugurated when I was Governor in order to maintain segregation in the University system. It was necessary for us to furnish equal facilities to the negroes, and consequently, we adopted this system of contributing to their education in other states where we could not furnish the instructions sought in this state at the negro colleges. This agreement has been kept in force by Governor Talmadge. So, I believe, under the present constitution that we already have the authority which this amendment proposes. The present constitution as quoted in Section 2-5501 of the Georgia Code says that the legislature shall have authority to levy state-wide taxes 'for educational purposes'. This broad provision of the constitution already gives the legislature the right to maintain and operate schools or to subsidize those who wish to attend schools, and we have already been doing so under the aforementioned agreement. Since we are already doing what Governor Talmadge's amendment proposes to let us do, I can see no harm in it. His amendment does not abolish the public school system. It is not necessary to abolish the public school system in order to keep separate schools for the races, in my opinion. My plan is to keep both the public school system and separate schools for the races, just as we are now doing. It is my opinion that this can be done either with or without Governor Talmadge's amendment. It can be done by controlling the money as I have outlined.

"Be it remembered that in order to maintain segregation, we must play fair with the negro people. This means that we must give them what we have been asking the U. S. Supreme Court to permit us to do, and that is to give them equal facilities. To give them equal facilities, we must continue our school building program, which I advocated, and which Governor Talmadge has underway, and see to it that we have buildings and equipment and funds for both races over this State on a basis of educational equality.

"I repeat that it is my opinion that all other plans I have heard proposed are simply subterfuges and stop-gap measures and will be stricken down as fast as they get to the Supreme Court of the United States. So, I am of the opinion that our present constitution and our present law as contained in the appropriations act is the best way and plan that we can use at the present.

"But, after the decree of the U. S. Supreme Court is handed down and we see exactly what it contains, if other measures are necessary, I stand ready, willing and anxious to adopt them and to do whatever else is necessary to keep separate schools for the negroes and the white people. If I am your Governor they will be kept separate, whatever it takes. If elected Governor I hope this present Commission, under its present Chairman, and with its other members as now Constituted, will agree to continue to serve the state in advising the Governor and the General Assembly to this important end."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

many negroes belonged to the B'nai B'rith and she told that there are none.

We could have asked how many Gentiles belonged to B'nai B'rith and the answer would have been the same. There are none.

So, here we have these organizations of fine women representing church groups and other kind of groups who themselves are practicing segregation of the races in their churches and organizations telling us that it is our Christian duty to mix the little children of the two races together in the school rooms of this state.

Just before the meeting adjourned, I couldn't resist the temptation to rise in the presence of all these people and tell them that if it was our Christian duty to mix the little children in the schoolrooms and destroy segregation in the schools, that they were setting a mighty poor Christian example for us.

This they could not answer. This they did not undertake to answer.

Now, I would like to call your attention to the fact that there is an organized and a concerted movement throughout most of the religious denominations in the South to preach the doctrine that it is the Christian duty of the members of these churches to destroy the pattern of segregation in Georgia.

It is through the churches we are going to find the biggest drive made to destroy segregation.

Now these same churches have been practicing segregation for a long time. They have not admitted negroes to membership in their churches and allowed them to sit along beside them in the pews.

Now, if it is un-Christian to segregate them, we have had a lot of good church people in Georgia throughout the last hundred years who have gone to hell.

So, it looks to me like this group was properly named by Tom Linder when he called them the lunatic fringe.

Now here are these women and these men with a hypocritical self-righteousness confessing the sins of their fathers who have now gone to their reward and saying that all the long line of preachers who preached in the churches of Georgia and all this long line of deacons, stewards and elders and good people who have supported and maintained the churches all these years were in fact un-Christian and not worthy of the name, Christian.

Now, I know that the Supreme Court of the United States has with the stroke of a pen changed all of the law of the land and said that segregation is wrong after these who have gone before them for over a hundred years have said that it was legal.

But I haven't yet seen any authority who has changed the principles of the Christian religion over night as the Supreme Court changed the law of the land.

Segregation has been going on for the last two thousand years. It has been practiced by God's chosen people. It has been practiced by all of the races and during two thousand years the followers of the lowly Nazarene have not construed Christianity to mean that they should mix and mingle the black and white races.

Now who has changed the Christian religion?

How is it that all of these noble people who have gone before us have suddenly been declared to be devils instead of Christians and by this self-righteous, hypocritical, lunatic fringe been consigned to hell as their reward?

Some wit has explained the situation by saying that the church leaders have not been following the principles of Christianity in the past and now they, like Saul of Tarsus, have been suddenly struck down by the Supreme Court decision and converted to Christianity.

Now, there is something wrong when you get a handful of people who say that everybody who has lived before this was wrong and they are suddenly right.

There is something to old Tom Linder's proposition when he says that these people who believe like this ought to be separated and given some kind of treatment.

Tom says they are sick and instead of being given a dose of education, they ought to be treated for the sickness with which they suffer.

Activity Reported All Over Georgia

ATLANTA,—You don't catch Georgia's Parade of Progress marking time; it just keeps on moving forward all over the state, through little towns and big cities alike. That's the latest word from Secretary Clark Gaines, of the Georgia Department of Commerce.

In reporting this continued progress, the secretary pointed to Georgia communities which recently have disclosed industrial expansions of one kind or another or other activities tending to improve the state's economy through progressiveness at the local level. Latest communities cited were these:

Alma, Americus, Atlanta, Augusta, Blakely, Brunswick, Butler, Byron, Calhoun, Camilla, Carrollton, Cartersville, Cedartown, Chamblee, Cochran, Columbus, Cordele, Cornelia, Covington, Dalton, Eastman, Eatonton, Elberton, Ellaville, Fayetteville, Gainesville, Greensboro, Griffin.

Jefferson, Jonesboro, Louisville, McCaysville, Macon, Marietta, Milledgeville, Millen, Monroe, Moultrie, Nashville, Reynolds, Royston, Rupert, Savannah, Senoia, Silvertown, Sparta, Thomaston, Tifton, Valdosta, Vidalia, Warner Robins, Waynesboro and Winder.

More Thumbs Down On Mixed Schools

ATLANTA, — (GSP) Latest evidence that loyal and responsible Georgians are not going to accept the blatant decree of the U. S. Supreme Court which would strike down segregation in the public schools is seen in recent action by the State Board of Education, which, by formal resolution, pledged to abide by Georgia's laws prohibiting spending funds on non-segregated schools. Its resolution points out that Georgia laws forbid the board from appropriating money for mixed schools, and that personnel of a mixed school shall not be paid with state funds. In effect, the board said in the resolution it would obey these state laws.

Charles A. Rawson,
223 Peachtree Street, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 | THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JULY 12, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. | No. 362

Ford Foundation Particular Affinity Toward Financing Left-Wingers Shown

Summation Of Facts Given By Courier About Southern Regional Council

THE AUGUSTA COURIER carried a detailed expose, June 28, 1954, which established facts about the Southern Regional Council. They are as follows:

1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as communists in testimony before Congressional committees by former associates in the party.

3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

6. The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina. The charter of incorporation was applied for in Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944, and was granted for a period of 35 years. Attorneys for the applicants were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member.

Subsidization of the Southern Regional Council which is a haven for known communists and red fronters follows the pattern set by the Ford Foundation throughout the rest of the nation.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

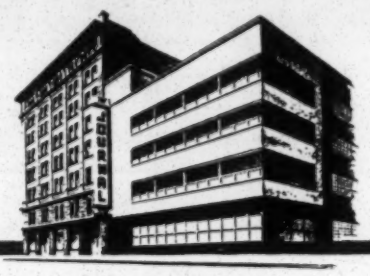
By ROY V. HARRIS

Ralph McGill used to say that I was the only man in politics who had never lied to him.

Now, he has written me a letter and accuses me of lying. I want to settle the issue and let the readers see who lied. I say Ralph lied and I am going to prove it by his own words.

Here's the letter he wrote me saying I lied:

The Atlanta Journal
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
PUBLISHED BY
ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS, INC.
BOX 4689



RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

June 29, 1954

Mr. Roy Harris
Attorney at Law
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Roy:

I received in the mail today a copy of the Courier with the article concerning the Southern Regional Council. I do not at all agree with the conclusions reached in the article, since not only was Bishop Arthur Moore among the incorporators, but leading men in every Southern state are, or have been, members of it. Certainly it contains nothing subversive.

There were at least twenty serious errors of fact in the article. What I chiefly want to say to you, and to make a matter of record, is:

There was a direct quotation from me saying that I had joined the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but had left it when I saw the direction it was taking. This is completely false. I never at any time was a member of this organization nor did I ever attend any of its meetings.

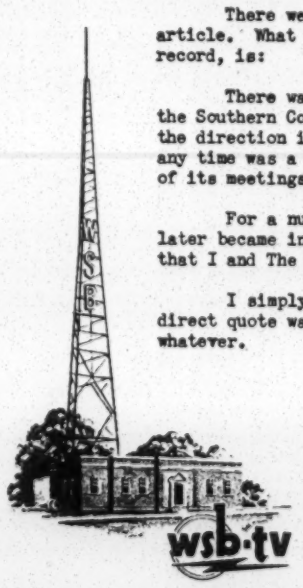
For a number of years it was a respected organization, but later became infiltrated with Communists, and it is a matter of record that I and The Atlanta Constitution helped drive it out of existence.

I simply want to call your attention to the fact that this direct quote was a deliberate falsehood without any substance of fact whatever.

Sincerely,

Ralph McGill

Ralph McGill



Below we give you a photostatic copy of a column written by Ralph McGill. Here's the column:

(Continued on Page 3)

SRC In Atlanta Using Big Grant To Force Mixing Of Races In Schools

Exposure of the Southern Regional Council as successor to the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare by the Augusta COURIER in an exclusive article recently gives added proof to charges that the Ford Foundation has shown a particular affinity toward financing left-wing causes and groups.

The Southern Regional Council, headquartered in Atlanta, is now spending a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation in a project to aid the Supreme Court in forcing mixing of the races in the classrooms of the public schools of Southern states.

As the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council has picked up where the earlier group left off in furthering the Communist Party line in the South.

Platform

"The Southern People's Common Program For Democracy, Progress and Peace" as contained in the DAILY WORKER, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, sets forth the platform and program of the Party in the South. This platform has ten points which have been followed to the letter in the Southern Regional Council's activities and programs.

For instance, the Communist Party program calls for: abolition of white primaries; abolition of poll taxes; abolition of county unit system; reapportionment of Congressional districts; appointment of judges; FEPC and anti-lynch laws; abolition of segregation in all public health, hospital facilities, libraries, parks, schools and elsewhere and outlawing the KKK. In all of these programs to destroy segregation and end our heritages and traditions in the South the Southern Regional Council has been in the vanguard of the fight.

As a matter of fact, the record shows that the Southern Regional Council is not the first of red-infiltrated activities to which the Ford Foundation has let its funds and support.

Ford Staff Members

Prominent members of the staff of the Ford Foundation have long records of affinity for pro-communist causes and association with communist fronts and their activities, according to the July 27, 1953, edition of the Congressional Record.

The backgrounds of some of the Foundation's principal officials were disclosed in an address from the floor of the House of Representatives by Rep. Carroll Reese of Tennessee supporting the creation of a select committee to investigate foundations.

Reese cited "extensive documentary evidence" which, he said "raises some serious questions regarding some of the officers and activities of the Ford Foundation." He charged the organization has a "dubious staff" and has engaged "in subversive and pro-communist and pro-socialist propaganda activities."

Record of Hutchins

The Tennessee Republican dwelled at length upon the record of Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation. His declarations regard-

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

SRC In Atlanta Using Big Grant To Force Mixing Of Races In Schools

(Continued from Page 1)

ing the former chancellor of the University of Chicago are treated in another article in this issue.

Reese then turned to Bernard Berelson, director of the Ford Foundation's Behavioral Sciences Division; Phillip E. Moseley, president of the Foundation's East European Fund; Bernard Louis Gladieux, assistant to the president of the Ford Foundation in charge of the New York Office; and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., of the Americans for Democratic Action, hired for a series of radio broadcasts.

Records Disclosed

The Record makes the following disclosures about these men:

BERELSON—". . . director of the Ford Foundation's Behavioral Sciences Division which has just been allotted $3,500,000 for the creation of a center for advanced study in behavioral sciences, which will consider social relations in human behavior. Berelson, while on the faculty of the University of Chicago, served on a committee to welcome the Red Dean of Canterbury, the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, world renowned apologist for communism who sports a Soviet decoration for his work in behalf of his Kremlin masters. The welcoming committee for the Red Dean of Canterbury was organized under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, an agency which has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States."

MOSELEY—"The East European Fund was established by the Ford Foundation is financed by it and deals with issues relating to the Soviet Union and its European satellites and particularly with the settlement and adjustment of Soviet refugees who have come to the United States. The president of this fund is Philip E. Moseley, who is also director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University. Some years ago Professor Moseley made the following evaluation of the Soviet Union in a pamphlet he wrote for the Foreign Policy Association, also supported by foundations:

" 'Over the long run, great numbers of people will judge both the Soviet and American systems, not by how much individual freedom they preserve but by how much they contribute, in freedom or without it, to develop a better livelihood and a greater feeling of social fulfillment.'

Communist Ideology

"Garet Garett, editor of American Affairs, said that this is straight Communist Party ideology:

" 'It means only that pure Communist ideology may be thus imparted by Columbia University's Russian Institute through the Foreign Policy Association.'

"Philip C. Jessup and Ernest J. Simmons are members of the administrative board of the Russian Institute at Columbia University, which is headed by Moseley. Professor Simmons is the editor of a book entitled U. S. S. R., which grew out of studies at Cornell University that were financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. At least 15 of the 20 contributors of this symposium edited by Simmons are pro-Soviet and none of the other five has ever been known as critics of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Professor Simmons has affiliations with Communist fronts."

Protege of Wallace

GLADIEUX—" . . . former secretary to and protege of Henry Wallace. Gladieux entered federal service in 1988 in Chicago with the Federal Works Agency, transferred to the Labor Department, Wage and Hour Administration, from there to the Bureau of the Budget, then to the War Production Board, leaving the WPB on Nov. 23, 1944, to go with UNRRA. On March 2, 1945, Henry Wallace was sworn in as Secretary of Commerce, and on April 30, 1945, he named Bernard L. Gladieux as his executive assistant. Gladieux remained in the Department of Commerce until Oct. 1, 1951, when he was appointed as an officer of the Ford Foundation in charge of the New York office and as assistant to the president of the Ford Foundation.

"I have been advised by a reliable and responsible source that Bernard L. Gladieux, while in Government service in Washington, had in addition to official association in the ordinary course of business, social contacts with the following persons: William W. Remington, Michael J. Lee, Harry Samuel Magdoff, Philip M. Hauser. Magdoff was identified before a Committee of the House in 1948 as a member of a Soviet spy ring. He recently appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee and dived behind the Fifth Amendment when asked the $64 question. William W. Remington is in jail serving a term for denying that he was a Communist Party member while in the secret cell of Communists in the Tennessee Valley Authority. Michael J. Lee was fired from the Department of Commerce for disloyalty. Dr. Philip M. Hauser, a former professor at the University of Chicago, who wrote pro-Russian speeches for Henry Wallace, has not yet been called as a witness by the committees who have investigated him and his activities.

Senator makes statement

"Advice was also furnished to me that no investigation of Bernard L. Gladieux's loyalty has been requested or made while he was in federal service. But a review of hearings . . . . certainly indicated that Gladieux's loyalty should have been investigated. A member of the Senate took the witness stand before the Committee and, after being duly sworn as a witness, testified as follows:

" 'I understand that one Bernard L. Gladieux, of the Secretary's office, who is a protege of Henry Wallace, has exercised the power of nullifying decisions of the so-called Loyalty Boards. In other words, if it found he was cleared of actual disloyalty, but recommended as a poor security risk, not a good security risk, then someone overruled that finding. Now I am informed that it could be, probably is, Mr. Gladieux.'

" . . . . Is is possible that the trustees of this huge foundation never made any investigation of Mr. Gladieux or checked with the FBI to determine his loyalty to his country?"

Active in ADA

SCHLESINGER—"According to page 34 of the 1951 Annual Report of the Fund for Adult Education, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, the TV-Radio Workshop, administered by the fund for adult education, hired Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as commentator for a series of 12 weekly broadcasts. Schlesinger, of course, is a big shot in the ADA. The following public statements by Schlesinger are worthy of note:

"In 1946 Schlesinger wrote that the present system in the United States makes 'even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia.'

"On Dec. 11, 1949, on page 3 of the New York Times, Schlesinger said: 'I happen to believe that the Communist Party should be granted freedom of political action and that Communists should be allowed to teach in universities, so long as they do not disqualify themselves by intellectual distortions in the classrooms!

"On Aug. 18, 1946, on a University of Chicago Round Table broadcast entitled, 'What is Communism?', Schlesinger said: 'Surely the class struggle is going on in America. I would agree completely with the Communists on that.'

Says capitalism is dead

"Schlesinger was then asked: 'Do you mean that capitalism is dead everywhere except in the United States?'

"He replied: 'It is dead.'

"In answer to the question, 'What did it die of?, he said: 'It died of itself. There is much to what the Marxists used to say about capitalism containing the 'seeds of its own destruction'.' "

Reese continued with a recitation of what he called "dubious grants" made by these officials of the Ford Foundation. He listed them as follows:

$15 million allocation

"Grant to aid Communists and to discredit their investigation."—a $15,000,000 allocation for the investigation of congressional methods of inquiries into communism and subversion. Reese attributed this action to Hutchins, who, he said, "has consistently expressed his concern for the civil liberties of Communists."

"Since we know Hutchins' attitude toward communism and we know that his conception of civil liberties is similar to that of the Communists, we can be sure that the new Ford Foundation project will aid the Communist conspiracy and will try to discredit all those who fight it," he declared.

Grant to Communist

"Grant to a Communist"—"Another example of the kind of grants the Ford Foundation makes was revealed in the testimony of William M. Canning, a former member of the faculty of the City College and of Xavier University, who said under oath at the hearings of the Internal Security Subcommittee that Moses Finkelstein, a City College teacher and later a professor at Rutgers University, under the name of Finley, was a member of the Communist Party and that recently this man received a grant from the Ford Foundation."

"Grant to an organization supposedly controlled by a Communist"—"I have been advised by a reliable source that an organization which has received substantial grants not only from the Ford Foundation, but also from the Carnegie Corp., is supposed to be dominated by a Communist who dictates the policy of the organization. It would be unfair for me to provide specific information on this matter until witnesses are put on the stand to give their testimony under oath."

Would abolish the U. S. A.

"Grant to a person who wants to abolish the United States." — "Another dubious grant of a different character was made to Mortimer Adler, who received $600,000 from the Ford and Melon Foundations to set up the Institute of Philosophical Research. Professor Adler is such an ardent advocate of world government that, according to the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Oct. 29, 1945, he said: 'We must do everything we can to abolish the United States.' "

"Grant to promote socialism." — "According to the Ford Foundation Annual Report for 1951, the foundation has granted $50,000 to the Advertising Council, Inc., or 'a restatement of the principles of American society.' The Council's public policy committee includes, in addition to Paul Hoffman, former president of the Ford Foundation, and Chester C. Davis, its associate director, several persons who have Communist-front affiliations. The Miracle of America, a publication of the Advertising Council, Inc., states that the public policy committee of the Advertising Council approves and endorses the economic education program of the Council. This program is described in the Miracle of America under the title 'Platform for All Americans.' This platform starts out like a firecracker Fourth of July patriotic speech and then turns out to be a rewrite of the British Labor Socialist Party program. Adoption of this platform would guarantee the success of any socialist legislation in America."

Large Grants to India

"Grant to pro-communist India."—"The Ford Foundation has singled out India for some of its largest grants and is spending millions of dollars in that nation. Is there some special significance to singling out India for large Ford Foundation grants, in view of the fact that the head of the Indian Government is more sympathetic to the Soviet Union than toward the United States, and that he wants the United States to recognize Red China and admit that Communist nation, which is slaughtering Americans in Korea, to the United Nations? I am greatly concerned with what is being done with the Ford Foundation millions in India. That nation is a potential ally of the Soviet Union, and if the Ford Foundation projects in any way are fostering a pro-Soviet attitude in India, the consequences may be disastrous for the future of America."

MIXED SCHOOLS

THE DEVIL'S BREW FOR GEORGIA

Kennesaw Mountain

ATLANTA,—Total visitation at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park this year may succeed last year's total of 159,501. Reason: The first quarter's total of 39,931 is ahead of a year ago.

Hand Takes Positive Stand Against Mixed Schools

Speaker Of House Will Go To Jail If Necessary, Run State From Cell

House Speaker Fred Hand has pledged that, if elected Governor of Georgia, he will go to jail and conduct the business of the State from his cell for his entire term before he will permit a single Negro child to attend any white school in Georgia.

The Pelham Legislator said that, as Governor, he would refuse to approve the expenditure of any State funds to pay the salaries of any white teacher teaching Negro pupils, any Negro teacher teaching white pupils and any white or Negro school principal or superintendent permitting such a situation to arise. Any pupil thus dislocated, he explained, would be permitted to attend classes in any other public school for his or her race until the racial status quo is restored in the disrupted classroom.

Hand, who will formally open his campaign for the State's highest office in Camilla Saturday, July 10, said he is the "only candidate with the courage of his convictions" in the race. He charged that both Former Acting Governor M. E. Thompson and Lieutenant Governor Marvin Griffin are "guilty of talking out of both sides of their mouths on the gravest problem to confront this State since the War Between the States."

"If the citizens of Georgia honor me with their highest office, I pledge that I will gladly go to jail and, if need be, conduct the business of the State from my cell for the duration of my entire term before I will permit even one Negro child to attend a white school or any white child to enroll in a Negro school," he declared.

"I have resolved that, as Governor, I will refuse to approve the expenditure of any State funds to pay the salaries of any white teacher who teaches Negro pupils, any Negro teacher who teaches white pupils or any white or Negro school principal or superintendent responsible for such a situation. By executive order I will permit any pupil thus temporarily dislocated to attend classes in any other public school for his or her race until the racial status quo can be restored in the original classroom. The Governor of Georgia has sufficient authority to take such action and so long as he stands firm in such a resolve nothing short of impeachment can end his control of the situation.

"The federal courts have no power to enforce their decrees except through citations for contempt. The only course they can take against a Governor refusing to buckle under their orders is to put him in jail. And such a prospect does not frighten me because I would consider it an honor to be placed behind bars to spare the people of my State the infamy of a court decision contrary to the Constitutions of the United States and Georgia and to the best interests and wishes of both races."

Hand said Georgians "will not be fooled" by the promises of M. E. Thompson to maintain segregation or the declarations of Marvin Griffin to defy the U. S. Supreme Court.

"The M. E. Thompson who clothed himself in the garments of segregation before the Georgia Education Commission yesterday is the same M. E. Thompson who has admitted publicly that in political campaigns he really is for things he says he is against and actually is against the things he says he is for. Since his principal support is derived from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and since he habitually does the opposite of his promises, he can be expected to mix the races in Georgia's public schools if elected Governor.

"The Marvin Griffin who has, for want of better adjectives, used offensive language to declare his determination to maintain segregation regardless of how the U. S. Supreme Court may rule is the same Marvin Griffin who on Sept. 14, 1950 wrote in his newspaper: 'Georgia will have to abide by decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court. We will buck and raise sand and say we won't, but in the end we will have to bend under.' He is bucking and raising sand just like he said he would and, when the showdown comes, he can be expected to bend under to the court just like he said he would.

"These two men are guilty of talking out of both sides of their mouths on the gravest problem to confront this State since the War Between the States. There is only one candidate in the race who says what he means, means what he says and has the courage of his convictions. I am that man."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

RALPH McGILL

Belaboring A Dying Horse

I do not wish to belabor a dead horse, or at least a dying horse, but I have had some query about charges that the Communists had infiltrated the all-but-defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which seemingly exists today as a sort of collection agency for funds.

A person for whom I have great respect, admiration and a sincere affection, has taken me severely to task, saying that the fact Communists take pleasure in lining up behind, and supporting obvious reforms, is no reason for those who believe in the reforms to withdraw from them. Therefore, he argued that to condemn the Southern Conference for Human Welfare because Communists had joined with it in support of certain measures, was unfair.

The charge has the sound of logic. Certainly one cannot abandon principles because the Communists, too, espouse them, usually with cynical purpose. But it is not entirely a sound argument.

Basic His basic premise is correct. The Commies do have a policy of throwing in with reform groups for the deliberate purpose of embarrassing and defeating them. The Commies do not want any of the ills of our society remedied. They want them to become worse, so their own ideology will have a chance.

The Communist also is a sworn liar and the word of a Communist may not be taken on oath. In joining the party the Communist member takes an oath to lie, to commit perjury and to do any other act which will further the Communist policy of creating suspicion, doubt, chaos and disorder.

Therefore, when Communists can, they infiltrate into well-meaning organizations and destroy them from within. This is what is happening, and has indeed about happened, to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Cheerfully. Its officers hurried the process along by cheerfully admitting Communists to membership and, in at least two States, allowing them to serve in official positions in those States. They took the fatal policy "we can work with them," and to this day their president has said that if there are Communists in the membership he welcomes them so long as they support his program.

This has about destroyed what started out to be, and what could have been, an effective organization. It attracted many of the best persons in each Southern State to membership. As is the case with many organizations, they left things to the top officers. They, while not Communists themselves, played along with them and tolerated them and made them welcome. It took a long time for the rank and file to learn this, and when they did they began to leave it.

Collections In the last two or three years the Conference has been sending persons on collecting tours. Just what the money is used for, besides maintaining two officers, one in Washington and one in New York, is not known. How much of the money collected in various States where the Commies were in some position of power found its way to Commie sources no one can say for sure.

But it is folly for the officials of the Conference at this late date to try and disavow any knowledge of Communist interest in, or affiliation with, their Conference.

It also is folly for them to deny that it was used, openly, by the Communists as a sounding board.

Writing in The Communist for January, 1939, in a discussion of the then newly formed Southern Conference for Human Welfare, one Robert F. Ball, who signed himself as State Secretary of the Communist Party for Alabama, wrote:

". . . Comrade Browder anticipated the Southern Conference. . . . This is no coincidence. Our party has for many years given earnest study to the problems of the South on the scientific basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. Southern State organizations of the Communist Party were represented at the Conference. . . . Our party contributed in a modest but constructive manner to the success of the Conference. This participation of Communist delegates at the Southern Conference reflects the fact that Southern progressives are becoming aware of the progressive and constructive role played by our party. . . ."

(Comrade Browder, of course, has since been kicked out on orders from Moscow and the American Commies flopped as easily as they did when Germany invaded Russia.)

Welcomed As I have said here before, the Communist Party is almost negligible in the South, but it does maintain, and has maintained, a small Southern headquarters at Birmingham. And it did participate openly in the first Southern Conference for Human Welfare meeting at Birmingham. When this happened I knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that the Southern Conference was finished even as it began.

The Dies Committee, which was ridiculous for most of its career, was able to take the plain fact of Communists in the Southern Conference and use it to smear strongly anti-Communist persons who had sponsored the formation of the Conference. Reactionary writers have been able to do the same thing. They used it against both David Lilienthal and Gordon R. Clapp, who are no more Communistic than are Sen. Robert Taft, of Ohio, and Sen. Owen Brewster, of Maine.

You cannot allow the Commies to go along with you in any organization. If they espouse the same principles, then let them do it on their own. To admit them to membership or companionship is fatal—as the SCHW has learned.

Now, who lied?

In Ralph's letter to me of June 29th, Ralph said: "There was a direct quotation from me saying that I had joined the Southern Conference for

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Tom Lays It Straight On Line About What He'll Do As State's Chief Executive

(Continued from Page 4)

learning; this pool to be made up without reference to or in consideration of any race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude; each student and its parents to have the privilege, at their own request and without compulsion of the State in any way, to ask to be assigned to a school of their choice. That is, if a colored parent wants his children to go to an all colored school, he may ask, without compulsion from the State in any way, to be assigned to an all colored school. If a White parent desires for his children to attend an all white school, he may request, on his own initiative and without compulsion from the State, that his child or children be assigned to an all white school.

"In my opinion, there will be only a very small lunatic fringe left in the pool. Then, I propose that the State have necessary schools to accommodate and take care of whatever is left in the pool in such manner as the Legislature, in its wisdom, may designate.

PROPOSAL No. IV

"I propose the adoption of an amendment empowering the Legislature to subsidize those children who are not satisfied in either of the schools provided by the State so that they may use their pro rata share of school funds in attending private schools.

"In this way, the State will not be compelling or requiring segregation of races but will be protecting all citizens in following their unalienable rights to a free choice. No white child will be required to go to an unsegregated school or to a segregated school. No colored child will be required to go to an unsegregated or segregated school. No child will be required to go to a mixed school. No child will be required to go to a private school. Every child can go to the school of his choice without compulsion from the State.

"The parents who are patrons of the white schools will be supplementary monitors to aid State authorities in the protection of the white schools. The parents of colored children will be supplementary monitors to aid the State in the protection of the colored schools. Whatever mixed or private schools there might be would be protected by the State.

PROPOSAL No. V

"Require all school teachers and others connected with education, both public and private schools, as a condition to their employment, to teach absolute respect for all State laws, State Constitutions, State Courts, State Legislatures and State Officials. The immature mind of school children is no place to sow seeds of discord, disrespect, and lack of patriotism.

"He who makes his country live, makes all things live;
And all things living bless him.
But, he who lets his country die, lets all things die;
And all things dying curse him."

N. C. Senator Pays His Respects To Supreme Court

North Carolina's brand new United States senator before he even took his seat blasted the Supreme Court of the United States.

This new United States senator is Sam J. Ervin, Jr. who has been a member of the Supreme Court of North Carolina for several years. Having been on the Supreme Court, he is in a position to appreciate what the Supreme Court of the United States has done to the Constitution.

Referring to the segregation decision, he said, "It is a tragedy that the highest court of the land should be composed of men apparently desirous of recreating our system of government in their own images."

Ervin said the decision not only was an invasion of state's rights but an attempt by the court to amend the Constitution.

"I don't see why our Constitution meant one thing for 86 successive years and why it now means another," he said.

"I think the South should wait and see what the judgment of the court is and see if it intends to convert the federal courts into school boards for all the school districts of the South."

Linder Gives Potent 5-Point Plan To Keep Segregation

Tom Lays It Straight On Line About What He'll Do As State's Chief Executive

Tom Linder has detailed his plan for maintaining segregation in Georgia.

In the main, he advocates:

(1) The taking of a census of the school children and their parents and determining from each whether they prefer to attend an all-white, an all-colored or mixed school.

(2) To place those who prefer an all-white school in such a school, and those who prefer an all-colored school in a colored school.

(3) He thinks those who prefer mixed schools are fit subjects for psychiatric treatment.

In a speech to the Georgia Commission on Education he said:

"There is no reason to abolish or discontinue our present public schools. The people of Georgia, I am sure, are determined to maintain segregation of the races in our public educational institutions. They are equally determined to maintain their system of public education. There is no reason why they should not be able to do both.

"So long as I am Governor, every white child and its parents shall have the opportunity to attend an all white school. Every colored child and its parents shall have the opportunity to attend an all colored school. No white child will be forced to attend a mixed school and no colored child will be forced to attend a mixed school. If there be those among us afflicted with a sociological complex or psychological complex, or that are suffering from some perverted instinct that makes it impossible for them to be happy and contented with their own race, the Legislature will make provisions to provide for such cases, either in public institutions or in private institutions. All these things are consistent with the Constitution, with the statutes and even with the latest decision of the Supreme Court.

"In the future, the people of Georgia and the other states must see to it that the seats in the United States Senate and House of Representatives are filled with men who will use every right, prerogative and power at their command to erase from the government and the courts every individual guilty of usurpation of powers and exercising unauthorized use of constituted powers to destroy the rights of the states under the Constitution which is the real basis of our present problem which has been brought to us ready made by outsiders and does not ,in any way, originate among the people of Georgia, white or colored.

"The people should reward those public servants who, by their record, have demonstrated their courage and ability to carry on this fight, such as our own Governor. I shall lend all of my efforts and influence to this end.

"I propose here today to present a definite plan to carry out these pledges. I am not unmindful of the fact that we are dealing with a momentous question involving many fields of constitutional law. I am not unmindful of the fact that as time goes by, other means and methods may present themselves, other angles may develop which will require the concerted effort of our best legal minds and our best school leaders. I am not, therefore, closing the book for any new ideas and new suggestions; but, as of now, the following plan is laid on the firm foundation, not only of our Federal and State Constitutions and our Federal and State Laws, but it is also laid on a firm foundation of laws more ancient than our Constitutions and more ancient than Magna Carta; and, it shall prevail.

"With this preface, I will proceed to an analysis of our situation and an outline of the plan which I propose to preserve the rights, traditions, interests and welfare, of all the people of Georgia, whatever their race may be.

"The Supreme Court held in effect that the State cannot, as a matter of Law, segregate school students merely on a basis of race or color. In doing so, in my opinion; the Court, by necessary implication, also ruled that the State cannot, as a matter of Law, force the mixing of students of different races and colors purely on a basis of race and color.

"This, I think, gives us a real basis from which to work out a program where the people themselves can effectively segregate themselves without compulsion from the State.

"It is a well defined and recognized principle of constitutional law, as held by the Supreme Court in various cases, that no power resides in government, either Federal or State, to prevent discrimination by individual citizens. The prohibition against discrimination applies only to public action. This is firm ground on which to stand when the individuals choose to segregate themselves because of what they deem good and sufficient reasons.

"The people of Georgia, by and large, white and colored and including other races, are people who believe in God. They are people who recognize the overruling providence that has made this country great. Most of them look upon marriage as a Holy God-ordained relationship. The rearing of their children, training them, protecting them during their minority from evils which the immature mind of children are not able to grasp or understand, is a part and parcel of the deep religious convictions of most people in this State. They believe in the ancient commandment "thy shalt not remove the ancient land marks set by thy fathers". The most ancient land mark is the separation of the races and the maintaining of the purity of each race.

"Since the Constitution guarantees the right to worship God according to the dictates of ones own conscience, and since the rearing of children is definitely a part of that deep religious conviction of conscience, it follows that each parent of children in their minority has an unalienable right to practice whatever discrimination is necessary for them to rear their children in such environment as they believe to fulfill their conscientious duty to their Creator.

"Since the Constitution guarantees everyone the unalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, each individual, without state compulsion, has a right to pursue their happiness in their own way limited only by the supreme law of not interfering with the other fellow's right to the pursuit of happiness.

"This again gives firm ground for the individual to practice, voluntarily and of his own choice, whatever segregation is necessary for his own pursuit of happiness.

"Ultimately, the people themselves are the court of last resort. This is true not only to the extent that they may change their government anytime they see fit, that they may unseat and punish any and all officials who are guilty of usurpation of undelegated authority and that they may use whatever force is necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose. Therefore, in this extreme sense, the people are the court of last resort.

"But within more moderate means, the people are also the court of last resort. They are the court of last resort in that they may, within the bounds of their **constitutional rights** and **rights more ancient than the Constitution,** practice whatever sanctions they, as individuals, may deem necessary for the protection of themselves, their property, their liberty and, of course, their families.

"The people of Georgia have never exercised sanctions; but, on the other hand, they have paid taxes willingly, built churches, built schools, loaned money, extended credit, and in every way tried to help the colored people of the State. The people of Georgia will not, at this time, practice any sanctions against colored people except as a necessary last resort to protect their own human rights, But, the people of Georgia can exercise sanctions under the ancient laws of private property, under the ancient law merchant, under the ancient laws of the right to hire and fire. In addition to this, the white people of Georgia can practice **age old** sanctions of social ostracism against those persons who are not members of the colored race, but who are engaged in the effort to break down and destroy the rights of the white citizens of the State.

In this sense, the people themselves are the court of last resort and from their decision there is no appeal.

"Then again, the people themselves are the court of last resort at the ballot box, which is the machinery set up by civilized people to avoid the more severe remedy of sanctions and also to avoid the most extreme remedy of force and violence. It is, therefore, through this latter sense in which the people are the court of last resort that we intend first to approach a remedy for that evil thing which now besets us through the unconstitutional acts of our Supreme Court, aided and abetted by the Chief Executive and the legislative branch of our national government. Therefore, I propose, at this time, to follow a plan through which the people can maintain segregation in our public schools. I am convinced that the people of Georgia are not willing to surrender their public school system without a fight; and, I am convinced that they do not intend to lose that fight. I am convinced that the people of Georgia do not intend for their children to attend mixed schools; and, I am convinced that they do not intend to lose that fight—whatever remedy they may have to resort to. I am convinced that no power on earth can force the white people of Georgia into mixed schools so long as they are unalterably determined to maintain the rights they have to choose their own kind of school.

PROPOSAL No. 1

"I propose, first, that the Legislature take appropriate action to provide for a full, thorough census of all children and parents who are now or may hereafter be patrons of public schools, requiring under oath a full statement as to the children and parents and stating definitely whether they choose to patronize an all white school, an all colored school or a mixed school. This census form also to be filled out by all teachers, other employees and officials connected with State or local education. When this census is completed, we will know who is who and where they are. This will force everyone to stand up and be counted.

"In order that such census and the choice of each citizen be fairly and openly made, I propose that its results be published in every county of the State. Such a census will give us the information as to what school facilities will be required.

"I believe it will reduce potential trouble to a mere lunatic fringe, some of whom may need special care and treatment because it will probably be found that in most cases where any child or his parent does not desire to go to a school of their own color and race, that there is some perversion of mind, some mental sickness or some sociological maladjustment, some psychic or psychological delusion. I think there should be a board of experts, medical men, psychiatrists, sociologists, etc., to determine in each case what kind of care and treatment the individual requires for normal development.

PROPOSAL No. II

"I propose that the Legislature, by appropriate action, recognize and declare a State policy on education, recognizing that under our present Constitution, it is impossible for the State to comply with the opinion of the Supreme Court, recognizing that no change can be made in that Constitution before the General Election in 1956; declaring a policy of working out a plan for public education that will not be in conflict with the ruling of the Supreme Court, but which will also, at the same time, maintain the rights of all individuals. I propose that the Legislature work out and submit to the voters of the State in the General Election of 1956, a complete plan and also necessary constitutional amendments to put such plan into effect. The Legislature should declare as a State policy that, in the meantime, our present school system can operate only on a segregated basis because there is no money, under our present Constitution and appropriation acts, to pay for any schools other than segregated schools.

PROPOSAL No. III

"I propose that by appropriate legislation and vote of the people we create a pool of all school pupils, both in our common schools and in institutions of higher

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STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

Human Welfare, but had left it when I saw the direction it was taking. This is completely false. I never at any time was a member of this organization nor did I ever attend any of its meetings."

Now, read the paragraph in his column entitled "Welcomed". In this column Ralph says:

"When this happened I knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that the Southern Conference was finished even as it began."

Now, who lied? How could Ralph get out if he never got in?

Now, he says there were other errors of fact in the article. Well, I would like to say to you that we worked on this article for a long time. Every fact that we have printed comes from the record of the Un-American Activities Committee in Congress or from some public record. There are no errors on our part.

Every fact was taken from either a public record or from Mr. McGill's newspaper columns or from the Un-American Activities Committee in Washington.

Now, we have proved that Mr. McGill lied and we have proved it by a photostatic copy of his own writing in his own paper.

We haven't asked anybody else to say that Mr. McGill lied. We just took Mr. McGill's word for it.

Now, who said Mr. McGill lied? Mr. McGill said he lied and no one else.

Now, I want to ask Ralph this question. Is it still true that I never lied to you?

Now Ralph you say in your article which we have photostated above that you and your newspaper helped drive it out of existence. That is, you say you helped drive the Southern Conference for Human Welfare out of existence. From this language we take it that you gave the information which you had gained about the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to the F. B. I. and the other agencies which helped expose it as a communist front.

If you did help the F. B. I. and the other agencies expose it, you did your country a patriotic service. The only way that the F. B. I. and the committees of Congress can get information on these red front organizations is from fellow members and people who meet with them. Now, if you squealed on your fellow members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare you did what you should have done.

Now, you have another opportunity to do a great service to your country and your people. Why not help the Un-American Activities Committee and the F. B. I. expose the Southern Regional Council for what it is.

The same folks are running the Southern Regional Council in the main who were mixed up in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It is the same old crowd and the same people that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had.

Now Ralph step out and serve your country again. You know these things to be true. So, why not write the Un-American Activities Committee of the House a letter and save them a lot of trouble. You did it as we believe in the case of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. So, if you did it once why can't you tell on this same gang again?

Now Ralph you have been the spokesman for this crowd. The United Press carried a story out of Atlanta about the exposure of the Southern Regional Council and quoted a spokesman for the Council. When they quoted the spokesman, they quoted you. You said that I had made "an unfounded attack" on the council.

Now, is my attack unfounded? It is strange to note Ralph that no one else connected with the Southern Regional Council has denied my charges except you. If you don't know what kind of a gang you are ganged up with you had better stop and investigate it.

Now Ralph it looks like it is time for you to tell the truth.

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JULY 19, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA No. 363

Exposure Southern Regional Council Brings Hasty McGill-Abram Meeting

Rejection Of Ford Foundation $335 Thousand Grant By Los Angeles Education Board Called U. S. Victory

Plans To Teach Un-American Doctrine In Schools Meet With Utter Defeat

The Los Angeles Board of Education has turned down a grant of $335,000 from the Ford Foundation on the grounds that the object of the expenditure was un-American.

The grant was made for the purpose of establishing a teacher-training project to promote the teachings of UNESCO in the Los Angeles school system.

Three members of the Board of Education ran pledged to decline the acceptance of the grant and were overwhelmingly elected by the people of Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Evening Herald Express proclaimed the victory in an editorial entitled, "Old Glory Flies Again Over Board of Education".

The editorial in full follows:

"The American Flag, conspicuous by its absence on the Fourth of July over the headquarters of the Los Angeles Board of Education, can be raised again.

"The action of the Board last night rejecting the Stoddard-maneuvered $335,000 Ford Foundation teacher training project was a shining victory for Americanism in our schools.

"It was a crushing defeat for Stoddard's UNESCO, one world internationalism propaganda which the voters rejected at the recent primary by electing Mrs. Edith K. Stafford, Mrs. Ruth Cole and Hugh C. Willett.

"Two courageous American women supported by practically all the patriotic organizations of the city fought and won the victory for Americanism over UNESCO.

The final vote rejecting the Stoddard inspired Ford Foundation teacher project was 5 to 1 with Arthur F. Gardner the lone dissenter.

"At the end Dr. Stoddard who has carried a flag of UNESCO, dropped it and raised a white flag with the following remark:

"'Unanticipated difficulties and delays have made it impossible to get the project under way by July 20 as planned.'

"This perhaps means that he will try another tack to get UNESCO back in the schools.

"Dr. Stoddard's contract last for approximately another year.

"Then or sooner he should get himself a job in UNESCO and say farewell to Los Angeles.

"As he did to Philadelphia.

"From the outset the acceptance of the Ford Foundation grant has been vigorously opposed by Board Members Mrs. Edith K. Stafford and Mrs. Ruth C. Cole, on the ground that the Board of Education would not have direct control over the administration

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

The horses are off and the race is on.

Nine candidates for Governor are whopping it up and trying to warm up the politics of the State. But, so far people generally are showing very little concern. They do not seem to be as enthusiastic as the candidates.

The people are watching the campaign very closely and they are waiting to see how the chips are going to fall before they make up their minds for whom they are going to vote.

The State employees, professional politicians, and the close friends of the many candidates are showing the most interest.

Sometime within the next thirty days they will begin to make up their minds and then we will be able to see where they are headed and which candidate will have the best chance to win.

There are several good candidates in the race and there are several candidates whom I like personally. Some of them have been good friends at times, and otherwise at times.

But, so far as I am concerned, I feel very kindly towards all of them.

Yet this is one time we need a real man for Governor and I believe that of those running that Fred Hand comes nearer fitting the bill than any other.

These are peculiar times in which we are living. We are living in a period of confusion as a result of the wars in which we have been engaged. Most of us are confused and we are wondering where we are headed.

In addition to living in a period of confusion, we are confronted with problems more complicated than any this State has ever faced since the days of Reconstruction and the days of the War Between the States.

Many of our problems appear to be incapable of solution. None of them are easy.

In the first place we are a growing State. We are an expanding State.

This State is growing in population and becoming more industrialized every day. As a result we find a shifting population in the State. This shift is from the rural areas to the urban areas.

Our country sections have been losing population and our towns and cities have been growing.

With all of the normal and usual problems which come about during such periods we have recently been hit in the face with a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which seeks to destroy the traditions, the customs, the habits, and the beliefs of our people.

For all of this to happen at a time when there is world-wide confusion makes the solution of our problems more difficult and calls for a more intelligent and more courageous leadership than we have had before.

There are four things you can say about Fred Hand.

1. He has had the business experience and business training necessary to make a good Governor.

For many years Fred has headed the Hand Trading Company at Pelham and has demonstrated his business ability and his business acumen. He has made a remarkable success as the leader of this enterprise, which is the largest department store in rural America.

In addition to an enormous store, the Hand Trading Company operates farms and is engaged in other different types of enterprises. They are interested in a fertilizer plant, and in a bank, and other related types of business.

So Fred Hand has had remarkable experience in dealing with business, and big business at that.

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Cook Threatened With "A Fight Unto The Death," If State Investigates Group

The exposure of the Southern Regional Council, beneficiary of a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, as a haven for known Communist-fronters and potentially the Communist Party appartus in the South, has created consternation among the liberal element in Atlanta and the South.

The Ford Foundation and the Southern Regional Council have been under fire for seeking to destroy segregation in the South.

Recent Developments

1. A hasty meeting between Morris Abram and Ralph McGill which resulted in a telephone call to the Attorney General of Georgia threatening him with opposition if he investigated the Southern Regional Council.

2. A statement by Morris Abram to the Attorney General of Georgia in a telephone conversation threatening the Editor of the Augusta COURIER.

3. A bitter letter from the Editor of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION to the Editor of the Augusta COURIER denying that Ralph McGill had ever been a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare;

4. The policy of the Atlanta newspapers to suppress all news not favorable to the SRC; and,

5. Additional detailed information from the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and the records of the Attorney General of the United States regarding Communist-front activities and Communist Party membership of some of the leading lights of the Ford Foundation-financed Southern Regional Council.

Abram, McGill Confer

The Augusta COURIER has learned from unimpeachable sources that when Morris Abram read the expose of the Southern Regional Council in the Augusta COURIER of June 28 he immediately began a series of talks with Ralph McGill in order to combat and suppress the COURIER story.

When the press contacted Attorney General Eugene Cook relative to the expose, he had not read the COURIER and said that if Communists were at work in any organization that he would certainly be interested in it and would investigate the same. One reporter took this statement to mean that he would launch a full scale open investigation against SRC, but this was not what Cook said.

The Attorney General told the press that as far as he knew the Special Services Agency of the State government, ferreting out Communists, and the FBI might already be looking into SRC's activities.

Cook Is Threatened

When Cook's statement hit the radio

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year $2.00
Six months $1.25

MIXED SCHOOLS

THE DEVIL'S BREW FOR GEORGIA

Cook Threatened With "A Fight Unto The Death," If State Investigates Group

(Continued from Page 1)

Abram was on the phone moaning and complaining to the Attorney General. He said that the interpretation placed on Cook's statement had not only "hurt his feelings" but had also "hurt Bishop Moore's feelings."

It was then that Abram threatened to get out opposition to the Attorney General. He told Mr. Cook that he had just talked to Ralph McGill and that they had decided to get out opposition to him in the Attorney General's race.

"We intend to beat you, it's a fight unto the death!" Abram is reported to have stated in the telephone conversation.

Abram Complains

This same Abram is a candidate for Congress now against Jim Davis in the Fifth District. He complained to Mr. Cook for not "ever saying anything on our side" about segregation and the county unit system.

Cook's reply was to Abram that he is a supporter of both these traditional Georgia institutions and that he would continue to fight for them with all of the energy which he possesses and further told Mr. Abram that he and McGill could get out any opposition they desired.

It was then that the Atlanta attorney threatened the Editor of the Augusta COURIER saying:

"SOMETHING OUGHT TO BE DONE TO ROY; HE'S CRAZY!"

McGill's Letter

Close on the heels of the Abram-Cook telephone conversation, Ralph McGill, Editor of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, wrote a bitter letter to the Editor of the Augusta COURIER stating that charges made by this paper in the Southern Regional Council expose which quoted him as being a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and got out of the organization when he found it infiltrated by Communists "is completely false."

Last week we printed McGill's column which by his own statement he admitted he belonged to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and that he was at the first meeting of the organization. We convicted him by his own evidences as quoted in a column which he wrote several years ago.

He wrote then: "As I have said here before, the Communist Party is almost negligible in the South, but it does maintain and has maintained a small Southern headquarters at Birmingham. And it did participate openly in the first Southern Conference for Human Welfare meetings at Birmingham. When this happened, I knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that the Southern Conference was finished even as it began."

Expected Something Else

Undoubtedly, McGill and other leading lights of the SRC saw the box in the Augusta COURIER printed the week before alerting our readers that an expose of the

(Continued on Page 3)

The Challenge To The South

(Borah's Dead and We Must Face It)
By the broad and swift Potomac—
Waters crowned a sunlit stream—
Stands the nation's capital city
And its one-time Court Supreme
That did hold the regal glory
Of our jurisprudence plan—
Held the reins for our proud people
In the realms of law and man.

Then the demagogues usurped it,
Made it tool of pink and red,
Made it politicians' haven,
Gave it heavy boots to tread
On the safety of the Southland,
On the way by which we live,
On the rights of our children
And the heritage we give.

Hardly had we yet recovered
From the marches to the sea
Than we faced a greater menace,
Callous blow at liberty.
Not one crowd it was who did this
But a group from many states
Working in a scheme dark-ladened
To control political fates—

Parties locked in desperate battle,
Working close with doubtful mates
In a struggle of the jungle
To obtain the doubtful states.
Long as Borah graced the Senate,
Constitutional lawyer keen,
Never would he let the despots
Wield this cutlass hard and mean.

But the stalwarts served and left us
And there came a lesser breed
In the North to help sustain us
To withstand the puny creed
That the bulls among the china
Would enforce upon the South
Now that Borah has departed
And the dwarfs are given mouth.

Busy little creatures are they,
Plotting nightly, plodding mean,
Termites in the nation's woodwork
Boring through the structure's seam;
Working at their little forges
Striking for us chains of steel:
But they'll never bind this Georgia,
Never grind us under heel.

Now the lawyers of the nation
Look with grief upon the sight
Of a Court of politicians
Standing in the country's light;
Restless heads upon the pillow,
Steeped in schemes banning sleep,
(Aim: destruction of Caucassia),
Counting votes instead of sheep.

Borah's dead and we are dying
If the Court shall have its way
'Gainst the last stand of Caucassia
With a tyranny to stay.
But who'll place this yoke upon us?
Who such chains with us can bind?
Has the soul of Georgia withered
That no courage we can find?

As we stand against the tyrants
With our backs against the wall,
If we keep our Southern courage
God will never let us fall:
He who made us different races
For to dwell in kindness e'er,
He will guide us in our courage,
Keep us from the slightest fear.

In this contest for our children,
For a racial strain that long
Has withstood the tide of color,
Never bartered race for pawn:
O, our children, we'll not sell you
Down the River Politic
In the battle for the White House
And the demagogues' dark trick.

Nor shall we resort to violence:
That is far from Georgia's mind—
But we'll never lay our children
On an altar of this kind.
We shall never sacrifice them
To the demagogic maws
Of the bulls among the china,
And their ill-considered laws.

—ATTICUS

Cook Threatened With "A Fight Unto The Death," If State Investigates Group

(Continued from Page 2)

SRC's activities was coming the following week. McGill and his satellites in Atlanta started oscillating to determine the best strategy for answering the COURIER article.

According to reliable information, we have learned that they were expecting undocumented general charges which they would answer by the tactic of confession and avoidance.

However, when the COURIER expose came out proving SRC to be the successor to SCHW; naming two Reds as members of the SRC top level Board of Directors and exposing 38 of its officers and Board of Directors as members of Communist fronts, it was too much for McGill's pen and the power of the Atlanta press to answer. They knew that the COURIER had the facts and deadwood.

Atlanta Papers Suppressed Story

As a result McGill and other top level officials issued orders to subordinates on both the morning and afternoon papers to completely ignore the story and not print a word about it even though a wire service had sent the story to all daily papers throughout the State and nation.

When officials of the Southern Regional Council learned that the COURIER'S expose of that group was going to be spread before the public in the columns of this newspaper, they sought by every means to bring pressure to suppress the story.

They claim that the SRC is not successor to SCHW but another organization the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., headed by Aubrey Williams, as its president is the successor to SCHW.

McGill Hunts Libel

They did not know that the COURIER was in possession of documentary evidence to prove its charges conclusively and shatter these claims. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, told the press that he is not a communist "but a harmless old socialist." Editor Ralph McGill sought to dissuade the wire services from carrying news stories of THE COURIER'S expose by asking the threatening question: "Is there any libel in it?"

It was also learned authoratively that queries were made by the press to experts on the question of communist subversion in an effort to discredit the COURIER'S news story. We have learned from an unimpeachable source that the replies to all of these queries was that the "Southern Regional Council is just as red as Roy says it is."

Documentary evidence supplied us by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities shows that 24 of the officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council held top policy posts in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or were extremely active in it. This, in itself, gives the lie to claims of the Southern Regional Council that it is not the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Southern Conference Educational Fund can make no such claim.

Any impartial investigation of Communist-front organizations proves conclusively that there is much overlapping of officers and membership, but that the goal of all is one and the same—that of the overthrow of our form of government.

Records and official reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities reveal that the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, its offshoot the Southern Conference Educational Fund and its actual successor, the Southern Regional Council are one and the same.

Two Known Communists

We have discovered that two persons who have been branded as known Communists in testimony before the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities are listed in official publication of the Southern Regional Council as members of its Board of Directors. One of these, Aubrey Williams, is also president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

To keep the record straight, the Southern Conference Educational Fund was set up by Aubrey Williams and James Dombrowski to combat the effectiveness of the Southern Regional Education program. The organization has met with no success, has no standing and has not been able to garner the funds which it expected to receive. However, the Southern Regional Council operated by the same element has met with financial success through grants from the Rosenwald Fund Foundation and at present the Ford Foundation. It is pursuing the course laid down in the platform of the Communist Party —U. S. A.

Courier In Demand

The COURIER has received telegrams, telephone calls and letters from all over the South and throughout the country requesting additional copies of this article exposing the SRC and showing another way how the Ford Foundation is expending its funds to advance the destruction of segregation in Georgia and the South.

The COURIER heard from several prominent Southern leaders and appreciates their commendation.

The COURIER has at hand additional information from the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and from the records and files of the Attorney General of the United States information relative to the top manipulators of SRC's policy and anti-segregation effort in the South.

Next week The COURIER will carry another article giving full details on the records of five of these individuals including two known Communists who are members of the top level Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

WATCH FOR IT!

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

He has had remarkable experience in dealing with little business and the affairs of little people.

Twenty-five years of this type of experience certainly should equip him to handle the State's affairs in a businesslike way.

2. Fred Hand is experienced in the affairs of the State Government. He has been a member of the Legislature for twenty-two years and eight years of that time he has been Speaker of the House of Representatives.

These long years of service have given him an opportunity to know the affairs of this State and an opportunity to study the affairs of this State over a long period of time.

No other candidate in the race has had the experience in government that Fred Hand has had.

In addition to his experience as a member of the Legislature he has headed the State School Building Authority, which is now spearheading a 200 million dollar school building program in this State.

The School Building Authority is now building schoolhouses all over this State. Under Fred's direction the School Building Authority has been handled in a businesslike and efficient manner. They are producing results with a minimum of waste and not a single hint of any graft or corruption. Nowhere in this State can you find one single person who has criticized a single contract or the way in which the State School Building Authority has handled this enormous amount of money and the construction of all of these buildings.

This program calls for some 7 or 8 hundred different buildings over Georgia and it is a remarkable job that they are doing.

3. There is no doubt about Fred Hand's courage.

During his twenty-two years of service in the Georgia Legislature he has proved himself to be fearless and to have as much courage as anybody should want.

He has never dodged an issue and he has stood for what he believed as boldly as a man possibly could. He has had the courage to take a stand. He hasn't wiggled around from one side of an issue to the other. There has never been any doubt in all of these twenty-two years about where Fred Hand stood on anything, and he hasn't changed his position one single time.

Fred started his service in the Senate in 1931 and he is the same Fred Hand now that he was in 1931.

It can't be said of Fred that he has preached things that he didn't believe in and that he has failed to preach things that he did believe in.

It can't be said of Fred Hand that he is in favor of segregation one day and against it the next. He has never yet said that we would rear

(Continued on Page 4)

Air Force Biggest Weapon–Talmadge

ATLANTA, — An Independence Day celebration is, quite naturally, the appropriate place to talk about America's independence—present and future. And that's precisely what Gov. Herman Talmadge did the other day in Canton.

He strongly warned against the increasing menace of Communism to the United States and other nations of the Western Hemisphere. At the same time he emphasized that this country is strong and should adopt a program of independence, adding there is no nation in the world today that "has less reason to be afraid" than the United States. Said he:

"The basic communist policy in this country today is to agitate in every way to force us to spend ourselves into national bankruptcy. Communists hope to take us over without firing a shot. They are the authors and originators of the 'America Last' policy.

"Communists and their sympathizers have sought to make it unpopular for our national leadership to consider the welfare of our country as paramount. The day is surely coming when we must give attention to keeping our own nation solvent and strong if we are to survive. We are fast coming to the realization that we can't buy lasting friendship from other nations.

"It seems to me that in defense of our country we should emphasize those things in which we have the advantage and we should, by all means, refrain from land combat with the Russians, the Chinese and their satellites when they have a manpower advantage over us of approximately ten to one.

"Our defense should be predicted upon the world's mightiest air force. This air force should be capable of defensive as well as offensive action. The greatest deterrent to the Kremlin is the belief that in a matter of minutes the American Air Force could destroy millions of Russians, including their military potential."

Maloof To Step Up Citizens Council's Road Safety Drive

ATLANTA,—Look for an accelerated campaign to save lives on Georgia's highways and streets. Reason: The Georgia Citizens Council, whose main objective is to promote traffic safety throughout the state, has a new director who is pledged to directing a vigorous and aggressive safety program all over Georgia.

He is 35-year-old John W. Maloof, a native of Rome, who recently was sworn in as the Council's director to succeed Garland T. Byrd, resigned. Maloof, who is a member of the Atlanta and Georgia Bar Associations, formerly was with the State Parks Department.

Current phase of the Georgia Citizens Council's program is the "Slow Down and Live" drive, a safety campaign participated in by this and twenty-three other Southern and Northeastern states.

In an effort to drive home to the motoring public that everybody has a better chance of staying alive if automotive speech is slowed down, the Citizens Council is distributing more than 300,00 safety leaflets over Georgia through such outlets as filling stations, sheriffs and local police, the State Patrol, teen-age groups, local safety clubs, civic organizations of one kind and another and other channels.

The "Slow Down and Live" campaign, made possible by joint declaration of governors of all the participating states, will continue through Labor Day, Sept. 6.

Summation Of Facts Given By Courier About Southern Regional Council

THE AUGUSTA COURIER carried a detailed expose, June 28, 1954, which established facts about the Southern Regional Council. They are as follows:

1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as communists in testimony before Congressional committees by former associates in the party.

3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been soley a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

6. The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina. The charter of incorporation was applied for in Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944, and was granted for a period of 35 years. Attorneys for the applicants were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member.

Subsidization of the Southern Regional Council which is a haven for known communists and red fronters follows the pattern set by the Ford Foundation throughout the rest of the nation.

Plans To Teach Un-American Doctrine In Schools Meet With Utter Defeat

(Continued from Page 1)

of the program, that it would inevitably place the schools under heavy obligation to the Ford Foundation and finally that if the program were entered into, it probably could and would be used by World Government adherents to force the discarded UNESCO program back into the Los Angeles schools.

"While there is no doubt as to a teacher shortage and the need of recruiting new teachers, Mrs. Stafford and Mrs. Cole felt that this should be done through the schools themselves rather than by accepting the yoke of a huge grant from the Ford Foundation.

"Los Angeles wants no part of UNESCO in its schools and a vigilant public, constantly warned and informed by the Herald and Express, congratulates the City Board of Education on killing a program which could have brought it back."

ATLANTA,—Total construction awards in Georgia for the first five months amounted to $165,222,000, a 16 per cent increase over a year ago, according to F. W. Dodge Corp. reports.

U. S. High Court Intoxicated With Power--Forrester

Nation Stands In Danger Of Being Destroyed From Within

Congressman E. L. Forrester, of Georgia's Third District, says that no country can be greater than its judiciary and that the members of the Supreme Court are so intoxicated with power that they have relegated to themselves power even to turn the clocks of time backwards.

As a result of the acts of the Supreme Court, Forrester contends that this nation is standing in danger of being destroyed from within instead of by enemies from without.

His speech in this regard in the House of Representatives on May 18, 1954 follows:

"For sometime I have contended that the greatest threats to our Republic and the American way of life come not from overseas, but are in our midst at home. While the internationalists are riding over the world trying to sell their plans to the world, at taxpayers' expense, the same crowd is destroying everything in America that made us great and everything that can be expected to sustain us in our hour of peril, which hour may be closer than many of us think.

Aim of Leftwingers

"It is completely apparent to me that the aim of the leftwingers and the un-American groups in this country is the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon race. We, in the South, recognized that danger long ago and we have tried to alert our people only to be hooted at and condemned. My people cannot understand an individual who has no pride in race; in fact, we cannot understand anyone who has no pride in his or her heart.

"Yesterday, Mr. Speaker, the United States Supreme Court shed all pretense of construing the law and took upon itself the right to change our law, even our Constitution and was brusque enough to virtually say they were so doing. The Chief Justice went out of his way to say that the defendants in the case yesterday were asking that Court to turn back the clock. The Chief Justice and that Court were completely mistaken. What the defendants were asking was that the Court keep its hands off the clock. The Supreme Court has never been charged with the duty of keeping time for the citizens of America, nor to construe the seasons, nor to legislate—these powers being expressly reserved to the Congress and the people. It is completely amazing that nine men should be so intoxicated with power that they should rule that they are to set the clock, yet that is exactly what the Court said. Other than that observation, which is completely without basis in law, these decisions were purely political and completely sterile so far as law was concerned, for that Court had no law whatever to ground its decisions upon. No country can be greater than its Judiciary. The people were entitled to a higher court that would eliminate political considerations and construe the law and Constitution as they were written. I agree that more care should have been exercised in the appointment of the Judges to that Court, and I agree that both parties, Democratic and Republican, have been guided by political philosophies rather than legal qualifications for membership upon that Court. We sowed to the wind and we have reaped the whirlwind.

Terrible Decisions

"Yesterday, the Supreme Court by edict, but completely without legal basis, wiped out every vestige of States rights. It is disgusting now to hear so many claim they believe in the rights of the States. It is apparent that our President approves these terrible decisions, for his Attorney General demonstrated his partisanship by filing a brief asking that our previous adjudications be set aside, demonstrating that his thoughts were purely political and after demonstrating partisanship in an outstanding degree had the gall to ask Congress to give him complete control of wiretapping in this country. I am sure that Mr. Truman approves the decisions of yesterday, and his former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, was quoted in the Evening Star last night as saying it was a great and statesmanlike decision. Adlai Stevenson will greet this judicial murder with open arms; yes, both major political parties are kowtowing to the minority groups to such an extent that our country itself is in jeopardy.

"Mr. Speaker, the Evening Star of last night quotes one in the present Republican administration as saying that these decisions of yesterday would alleviate Russia's criticisms toward us. He did not discuss the law, nor the basis of those decisions, but rendered an opinion purely on a political basis. I am tired of hearing the argument that we must appease Russia. If that is our object, then why not dismantle our Armed Forces and let our boys come back home. If it is appeasement and not victory that we seek, appeasement can be done without bloodshed.

FEPC Goes Whole-Hog

"The decisions of yesterday mean only this: The old-fashioned Yankee and the old-fashioned southerner whose ancestors won this country and preserved this country are without rights. The object is nothing less than the mongrelizing of the races. Mongrelization has always produced people without stamina and without conviction. Under these decisions of yesterday a man can claim that he is entitled to go to a girls' school by simply contending that the girls' school offers some subject that men's schools do not offer. These decisions mean that all laws prohibting mixed marriages will be annulled as fast as these matters can be brought before that Court. These decisions mean that there can be no exclusive residential section in the United States. These decisions mean that no hotel, boarding house, or public place can be the judge of whom they will take as a paying guest.

"Mr. Speaker, I understand that an FEPC provision has been offered in a committee of this Congress, which would provide an FEPC in interstate commerce.

Intolerable Condition

"Mr. Speaker, these decisions of yesterday have created an intolerable condition upon my people. In my own State we have pledged our future credit, over many years, and have spent millions of dollars trying to bring schools to the Negroes in the South. These moneys naturally will be almost entirely paid by the white people of my State. We did this because for 88 years the Supreme Court of the United States has held equal but separate facilities completely constitutional. The South has done more for the Negro in 200 years than all the rest of the world has done for the Negro in 5,000 years. The whites and the Negroes in my State have been, and are, happy together. The Negroes in Georgia know they have lost much for they know that the South has been honest with them. The Negroes in Georgia know that we have been better to them than any northern or eastern State has ever tried to be. The Negro teachers in Georgia are alarmed over this miscarriage of the law and the Constitution.

"Mr. Speaker, my people are awake to the dangers within our gates. Mr. Speaker, my people believe that in this country there are checks and balances upon every portion of this Government. My people do not believe that the President or any public servant can withhold information from the Congress they have elected, or from the people because it is the people who must do the dying in time of war. My people are against czars. My people repudiate the theory that any person whosoever is above the law of this country. My people see the grave danger hidden in such philosophy and in behalf of my people I tell it now, we spew it out of our mouths. This statement is not to be construed as applying to any individual case, for it is a statement that permeates our thinking, and bless God it is American. We are confirmed in that view although the President, by written order, demonstrates he thinks otherwise."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

up for a while and then we would buckle under and surrender. Instead of that he has had the courage to say that we will never buckle under and that if it becomes necessary for the Governor of Georgia to go to jail to preserve segregation that he will go to jail and run the State Government from his cell.

4. Fred Hand is honest.

No one has ever yet pointed a finger of suspicion at Fred Hand about his honesty in all of his dealings over a period of twenty-two years in the Legislature and his dealings in handling 200 million dollars of State School Building money.

Others have been accused of various and sundry manipulations in the Legislature. Some have been mixed up in suspicious contracts in the Highway Department, in the Purchasing Department, and other Departments of the State Government. Some have been mixed up in many and various kinds of suspicious dealings, but Fred Hand has never been accused by his worst enemy of any such shenanigans.

It is a remarkable record for a man to make in public life. I say this because in public life a man's life is an open book and the light of pitiless publicity is always turned on him. Mighty few men can last that long without having had something to rise up to haunt them.

Not only has he proven himself to be honest in public affairs but his dealings with thousands of people in South Georgia have testified to his character and to his rigid honesty.

Now, in view of these things, I can say to you that you will not be gambling if you cast your vote for Fred Hand. You will know what Fred Hand will do and what he will not do.

If you cast your vote for Fred Hand you will know that he will stand like he has stood for twenty-five years because he hasn't been wishy-washy and he hasn't jumped from one side to the other.

Neither has he dodged an issue in all of these days and he frankly has always said what he thought.

This is no time for us to gamble and to take a chance on the Governor.

During the next four years we are going to need a man who will stand hitched to the post and who will go to jail if necessary.

It isn't going to be easy to keep separate schools for the two races in Georgia or anywhere else. It is going to be difficult.

But, it can be done and more depends upon the Governor of this State than anything else.

If we have a Governor who we know will stand and will never surrender, buckle under, or bend under, then we know what we can expect for the next four years.

Now Fred Hand isn't as good a politician as some of the other candidates. He hasn't been all over Georgia like some of the candidates attending barbecues, fish frys, and telling stories with all of the people. On the contrary, he has been a busy man.

He has had to look after his business and he has been forced to build school buildings.

His time has been occupied in diligently doing his duty. Consequently, he hasn't had the chance to be the hand shaker, and the back slapper, and the politician that some of the other candidates have been.

But everywhere I go in Georgia I find business people telling me that they are watching Fred Hand and they believe that by experience and training he is better equipped to give us a businesslike administration of the State's affairs than any other candidate.

His record in public life and his record in private life appeals to them.

So, I say that if you want a businesslike administration, honesty in government, and a progressive program in this State, that Fred Hand is the man to give it to you.

Talmadge Makes Progress Report To Press Of Ga.

ATLANTA, — For a good many years now, a highlight of the Georgia Press Association's annual convention has been a report on "The State of the State" by Georgia's chief executive currently in office. And this year's 68th annual session, just concluded in Savannah, was no exception. Gov. Herman Talmadge delivered his fifth such message which was, you might say, his valedictory "State of the State" address. Reason: His term of office expires at year's end.

But even so, the editors were probably more impressed than ever with the Georgia story as Talmadge told it. They learned first-hand how their state has moved steadily forward on all fronts during the last five and one-half years; heard words of hope and encouragement for the future. They also received a well-deserved pat on the back for their part in aiding the present administration set new records of accomplishments. In short, they were given a progress report perhaps unequaled in Georgia's history.

The Governor expressed his "lasting gratitude" to the citizens and the press of Georgia for their "generous support and cooperation" in the programs of his administration which, he said, have made unprecedented progress in all fields during his years in office. He voiced the hope that "whoever is elected our next governor will have the same measure of friendship and cooperation which has been extended to me."

"The achievements we have made working together are impressive," he declared. "We now have in successful operation great educational and humanitarian programs which five years ago were embodied only in the dreams of progressive citizens and in the editorial recommendations made by you, the editors of Georgia's fine newspapers.

"Working together as a team, our people, the General Assembly, the press, radio and television, our governmental officials, and civic, farm, labor, veterans and other groups have accomplished more tangible benefits for the people of Georgia than during any similar period of our history. As a result of our efforts nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars in permanent improvements now grace our landscape to serve present and future generations."

Talmadge reviewed for the members of the Fourth Estate the great strides that have been made since he took office Nov. 17, 1948. He went down the line, step by step, to show what has been and is being done to improve the common schools, colleges and universities, public health, roads, welfare, agriculture, industry and all the other segments that make up life in Georgia. Then he concluded by saying:

"These things have not come about by accident. They have happened because Georgians have refused to leave their future to chance and are acting on the strength of new-found faith in themselves and their common destiny. No one man, organization or group of men or organizations can claim credit for what has been done. It has been a mutual effort in which we all have shared.

"I am proud that I have been permitted a part in the unfolding of this new era for our beloved state. And I shall cherish as one of my fondest memories the generous support and cooperation which I have received from Georgians everywhere in performing my role. For that I wish to express my lasting gratitude and voice the sincere hope that whoever is elected our next governor will have the same measure of friendship and cooperation which has been extended to me."

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JULY 26, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 364

2 Known Commies On Directors' Board Ford-Financed Southern Regional Body

Hand Will Maintain Segregation Public School System Unqualified Pledge To Georgia In Keynote Address

State's Finances Be Administered For General Welfare Of All Citizens

Fred Hand says that he will go to jail if necessary to maintain segregation in the public school system in Georgia.

This was the keynote of his opening speech at Camilla on July 10. Everybody concedes that Fred Hand is as good as his word and, if elected, would do just what he says.

His opening speech follows:

The purpose of this get-together is to ask you to help me get elected Governor of Georgia.

I can win only if you want me to serve in this capacity. I can win only if you, all the people listening over the state and your families and friends work and vote for me.

At the outset let me tell you that as a candidate I am seeking no reward but the opportunity to serve my state.

I invite you to examine my life and my record, public and private. Like all human beings, I have made mistakes. But I am proud that in all I have done and said I have been consistent and have never sacrificed my conscience or convictions for expediency.

With nine people in this race there will be many wild promises and maybe some false statements or plain lies. Right now I pledge you I will tell you the truth about what I stand for and also will expose the wild statements of other candidates.

I hate hypocrisy and despise demagoguery. Men who stoop to either deserve to have their names called before the bar of public justices.

No man has the right to talk out of both sides of his mouth—to say one thing today and another tomorrow, to espouse one cause in public and conspire against it in private, to take one stand as a private citizen and champion the opposite view as a candidate.

Candidates who wish to be taken seriously must present themselves with clean, untied hands. Those who, for the sake of money and votes, sell favors and promises, join hands with lawless elements and make unholy alliances with pressure groups and special interests cannot serve the best interests of the people. They can expect to have their names called by me.

I come to you today as my own master.

I am beholden to no one except the people of the Great State of Georgia.

I have made no promises except those I make in my platform.

I have but one special interest — the welfare of all the people.

I am the only candidate who can make that statement and tell the truth.

IT'S GREAT TO BE A GEORGIAN!

That cry never fails to stir me and I have been disappointed in recent years to hear it used less and less.

I want to see it restored as the slogan

(Continued on Page 2)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

This is one time when we ought not to gamble on a Governor.

We ought to know where the next Governor stands and there ought to be no doubt in anybody's mind about what he will do. We ought to know whether he will stand hitched of if he will be wishy-washy.

I have just talked to a friend who has been on a tour of Alabama studying the segregation problem. The people of Alabama told him that we were in much better position in Georgia to maintain segregation than they were because we have a governor who stands pat and there is no doubt in anybody's mind where he does stand. In Alabama, they frankly admit that if they had a governor like Talmadge, they wouldn't have any difficulty in working out the problem.

Now, that is one thing that we ought to be sure about. We ought to know that the next governor of Georgia not only has the conviction, but the courage to stand by his convictions regardless of what happens.

In my opinion, Marvin Griffin isn't such a man. In my opinion, Marvin Griffin can't be trusted.

He has been on too many sides of different issues and he has been wishy-washing around from one side to the other ever since I have known him.

Now, let's take up his record and see whether he can be trusted or not.

1. He first came into prominence as Executive Secretary to Governor E. D. Rivers. During the last year of the Rivers Administration, he issued out pardons and paroles a basketful at the time. Most of them were issued during the last few days of the Rivers Administration.

Griffin doesn't deny issuing the pardons. His excuse is that he was Secretary to former Governor Rivers and Governor Rivers told him to issue them.

Governor Rivers disputes this. He states that he didn't know that Griffin was issuing all of these pardons during the last few days of his administration. In addition, Rivers says that Griffin had his negro chauffer out making contact with convicts whom he could pardon.

This issue between Rivers and Griffin has never yet been settled. Griffin at a later date gave Rivers down the country for issuing the pardons and accused Rivers of running the pardon racket. On the other hand, Rivers says that Griffin is the man who ran the pardon racket.

But the public record still is that both admit there was a pardon racket. Griffin admits that he knew about it and that he issued the pardons. Rivers denies that he knew anything about it. But the undisputed testimony of both of them is to the effect that there was a racket and Griffin admits his participation in the racket.

Now the degree of his participation is the only question left. He admits issuing them, but did Ed Rivers tell him to? The burden is on Griffin.

It must be remembered that the Atlanta newspapers made a picture of Griffin issuing the pardons on the last day of the Rivers Administration. They were carried in the Atlanta papers and Griffin was boasting of the fact that he was issuing the paroles and pardons. Now that much is a matter of public record.

Now let me tell you what I know about the last day of the Rivers Administration in January, 1941.

I had been Speaker of the House during the four years of the Rivers Administration. On the last day of the administration I found out that they were about to pardon a man who was convicted in Richmond County and I felt that it would be a reflection on me if they did. So, I went over to the Governor's Office to protest the issuance of this pardon. I first talked to Marvin Griffin and he told me that he didn't care what the

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Foreman, Williams Also On SCHW, Close To Hank Wallace, His Gang Of Communists

Two known Communists have been listed as members of the top level board of directors of the Ford-financed Southern Regional Council, according to official publications of that group.

Testimony adduced before House and Senate Congressional committees has branded SRC's directors, Aubrey Williams and Clark Howell Foreman "as Communist Party members."

Both these SRC officials were leading lights in the organization and direction of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Mr. Foreman was its president, according to records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, while Aubrey Williams is listed as an ex-officio member of the controlling board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

CLARK HOWELL FOREMAN

As editor Ralph McGill wrote in the Atlanta Constitution, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was controlled and dominated by Communists from its inception, and for that reason, the southern editor claimed he got out of SCHW and helped expose his former fellow members.

Editor McGill wrote: "The Communist Party . . . did participate openly in the first Southern Conference for Human Welfare meeting in Birmingham. When this happened, I knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that the Southern Conference was finished even as it began.

"You cannot allow the Communists to

(Continued on Page 2)

THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

State's Finances Be Administered For General Welfare Of All Citizens

(Continued from Page 1)

of every citizen. I want to hear it ring out again from our schools, our stages and our street corners. I want to make it the watchword of my administration.

We have every reason to be proud that we are Georgians.

Everywhere we look about us now we can see tangible evidence of the progress we have made working together. Blossoming throughout the State are new industries, schools, hospitals, institutions, highways and parks which five years ago were merely hopes and dreams.

I am proud of the part you have permitted me to play in this great development and, if you elect me your governor, I promise to carry out in your name a 10-Point Plan for Progress to complete these programs and embark upon even more impressive ones.

As Governor, I will maintain a segregated PUBLIC school system.

Before I will permit a single negro child to attend any white school in Georgia I gladly will go to jail and, if need be, conduct the business of the State from my cell for the duration of my entire term.

Not one cent of state money will be approved to pay the salaries of any white teacher who teaches Negro pupils, any Negro teacher who teaches white pupils or any white or Negro school principal or superintendent responsible for such a situation arising. By executive order any pupil thus temporarily dislocated will be permitted to attend any other public school for his or her race until the racial status quo can be restored in the original classroom.

The Georgia Constitution and statutes give the Governor sufficient authority to take such action. And, so long as he stands firm in such a resolve, nothing short of impeachment can end his control of the situation.

The federal courts have no power to enforce their decrees except through citations for contempt. The only course they can take against a Governor refusing to buckle under their orders is to put him in jail. And such a prospect does not frighten me because I would consider it an honor to be placed behind bars to spare the people of Georgia the infamy of a court decision contrary to our state and federal constitutions and against the best interests and wishes of both races.

Two of my opponents have tried to ridicule me for taking this stand.

The sad truth, however, is that neither of them is willing to go all the way to maintain our traditions. One is the tool of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has sworn to destroy segregation. The other is a newspaperman who wrote two years ago that Georgians will have to abide by the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Only a man with the courage of his conviction can measure up to this threat and stop it. Men who trade with the NAACP, by virtue of that association, just want to mix the races. I don't and I don't believe you do either. Men who say they will "raise sand" and then bend cannot be depended upon to keep our institution separate and prevent a calamity from befalling our state.

The Office of Governor is the key to maintaining segregation. A strong governor who will stand firm and refuse to yield, a man who will exhaust plan after plan to take recourse after recourse, can keep what we have the way we have it. A weak governor afraid of his shadow and bought by alien pressures can be expected not only to bow to the Court but also to help it enforce its decrees.

Coupled with our determination to protect our traditions we must take positive steps to provide every child in Georgia adequate school facilities. We must continue without letup the vast school construction program begun by the State School Building Authority under my direction.

We must strengthen and expand vocational education and provide a safe and adequate transportation system. We must carry out all provisions of the Minimum Foundation Program and strive to provide an adequate salary for every teacher. We must back the Board of Regents in its policies and promote the growth in our University System of professional services, research and teacher training.

The white people of Georgia have for a generation carried the burden of improving the lot of our colored citizens. We must continue to do so and in all things play fair with them. But they, in turn, must play fair with us who are willing to bear our heavy tax load indefinitely in order to assure them of equal facilities and opportunities. Both races must take a sensible, practical approach to the problems we face within the framework of our accepted pattern of separate, but equal, facilities.

Maintaining segregation is the principle issue in this campaign. And the people of Georgia, before deciding for whom they will cast their ballots, should ask themselves this question—"Who can be trusted to preserve segregation: Marvin Griffin and M. E. Thompson who **will not go to jail** to keep it or Fred Hand who **will go to jail** before ending it?"

With Fred Hand as your Governor you will never pay any tolls or fees to travel on the highways of our State. My administration will build a free road system open to every citizen of and visitor to Georgia. It will be administered by a nonpolitical board elected by the General Assembly as now. I will emphasize improvement of all major highways. I also will press for the rapid completion of the post road system and give priority to work on all school bus, mail and farm-to-market routes.

No federal funds will be lost through failure of the State to match them. There will be no interference with the constitutional allocation of road revenues to the State Highway Department. Road grants to counties will be continued.

The health of our citizens is our greatest resource. To protect it our program of constructing local hospitals and health centers will be continued on the present Hill-Burton Act basis. All programs for the eradication of disease, particularly those aimed against Tuberculosis, cancer and heart and contagious diseases, will be pushed with renewed vigor.

The provision for our aged citizens is a primary obligation of the State. I recognized that obligation as the co-author of the first old-age pension bill ever introduced in the Georgia Legislature. I feel even more strongly about it now and, as governor, will insist that this great debt be generously repaid as rapidly as funds are available.

It makes me mad to hear of old people being rudely treated and embarrassed by state and county welfare workers. One of the first things I will do as Chief Executive will be to demand that recipients of old-age benefits be accorded the courtesy and respect to which their years spent in building Georgia entitle them. Each person seeking and receiving any form of welfare aid will be given individual attention in the spirit of sympathy and humanity and no one will be considered merely a case number.

Our state institutions have been elevated from sources of shame to objects of pride. All of them will be improved and expanded.

Too long the hard work, hardships and heartaches of our farmers have gone unrewarded and I intend, if you elect me governor, to do something about it. To encourage a profitable swine industry, I will provide free hog serum to farmers to be administered by qualified veterinarians under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. A program to eradicate Bang's Disease and tuberculosis among cattle will be carried out. Programs of research to advance poultry, livestock and agriculture will be promoted and expanded.

Knowing the great wealth which comes from our forests, my administration will make the state forest fire program available to all counties. And to protect Georgia's fish and wildlife resources, laws and enforcement methods will be strengthened and I will cooperate with the State Game and Fish Commission in replenishing our streams and forests with fish and wildlife.

To better serve veterans, procedures of the State Department of Veterans' Service will be streamlined to eliminate present confusion and red tape. Further, after consulting with veterans' organizations, I will appoint a director of that Department who shall devote his full time and efforts to helping veterans rather than promoting his own political interests.

I believe in the county unit system and my record shows I have never deviated from that belief. I have vigorously defended it, both as a candidate and as a private citizen. As long as I am Governor, it will never be abolished.

Georgia faces grave financial problems during the next four years and the state government will be financially strained to meet our obligations. The only way to prevent a deficit is through better administration of the state's affairs. But the situation will require a man who has business sense—one who knows the problems of meeting a payroll and who recognizes a ledger sheet when he sees one.

As your Governor, I will give you a clean, honest, business-like and efficient administration. I will demand a full day's work for a day's pay and will eliminate all deadwood from the State payroll.

I will insist upon a dollar's value for every dollar spent. There will be no favoritism in state purchasing.

I will advocate no new taxes but will collect all taxes due.

Automobile tags will be sold at the county courthouse as a matter of convenience and economy.

All savings realized through efficiency of operation and all normal increases in revenue will be applied toward expanded state services in the order of their importance in the lives of Georgians.

I will lend every resource of the State to the encouragement of new industries to locate in Georgia and to expand existing industries. I will encourage the State Department of Commerce in its program to attract industry and tourists to Georgia. I will work with labor and management for improved harmonious relations.

Communism is our greatest threat, not only from without but also from within. Communism and Communistic movements will be fought wherever they rear their unholy heads in this State.

I will also utilize the full powers of the Offices of Governor and Attorney General, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and the Highway Patrol to wipe out the numbers racket and any type of gangsterism and racketeering found in Georgia. I am determined there will be no Phenix City to smear the fair name of our State. I will recommend that the General Assembly put loan sharks out of business and assure people in need the opportunity to borrow at the legal rate of interest.

And last I will continue unswervingly loyal to the party of our fathers, I am proud of my record of being a 100 per cent Georgia Democrat. I am proud of the fact that in 1952 — while my opponents were talking about third parties, supporting the Republican nominees and yelling, "We Ain't Got Nobody"—I was working for the candidates of the Democratic Party of Georgia.

I always have been a Georgia Democrat. I am now a Georgia Democrat. I always will be a Georgia Democrat.

The only office for which I am a candidate is the office of Governor. If elected, I will not seek any other office for the duration of my term.

As Governor, I will appoint delegates to the 1956 Democratic National Convention who have proved by their past records their ability and determination to wage an aggressive fight to maintain states' rights and our southern traditions. Our state will never again be embarrassed by having advocates of Henry Wallace and his like control the Georgia delegation.

These are the things you will vote for when you vote for Fred Hand for Governor of Georgia.

These are the things which will be done if Fred Hand is elected your Governor.

The future beckons to us, my friends.

With the help of Almighty God let us join hands and surge forth in a mighty tide of public sentiment to rid Georgia once and for all of repudiated politicians and seize for ourselves, our children and our children's children the bright future which rightfully is ours.

Foreman, Williams Also On SCHW, Close To Hank Wallace, His Gang Of Communists

(Continued from Page 1)

go along with you in any organization. If they espouse the same principles, then let them do it on their own. To admit them to membership or companionship is fatal —as the SCHW has learned."

Communist Front

The SCHW which was succeeded by the Southern Regional Council, was branded as a communist front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. The congressional investigating group said of SCHW:

"In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is associated with organizations of campaigns for the defense of the Communist Party or individual Communists, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies—issues which have nothing to do with the South—one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Clark Howell Foreman

According to records of the special committee on Tax Free Institutions, Louis Budenz, a reformed Communist Party member, testified on December 23, 1952 that Clark Howell Foreman, once president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and a director of the Southern Regional Council, "was a Communist Party member."

It will be recalled that Foreman was treasurer of the Henry Wallace Progressive Party and has been a leader of many officially cited fronts. Here is part of his record: Regional chairman, National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, the Communist Party's top cultural front; sponsor of the American Slav Congress, Bill of Rights Conference, National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, Civil Rights Congress, and the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

Aubrey Williams, who has been listed as a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and was a key official in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was recently nailed as a known Communist before a Senate committee.

Charges made at Probe

The charges were made at a hearing conducted by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) for the U. S. Senate Internal Security Committee by Paul Crouch, a former high official and organizer for the American Communist Party and now an agent for the U. S. Immigration Service, and John Butler, a Dallas, Texas, nursery operator.

They made charges against Aubrey W. Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., and director of the National Youth Administration during the early terms of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the SCEF; Clifford J. Durr, a Montgomery, Ala., attorney and former FCC member; Miami Attorney Leo Scheiner; Miami Contractor Max Schlafrock; and Mrs. Durr, sister-in-law of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black.

Williams, Dombrowski and the Durrs categorically denied any red affiliations under oath. Scheiner and Schlafrock invoked the self-incriminatory clauses of the Fifth Amendment as grounds for refusing to answer questions regarding their background and activities.

Citations Possible

Senator Eastland said contempt citations or perjury charges may be brought by the full committee to determine whether the accused or the accusers lied under oath and punish those who refused to answer questions. He said the hearings will be continued in Birmingham in June.

Williams, editor of the Southern Farm and Home Magazine published at Montgomery, Ala., objected to testifying on grounds that the subpoena against him was issued in violation of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press. He was questioned regarding his affiliation with the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the Workers Alliance, the American Committee for the Foreign Born, the American Youth Congress, the Civil Rights Congress, the Civil Rights Committee, the Atlantic Pact, the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, the National Negro Congress, the American Crusade to End Lynching, the East Information Center, the Progres-

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Foreman, Williams Also On SCHW, Close To Hank Wallace, His Gang Of Communists

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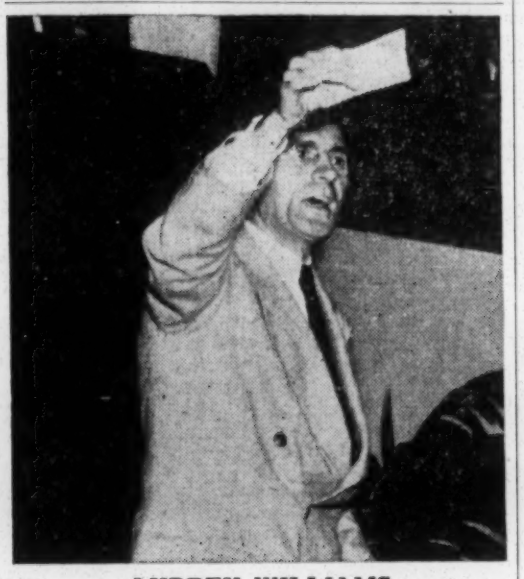
sive Citizens of America, and the World Peace Appeal.

He replied that he was "a sponsor of many things." He said he could "not recall" any identification with most of them. He acknowledged affiliation with the Progressive Citizens of America, the Civil Rights Congress and the Civil Rights Committee but said he had asked his name be stricken from the membership of the latter.



AUBREY WILLIAMS

Asked, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" Williams replied: "No, never."

Asked, "have you ever accepted Communist discipline?" he answered: "No, never knowingly."

He passed up the question — "Do you still think that it is all right for a Communist to be employed by the United States Government?"

Crouch, when asked "During the time of your membership in the Communist Party, did you have an occasion to make the acquaintance of Williams?" answered: "Yes, sir. I met him several times. The first meeting with Williams was in the Department of Commerce in Washington. There I met him in the rear of the platform at a meeting. I was introduced to Williams by Herman Benjamin, a charter member of the Communist Party and one of the chief national leaders.

"At that meeting I was introduced as the district organizer and vice president of the Unemployed League. I talked to him about the Unemployed Leagues. Mr. Williams said something to me about the merger giving a powerful organization.

"On the second occasion I met him it was in Birmingham in connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. That was at the city auditorium, in 1938, I believe. At that time Williams was passing through.

"During the conversation I reported to Williams on the concentration of the Workers' Alliance and the Farmers' Union and the work being done. Williams asked the questions and commented but I don't remember what he said enough to quote him."

Former Red Testifies

Butler testified he had been introduced to Williams by Alton Lawrence, communist labor union leader, while attending the Southern Negro Youth Conference with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in 1942. He quoted Lawrence as saying, "I want you to meet Comrade Williams."

Butler said he met Williams at Bessemer, Ala.

"I heard his name mentioned time and time again as a Communist member," he testified.

Williams challenged Butler to make his statements outside the hearing room and subject himself to a libel suit. Butler said he would comply.

Butler further testified that he had met Dombrowski in Birmingham in July 1942.

Crouch then was asked: "Did Williams accept the discipline of the party?"

Crouch answered: "Williams' record shows that it always coincided with the interest of the party. I would not have made statements to him unless I had been informed that he was a secret member."

Aubrey Williams

The public records, files and publications of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities contain the following information concerning Aubrey Williams:

The Communist publication, the Daily Worker on May 20, 1947 (page 5), named Aubrey Williams as one of those who signed a statement of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; he was identified as publisher of the Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Alabama. According to the Worker (Sunday edition of the Daily Worker) for October 19, 1947 (page 3), Mr. Williams was Chairman of the Alabama Chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; he also participated in the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held at Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940 (see the Call to a Second Southern Conference . . .). He contributed to The Southern Patriot, official organ of the Southern Conference . . . , as shown by the issue of that publication for September 1947 (page 5).

Red-front Organization

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been cited as a Communist-front organization which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate; and it "seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South." (Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944; and Report No. 592 of the Committee on Un-American activities dated June 12, 1947, respectively.)

Mr. Williams was one of the sponsors of the National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947, as shown on the printed program and the Call to the conference. The American Committee for . . . has been cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of the Special Committee . . . dated March 29, 1944; also report dated June 25, 1942); the Attorney General of the United States cited the organization as subversive and Communist (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press June 1 and September 21, 1948; it was redesignated by Attorney General Brownell April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450).

In the Daily Worker of September 12, 1947 (pages 2 and 12), we find that "Aubrey Williams, former head of the National Youth Administration, assailed the steady offensive against civil liberties as an attempt 'to throw overboard such primary rights as the freedom to think and to hold whatever belief one chooses.' He cited as examples of the drive to destroy civil rights the jailing of Carl Marzani, the conviction of ten officers of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee on contempt of Congress and President Truman's 'loyalty' purge of government employees. '. . . we must take our stand and defend the rights of any Communist to maintain his position as an employee of the government of the U. S.,' Williams declared."

Williams Attacks Policy

Aubrey Williams was one of the "37 prominent Americans" who signed a statement to President Truman, charging that his (Truman's) policy in Germany is aiding Nazi war criminals and industrialists to climb back to their wartime places of power." (From the Daily Worker of January 28, 1948, page 10).

The Daily Worker of June 4, 1947 (page 4), reported that Mr. Williams made a speech against the "Red Scare." He was identified in this article as Editor of The Southern Farmer.

A leaflet "Calling Young People of New York to the New Model Legislature of Youth Meeting in New York City, January 28-30," and issued by the American Youth Congress, named Aubrey Williams as one of the speakers at that conference; he was identified as National Executive Director of the National Youth Administration.

American Youth Congress

The American Youth Congress "originated in 1934 and . . . has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (the Attorney General of the United States in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, page 10); subsequently, the Attorney General cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; it was redesignated by Attorney General Brownell). The Special Committee cited it as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" (reports of June 25, 1942; January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941; and March 29, 1944).

An advertisement in the publication PM on October 16, 1947 (page 5), contained the name of Aubrey Williams in a list of sponsors of a protest meeting for Howard Fast, which was to have been held in New York City on October 16 under the auspices of Masses & Mainstream, a Communist magazine.

It has been reported twice in the Daily Worker (June 27, 1950, page 2, and August 14, 1950, page 2), that Aubrey Williams, publisher, Montgomery, Alabama, signed the World Peace Appeal; he also signed the Stockholm Peace Pledge, according to the Daily People's World of June 28, 1950 (page 4). The World Peace Appeal and the Stockholm Peace Appeal have been cited as Communist enterprises (Report No. 378 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 1, 1951).

Editor Southern Farmer

In the last-named report of the Committee which was devoted to The Communist "Peace" Offensive, Aubrey Williams was named as a member of the Executive Board of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. The source for this was cited as a letterhead of the group dated September 16, 1950.

Aubrey Williams, identified as editor of Southern Farmer, Birmingham, Alabama, was one of the sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, May 29-30, 1950, in Chicago, Illinois, as shown in the "Peace" Offensive report of this Committee. Both the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives and the Mid-Century Conference for Peace were cited in the same report (dated April 1, 1951).

In testimony of Mr. Oliver Kenneth Goff, during public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Ac-

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STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Atlanta newspapers said, or anybody else, he was going to turn out a great number of people who were then serving in the penitentiary.

My protest availed nothing. I finally found Governor Rivers late at night and it then was too late. But my efforts to prevent the issuing of this one pardon caused me to stumble into what was happening and the fact that Marvin Griffin told me himself that he intended to issue them and he didn't care what anybody said. At the time I saw Griffin the Governor was not in his office and I couldn't find him. Yet, they were being turned out by the basketful.

2. Governor Ellis Arnall got Marvin Griffin out of the Army in 1945 on the ground that he needed him to be Adjutant General of Georgia. He came back to Georgia and Governor Arnall appointed him as Adjutant General. Immediately he started running for Governor and was trying to run as the Arnall candidate.

Then, in 1946, I had a split with Arnall over the negro question and the question of doing away with the white primary. As a result I fought Governor Arnall's effort to amend the constitution so that he could succeed himself. During this fight, Marvin Griffin was on the other side and was supporting his boss, Governor Ellis Arnall.

Then after the legislature adjourned, I came back to Richmond County and ran for the legislature and made these issues again. We held an early primary in the spring of 1946. The newspapers and people called me a demagogue, a race hater and a race baiter because I tried to point out to them that we were headed for the situation in which we find ourselves today.

I was defeated in Richmond County. Practically every newspaper in the State was doing everything they could against me even though it was a local race. The Arnall Administration was dead set against me and so was Marvin Griffin.

When the summertime approached and it became time for candidates to run for Governor in 1946, Marvin Griffin went down to Bainbridge, Georgia, and opened his campaign for Governor in a speech to his home people. At that time he was running on the Arnall platform courting the support of the Arnall faction and the Arnall Administration.

A few days later, the Atlanta Journal printed his record on the pardon business and the Arnall Administration left him.

When Griffin found out what had happened, he then switched over to the Talmadge side. He announced for Lieutenant Governor on the Talmadge ticket as favoring the continuance of the white primary and the pattern of segregation. As soon as he found that the Arnall Administration wouldn't back him on the other side of the fence, he jumped over the fence immediately.

One week he was shouting the fact that Ellis Arnall was the greatest Governor we had ever had and was willing to run on the Arnall ticket. The next week, he had done a complete flip-flop and was shouting to high heaven to keep the white primary and segregation in Georgia.

He ran for Lieutenant Governor that same year and echoed everything that Eugene Talmadge said during that campaign. Eugene Talmadge was elected and Griffin was defeated. The Talmadge folks wouldn't take him then because his espousal of the Arnall cause was still fresh in their minds.

3. Herman Talmadge doesn't trust him.

For five years while he was Lieutenant Governor, he privately and publicly stated to all of his friends that Marvin Griffin could not be trusted. During this year, when he has talked to some of his friends about supporting Marvin he has always admitted that he could not be trusted, but at times he has thought maybe he was the best that the Talmadge crowd could do. But never yet has he said to a single person that he trusts Marvin Griffin. He knows that Marvin Griffin doublecrossed Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall. He knows eventually, if Marvin Griffin gets a chance, he will also doublecross Herman Talmadge.

4. The Talmadge leaders at the State Capitol do not trust him. Tom Linder is one of the oldest Talmadge men in the Capitol. Tom Linder and a little handful of people elected Eugene Talmadge Commissioner of Agriculture the first time he was elected.

When Talmadge ran the first time, he was practically unknown, but Tom Linder and this little group had been in the legislature a long time and they were well known. They went out on a limb and went all the way to elect Talmadge and they stayed with him throughout the years.

There can be added to this list such Talmadge stalwarts as Charlie Redwine, the State Revenue Commissioner; James S. Peters, Chairman of the Democratic Party; James L. Gillis, Chairman of the State Highway Department; and Robert Warren, Director of the State Board of Corrections.

There are hundreds of others in lesser positions who share the same opinion. They say that he cannot be trusted and they are not willing to go along with him.

5. Griffin has surrounded himself with a little group of men who, like buzzards circling around a dead carcass, are hoping for his election so that they can work on the State Purchasing Department just like a bunch of buzzards work on a dead carcass. I know their names and most of the people in public life in Georgia know their names. It is well known that if Griffin should accidentally be elected governor that they would pull off through the Purchasing Department the biggest swindle that has ever been pulled in Georgia. They have the machinery set up if such should happen.

(Continued on Page 4)

Foreman, Williams Also On SCHW, Close To Hank Wallace, His Gang Of Communists

(Continued from Page 3)

tivities October 9, 1939, the following was incorporated in the record:

"Minutes of the National Resident Board Meeting Young Communist League, U. S. A.—July 9, 1938.

Agenda:

1. Literature and Review, J. Starobin
2. Christian Conference
5. Berea Conference, G. Green

Berea Conference.—Made up of 165 registered delegates and a number of visitors, including thirty people from Government agencies in Washington. The conference was good from the point of view that it was more representative of the composition of the youth of the nation . . . The most important speech delivered was that of Aubrey Williams giving an analysis and presenting the young people with the problem of solving the situation. The conference was surprising in the sense that there was 'leftism' from some other centers . . . The conference was divided into two main sessions: 1. Preparations for the Model Youth Community; 2. The World Youth Congress . . . " (Public Hearings, Volume 9, page 5679.)

Clark Howell Foreman

Records of the House Committee investigating Un-American Activities also contain a lengthy documentation on the communist-front activities of Clark Howell Foreman.

References to Clark Foreman are contained on pages 1, 7, 11, and 14 of the Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare dated June 12, 1947, a copy of which is enclosed for your information.

The "Southern Patriot," official organ of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, listed Clark Foreman as President of that organization during 1947-1948. (See the "Southern Patriot" dated December 1946, p. 8). He was further identified as president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on a letterhead of that organization dated June 4, 1947; an undated leaflet, "The South Is Closer Than You Think," (received about February, 1947); and the "Daily Worker" of June 24, 1947, page 3.

Paul Crouch's Testimony

The testimony of Paul Crouch during public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, May 6, 1949, reveals the following:

"Mr. Mandel. Was there any indication of subsidy for the work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

"Mr. Crouch. Yes. The district of Alabama at all times received varying degrees of subsidy from the central committee in New York. In 1938 additional grants were made * * * because of the expenses incurred by the Alabama district in its organizational work to build the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

"Prior to the Southern Conference, there was a small committee, with headquarters in Birmingham, which included as its leading members Joseph S. Gelders, Communist Party Leader in Birmingham * * *.

"Mr. Mandel. Was Clark Howell Foreman in that group?

"Mr. Crouch. He came into it later.

"Mr. Wheeler. Do you have evidence regarding the membership of Clark Howell Foreman in the Communist Party?

"Mr. Crouch. I have no evidence of his membership in the Communist Party. I have spoken to him frequently. He knew I was an official in the Communist Party, and he was very anxious to discuss policy and so on, and he impressed me as being anxious to carry out the policies of the party. * * * p. ca 190)

Southern "Liberals"

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a "Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate." (See Report dated March 29, 1944, page 147).

The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Report No. 592, June 12, 1947, cited it as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Clark Foreman was a sponor of a Testimonial Dinner held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York October 12, 1947 under the auspices of the American Slav Congress as shown on the program dated October 12, 1947, page 2. The American Slav Congress was cited as "subversive and Communist" by former Attorney General Tom Clark in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.

Civil Rights Congress

Among his other Communist affiliations is the Civil Rights Congress, of which organization he was a member of the initiating committee as disclosed in Report of the Civil Rights Congress released by the Committee on Un-American Activities on September 2, 1947 (page 21). It was pointed out on page 19 of the Report that "It is worthy of note that subsequent to the formation of the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit on April 27-28, 1946, and the enlistment of additional sponsors, the names of a number of members of the initiating committee, having served their decoy purposes, disappeared from the organization's letterhead, among them being * * * Clark Foreman * * * .This seems to be a favorable device of Communist front organizations."

Dr. Foreman signed an Open Letter to Congress urging defeat of the Mundt bill as shown on letterhead of the Civil Rights Congress, dated May 7, 1948. He was a sponsor of a Civil Rights Congress meeting as reported in the Communist newspaper, the "Daily Worker" of January 19, 1949 (p. 10); one of the additional sponsors of a Bill of Rights Conference, New York City, as listed on the "Call" dated July 16-17, 1949 (p. 5). He spoke at meetings of the Congress on three separate occasions. (See "Daily Worker" of December 13, 1948, (page 6); January 13, 1949 (page 2); and January 18, 1949(page 11).

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by former Attorney General Tom Clark. (See letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

Other Commie Fronts

The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19) characterized the Civil Rights Congress as "an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party and controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

The "Daily People's World," official organ of the Communist Party on the west. coast, in its September 10, 1948 (p. 3) issue, announced that Clark Foreman was a supporter of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions. A letterhead of that organization (received January 1949) listed him as regional chairman; and the Conference program (p. 14) identified him as a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, March 25-27, 1949, which was held under the auspices of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

A review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American activities, April 19, 1949 (p. 19) pointed out that "A tabulation of the numerous Communist-front affiliations of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace shows the following interesting figures: Two hundred and seventy have been affiliated with from one to ten Communist-front organizations, and include * * * Clark Foreman * * *. "Miscellaneous activities in support of Communist Party or Young Communist League (total 63): * * * Clark Foreman * * * ." (page 39. "The following list of sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace * * * was given out by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, sponsor of the conference * * * Clark Foreman. * * * " (p. 58).

Under False Colors

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was described in the following manner by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, Page 1:

> "Parading under the imposing title of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace the gathering at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, was actually a super-mobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations. * * * pyramiding into one inflated front the names which had time and again been used by the Communists as decoys for the entrapment of innocents."

Clark Foreman was associated with the Win the Peace Conference in various capacities as revealed by the following sources: Chairman, Sunday Morning Session, Washington, D. C., April 4, 5-7, 1946 (Summary of the Proceedings, page 6); vice-chairman, National Committee (letterhead dated June 1, 1946); vice-chairman, National Committee (New York Committee Call to a Win the Peace Conference, June 28 and 29, 1946); sponsor, (letterhead dated February 28, 1946); sponsor ("Daily Worker," March 5, 1946); sponsor ("A Call to a Win-the-Peace Conference," National Press Building, Washington, D. C., April 4, 6-7, 1946); presided and spoke ("Daily Worker," April 8, 1946 (page 3); signed statement ("Daily Worker," May 9, 1946 (page 3).

Fake Peace Conference

The Win the Peace Conference was held in Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1946, and had among its sponsors numerous Communists and fellow-travelers of the Communist Party, as well as some reputable citizens, congressmen and senators.

Out of this Conference evolved the National Committee to Win the Peace, with Paul Robeson and the late Evans Carlson as co-chairmen. These two individuals, together with Julius Emspak, Bartley Crum and Jo Davidson, are credited with having taken the first steps toward establishing the National Committee to Win the Peace, which organization was cited as "subversive and Communist" by former Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press Dcember 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948.

A statement of Dr. Clark Foreman was published in the "Daily Worker," of May 27, 1947 (page 3). He attacked the purge of Communists in the film industry according to the November 27, 1947 (page 2) issue of the same paper. His photograph and biography appeared in the "Daily People's World," of April 27, 1948(page 4).

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

6. Griffin cannot be trusted on the subject of segregation.

Now, why do I say this?

When the last convention of the Democratic Party in Georgia was held in Macon in 1950 it adopted a resolution stating that if the Supreme Court of the United States decided the segregation cases against us that Georgia would not consider the decision binding on Georgia, and that we would continue segregation of the races regardless of what the Supreme Court said.

Now, I introduced that resolution in the convention myself. It was prepared under Governor Talmadge's instructions and handed to me at the convention by either Governor Talmadge or the person whom he had to prepare it. At Governor Talmadge's suggestion, I introduced this resolution and it was unanimously adopted by the convention of five thousand Democrats.

Now, as soon as we adopted this resolution, Federal Judge A. B. Conger, in his charge to the Federal Grand Jury in Columbus berated and denounced the resolution and the convention for adopting it.

Now mind you, this was a convention which nominated Governor Herman Talmadge for Governor and Marvin Griffin for Lieutenant Governor.

Then on September 14, 1950 Marvin Griffin, writing in his newspaper, the Post Searchlight, at Bainbridge, said "Judge Conger was within his rights in commenting on it."

He further said that the State of Georgia would be forced to bend under to the Supreme Court if it decided against us. Here is what he said in this editorial:

"In the first place, Georgia will have to abide by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. We will buck and raise sand and say we won't, but in the end we will have to bend under. Those who drafted the resolution know that, and suffice it to say, we do not believe any of the authors want to go to jail."

Now, that's Marvin Griffin talking four years ago. He had just been elected for a four-year term and fresh from victory he didn't know he would have to face an adverse decision of the Supreme Court in 1954.

Now, when Marvin Griffin was talking in this editorial he was talking for himself. Now, he predicted then that if the decision went against us that he would "raise sand and say we won't." Now he is raising sand and saying we won't just like he predicted four years ago.

But he put a "but" in his editorial. Here's the "but":

". . . . but in the end we will have to bend under."

Now, do you want a governor who is hypocritical enough to say that he will for a time be "raising sand and say we won't" and then do what he said he wouldn't do?

Now, he predicted in 1950 that in 1954 he would be raising sand and saying we won't bend under. Well, ain't he doing it?

So, Marvin is doing exactly what he said he would do in 1950.

Now, if you elect him Governor he will do just exactly what he said in 1950 he would do. And what did he say he would do? He said ". . . . but in the end we will have to bend under."

Now that's the kind of candidate for Governor Marvin Griffin is.

He's changed colors more often and more rapidly than these lizzards you see on a rail fence changing colors in the sunlight.

How can you trust a man like that on the question of segregation?

Those are some of the reasons why we say that Marvin Griffin cannot be trusted as Governor of Georgia.

In his editorial he said that the authors of that resolution would not want to go to jail. Well, none of us wants to go to jail. But those of us who signed that resolution in 1950 in effect said to the world that we were willing to go to jail if it was necessary to keep segregation in Georgia.

Now Fred Hand was one of the authors of that resolution in 1950. Fred Hand hasn't changed his colors like a lizzard on the rail. Fred Hand still says that he is not only willing, but that he will go to jail.

When Herman Talmadge gave us that resolution to introduce in 1950 he meant that he was willing to go to jail and he wanted the Democrats of Georgia to go on record as saying that they would go to jail.

Now, Marvin Griffin was at that same convention. He didn't have nerve enough to raise his voice against this resolution. Yet, as soon as he got home he criticized the resolution and said that the authors were wrong and that we would be forced to "bend under" and surrender to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Do you think now that he can be trusted?

From time to time, we will give you some other reasons why we think he cannot be trusted.

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, AUGUST 2, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 365

Director Southern Regional Council Ex-High Official Commie-Front SCHW

National Association Of Attorneys General Turns Down Brownell Because Of Contemptuousness, Sneak Methods

Cook Writes Master Indictment Of Tom Dewey's Stooge In Eisenhower's Cabinet

Eugene Cook, Attorney General of Georgia, says the reason he did not invite U. S. Attorney General Brownell to speak to the State Attorneys General was due to his "frequent ill-advised and sometimes irresponsible ruthless political conduct."

In a letter to Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein, of New York, Cook said:

Knowing as I did the close political alliance between you, Mr. Brownell and Governor Dewey, I expected you to object to my action, but I am constrained to say that I was deeply disturbed and disappointed in the tone of your protest.

You express the view that my motive was to establish a policy of vetoing speeches at our conferences if the personality or subject matter should be controversial. This is not a fair or true deduction. I firmly favor free and unrestrained debate on major public matters of legal consequence at all of our conferences. I have always been a strong advocate of the Association's policy of releasing to the public the contents of resolutions of major importance, though they sometimes are without a unanimity of approval.

Our disagreement as to Mr. Brownell does not involve a question of vetoing or restraining debate on controversial issues within our group. It is rather a matter of whether it would be in the best interest of the Association and the Mississippi Conference to have him as a principal speaker under the circumstances.

It is my firm opinion that Mr. Brownell's frequent ill-advised and sometimes irresponsible ruthless political conduct has done irreparable damage to our efforts to promote better Federal-State relations, which is the present major objective on our agenda.

I shall relate as briefly as possible substantially what I said in regard to this matter in a public address to a Civic Club in Albany, Georgia, on June 23rd. This meeting, by the way, was attended by one press reporter whose local account of my remarks was considerably more accurate and elaborate than those quoted in your letter. My reference to Mr. Brownell was in response to an appropriate inquiry by several members of the Club.

1. I stated that Mr. Brownell deeply offended most of the Attorneys General of the Southern States when he officially intervened in the U. S. Supreme Court's school segregation cases. This observation was made after conferring with several Southern Attorneys General and with whom I concurred in the determination that his official intervention was highly improper, because:

(a) The suits were instituted by a private corporation and embraced a vicious attack upon the integrity of

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

Some serious charges have been made in the present campaign against my friend, Fred Hand.

They are of such a nature until I feel it my duty to defend him.

Now, here are the charges:

1. They say he parts his hair in the middle.
2. They say he has a mustache.
3. They accuse him of being rich.
4. They condemn him for having the support of the Atlanta newspapers.
5. They sarcastically say that he is the best man in the race, but he can't win.

Now, I have scoured all over Georgia and these are the only charges that I find they have been making against Fred Hand up until this time.

I have been in politics and watching politics for forty years. This is the first time in forty years that I can find that the enemy couldn't find something to accuse a man of more serious than this.

I am reminded of a young fellow who came to see me once and said he wanted to run for Governor. I asked him if he didn't think they would accuse him of being too young. He replied: "Wouldn't you rather be accused of being too young than some other things they might accuse you of?"

Certainly, if I were Fred Hand I would rather be accused of these things than some of the things with which they are charging the other candidates.

Now, since these charges against Fred are so serious, I would like to take them up one at a time and defend him.

1. Let's take up the parting of the hair first.

Now I have been thrown with Fred Hand a lot during the past three weeks and after looking him over, I reached the conclusion that the hair on top of his head is so thin until the middle is the only place he could part it.

2. They say he is rich and we shouldn't have a rich man as Governor.

Well, he isn't as rich as they say he is. I happen to know that for a fact. His father started a big business in Pelham many years ago. Fred owns a minority interest in the business and is general manager and runs the business. At the same time, he has a farm and farms. It is true that he is well fixed, but he isn't a millionaire and he isn't what you call rich. There are plenty of people in every town in Georgia with more money than Fred Hand has.

But the fact that he is lucky enough to own a small part in a big business doesn't disqualify him for being governor. The fact that he has been able to successfully carry on and maintain this business through the years of the depression and all the other times and make a success of it, eminently qualifies him to handle the state's business where the next governor will handle at least a billion dollars in a four-year period.

At least Fred Hand is well off enough to where it wouldn't be necessary for him to be trying to get rich while he is governor like so many others have done.

The twenty-two years that he has been in the legislature and the eight years he has been Speaker of the House have proven to the people of Georgia that he would not use his office to enrich himself.

(Continued on Page 3)

New York Post Says Mitchell "The Man Talmadge Fears," About Segregation

A former high official of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare is today Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

This disclosure came as a part of the series in which the AUGUSTA COURIER is exposing the Ford-Foundation-Financed Southern Regional Council, as a haven for Communists and Communist-fronters.

Dr. George S. Mitchell now heads SRC as its executive director. It has been exposed by this newspaper as the successor

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was branded a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

24 On Board of Directors

We have uncovered the startling fact that besides Dr. Mitchell, a total of twenty-four high officials of SCHW now are on the board of directors of SRC.

We have shown that at least thirty-eight officers, members of the executive staff, or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records or association with multifarious organizations, which have been cited as Communist-fronts by either the Attorney General of the United States or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

Last week, the COURIER carried a detailed expose' showing that two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as known Communists in testimony before Congressional Committees by former associates in the party.

Incorporators of SRC

Dr. Mitchell, who along with Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year $2.00
Six months $1.25

DISCRIMINATION

The NAACP agitators say that it is discrimination against the negro race to segregate the whites and the blacks.

It is difficult to follow this line of reasoning. We have never yet seen a white man who thought that he was discriminated against because he was separated from the negroes.

Now, where is there any discrimination in separating the negroes from the whites?

If it is discrimination against the negroes to segregate them from the whites it likewise would be discrimination against the whites to separate them from the negroes. But it is mighty strange that no white man thinks that he is discriminated against by such separation or segregation.

Now if it isn't discrimination against the whites, where in the name of common sense do we get the idea that it is discrimination against the negroes?

Yet, the Supreme Court of the United States has agreed with the NAACP agitators. They say that it is discrimination against the negro children not to let them go to school with the white children.

The court did not go so far as to say that it was a discrimination against the white children.

It certainly seems that what's good for the goose ought to be good for the gander. If it discrimination against one, it is a discrimination against the other. But neither the NAACP nor the agitators nor the Supreme Court claims discrimination against the whites.

The psychologists to which the Supreme Court referred said that to separate the negro children from the white children made the negro children feel inferior. It is strange that it does not have the same effect on the white children. And it is very peculiar that the psychologists didn't say that segregation isn't causing the white children to develop any inferiority complex.

Now, how is it that this strange situation occurs?

Evidently the NAACP agitators and the Supreme Court hold to the view that there is no advantage accruing to the white children by being mixed in the same classrooms with the negro children. Evidently they think there is a decided advantage accruing to the negro children for the mixing.

Now that gets down to a right ridiculous position.

One of my close lawyer friends has a lot more money than I have. He has the advantage of more money than I have. Now, following this logic, we ought to take this money away from him and give it to me so that he and I will be equal and I wouldn't be embarrassed by associating with him by knowing that he has more money than I have.

And of course that philosophy gets back to the story of the Irishman who was a communist and favored dividing up everything equally. When they got down to dividing up the goats the old Irishman objected to dividing up the goats because he had a goat.

It seems to me that the white man ought to have some rights. The white children ought to have some rights. Some consideration ought to be given to their welfare.

Why should the white children be crucified just to help the negro children? Why shouldn't the negro children help themselves?

Evidently, the negro agitators think that there is a definite advantage to be gained for the negro children by throwing them in the same classroom with the white children and they are after taking away from the white children for the benefit of the negro children.

Evidently, the agitators are ashamed of their own race and the whole effort to destroy segregation is based upon that one fact.

Otherwise, the NAACP agitators wouldn't feel that they are discriminated against because no white man has ever felt inferior to the negro because he was segregated.

Following the logic of the NAACP agitators, then it is outright discrimination to force the white children into the same classrooms with the negro children.

"BENDING UNDER" AND BEGGING THE COURT'S "PARDON"

New York Post Says Mitchell "The Man Talmadge Fears," About Segregation

(Continued from Page 1)

and others incorporated SRC, not only held a high post in the "red" dominated Southern Conference for Human Welfare but his name also has been linked to other Communist-fronts, according to reports and records of Congressional Committees.

It is in this atmosphere that a recent $240,000.00 grant made by the Ford Foundation to SRC is being spent to destroy segregation in the South.

Authorities on combatting Communism and its menace to our form of government express the fear that the Southern Regional Council could well become the Communist Party apparatus in the South, infiltrated as it is by persons with known records of association with Communists and Communist-front groups.

Rosenwald Fund Aid

Formerly, the Southern Regional Council was financed in the main by substantial grants from the Rosenwald Fund Foundation.

The Rosenwald Fund devoted its major activities, according to a statement made by Dr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, of Philadelphia, Chairman of its Board of Trustees, **"to creation of equality between whites and negroes and to the promotion of interracial relations in the South."**

Activity of Rosenwald Fund workers in the South during the late 30's and 40's was the first large-scale frontal attack on segregation.

The Rosenwald Fund also financed in part the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization now defunct, but branded as a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

Mitchell Comes To Georgia

With the demise of the Rosenwald Fund, the Southern Regional Council lately has been existing on grants from individuals and certain out-of-state groups.

Since 1947, Dr. Mitchell has headed up the Council as its Executive Director. Born in Richmond, Virginia, he came to Georgia in 1944 after lengthy federal government service in the Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture and Foreign Economic Administration during the New Deal years.

His first job after coming to Atlanta was Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-Political Action Committee from which he became Director of Veterans Service of the Southern Regional Council.

Like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the principal aim of the Southern Regional Council, since its formation, has been directed toward the complete elimination of segregation in Georgia and the South. That policy has been stated repeatedly in literature issued by the organization. It looks forward to an amalgamated region with no color distinction.

Statement of Policy

Excerpts from the Council's avowed statement of policy follow:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part towards its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we have a duty to remain dissatisfied, for it is nothing else than the American ideal."

A list of active officers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was published in the **SOUTHERN PATRIOT**, official organ of that organization, in its issue of December 1948. The list included the name of Dr. George S. Mitchell on its top-level **"Board of Representatives."**

Committee's Report

Branding the Southern Conference for Human Welfare a Communist-front, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on that organization dated June 12, 1947 concluded:

"In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are associated with organizations or campaigns for the defense of the Communist Party or individual Communists, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies — issues which have nothing to do with the South—one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

From records and official reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Actvities, the name George S. Mitchell is identified with other Communist-front causes.

Civil Rights Congress

An announcement of the **Civil Rights Congress**, held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27 and 28, 1946, lists **Dr. George S. Mitchell**, Director of Veterans Service of the Southern Regional Council, as one of the sponsors of the congress.

According to citations by official government agencies of organizations found to be Communist-fronts, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the **Civil Rights Congress** of

(Continued on Page 3)

New York Post Says Mitchell "The Man Talmadge Fears," About Segregation

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Michigan was cited as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released on June 1, 1948.

In commenting on the Civil Rights Congress, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report No. 1115, issued September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19, said that the group was **"dedicated not to the broader issue of civil liberties, but specifically to a defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."**

An advertisement which appeared in the **NEW YORK TIMES** of April 1, 1946 contained a statement opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

This advertisement was prepared by the **National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.** One of the signers of this appeal was **George S. Mitchell,** economist, of Atlanta.

Citations by official government agencies of organizations found to be Communist or Communist-fronts, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, brands the **National Federation for Constitutional Liberties** as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" and gives the following citations:

"1. Cited as subversive and Communist. **(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)**

"2. 'Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program.*** It was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. *** The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation.' **(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.)**

"3. 'There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties — regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.' **(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.)**

To Protect Commies

"4. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.' **(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.)**

"5. 'One of the most important Communist-front organizations in the United States. While following the Communist Party line meticulously the organization has been helpful to Communists who wish to evade and defy Government agencies investigating subversive activities.' It 'recently' combined with International Labor Defense and the Metropolitan Inter faith and Inter-racial Coordinating Council of New York to form the Civil Rights Congress." **(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, pp. 201 and 327.)**

It is interesting to note for the record that the names of some others who hold important posts in the Southern Regional Council have a consistent habit of cropping up in connection with groups which have been termed Communist-fronts by Congressional committees investigating Un-American activities.

While the Council itself has never been branded as a Communist-front, it and its members have been in the vanguard of the fight to destroy our cherished heritages and traditions in the South.

New York Post Story

Since announcement of the Ford grant and charges by this newspaper as to the true purpose of the Southern Regional Council, Ralph McGill and the other leading lights of SRC have tried to take the position that the Council is "neutral" on the segregation issue.

That position is completely shattered by a recent interview with Dr. Mitchell, written by **Ted Poston,** and which appeared in the **New York POST** of Thursday, June 24, 1954.

Under the headline **"THE MAN TALMADGE FEARS"**, the article read, in part, as follows:

The soft-spoken Southerner whom Herman Talmadge hates even more than he does Walter White leaned back behind his desk in his office on Atlanta's bustling Auburn Avenue.

Discusses Jim Crow Law

"This thing is going to succeed," he said, "and the schools eventually are going to be integrated in the South — largely because of something that many people will laugh and sneer at in the North."

Dr. George S. Mitchell, the Virginia born executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was discussing the Supreme Court decision outlawing Jim Crow public school education.

"One of the reasons it is going to work out," he said, "and this is where the Northern laughter may come, is this:

"In the South, white people and Negroes know each other, and they are close to each other. In spite of everything, that's true.

"There's a folk saying down here that I don't entirely indorse but it might explain what I mean. It goes like this:

Has 3000-odd Members

"Up North, they say, white people will tell a Negro: 'I don't care how high you get as long as you don't get too close.' But down South, they say: 'I don't care how close you get, but just don't get too high.'

"It may not be wholly true, but it's something to build on—this being close. And the South is going to build on it."

As executive director of the most effective and most respected inter-racial organization in the South, Mitchell for more than a year has been preparing his 3,000-odd members in Southern and border states for the Supreme Court decision.

For months, the Council, which has active divisions in all the Southern states except Tennessee and Oklahoma (but many active members there) has been getting small interracial groups together to prepare for what many of them considered inevitable.

Booklet Is Issued

Since August of last year, these groups have been fortified with an excellently edited booklet titled "Questions & Answers: The Schools and the Courts," and since September a second called "A Check List for Your Local Schools."

These booklets, while skillfully presenting the arguments on both sides, are really textbooks for integration of Southern schools, and I heard them quoted several times in the most unexpected places.

A statewide leader of the Georgia Parent-Teachers Assn., who met me reluctantly at the home of a Negro school teacher friend, told me frankly that she "had taken no position" on the question of integrating Negro and white public school children.

"But we intend to fight to the last ditch against any plan Gov. Talmadge tries to put through for turning over the public schools to private groups," she said.

Distribution Widened

"How could we be sure that poor children,—even poor white children—would get an even break in private schools? Who would support the schools if state money can't be spent for segregated schools? Could you get good teachers if they had no real tenure, no public safeguards?"

Each of the questions came almost word for word from the August booklet of the Regional Council which was revised for wider distribution last January.

The Council, for instance, has been attacking the bulwarks of segregation from still another direction—practically and effectively. It has been seeking wider participation of Negro leaders in the direction of school administration.

As Mitchell put it:

"Those communities which are wise will forthwith appoint or elect to their school boards able and courageous Negro citizens—no Uncle Toms.

"If they do that, they will have launched officially on a course of planning the future of the schools together."

Sees Solid South Split

Several Southern attorneys general already ruled—officially and unofficially—that the Supreme Court decision automatically abrogated such state laws. And Mitchell sees in this the wedge which is already splitting the once-solid South.

And Mitchell, who was an organizer for the CIO's Political Action Committee in the South in 1944-45 before he joined the Southern Regional Council, is not one to ignore the fact that there are some "real tough ones," coming up before integration makes any real headway in many Dixie communities.

But despite these admittedly formidable obstacles, coupled with its own small membership and scarcity of funds, the Southern Regional Council has made amazing strides in the last decade in preparing the South for increasing racial democracy.

And the strides may be even more phenomenal in the next few years. For not only has the nation's highest tribunal given sanction to its activities, but the Ford Foundation gave the Council a grant of almost a quarter million dollars to push its program on a wider scale.

The influence of the Council—and the NAACP—will eventually extend to those backward regions where there are Negroes as well as white who regard the Supreme Court decision with apprehension.

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Likewise in handling nearly two hundred million dollars in school building money he has proven his absolute honesty and the fact that he will not use his position to enrich himself. This can be said of few men. Yet, Fred Hand has handled the School Building Authority so that not a single finger of suspicion has been pointed at him or his organization in the building of all these school buildings.

It is a funny thing that while they are accusing Fred Hand of being rich at least three other candidates in the race have more money to spend in this campaign than does Fred Hand. Fred is about spent all he has and I have been trying to help out the best I could. We are both badly bent now and we are in need of finances worse than any of the other leading candidates.

The remarkable thing is that they show up richer and with more money than Fred is able to get up.

Now, how do you explain that?

3. They say that he should not be elected because he has the support of the Atlanta newspapers.

Now, you know that I have never been a lover of the Atlanta newspapers. They haven't dealt very kindly with me and I have fought them many times during the past. But you and I know that every candidate in the race would like to have the support of the Atlanta newspapers. The main thing we have had against them is the fact that they have fought our candidates in the past.

Practically every candidate in the race has tried to get the support of the Atlanta newspapers and they would welcome their support today.

Now, I haven't liked some of the policies of the Atlanta newspapers and at times I disagree with them violently. Yet, we must all admit that the two newspapers cover Georgia and the Southeast. They have in the past done a lot of fine things for Georgia. They helped us crusade for the Minimum Foundation Program for Education and they have done a lot of other fine things in Georgia.

The main thing that we have fought the papers for is because they have not been on our side on the race question. Now, we ought to be proud that these two great newspapers are supporting a man who stands for segregation of the races and says that he is willing to go to jail to keep the races separate.

This is one time we ought to applaud the Atlanta newspapers because they are joining us in that fight when they support Fred Hand for Governor.

All of you know that Fred Hand doesn't talk out of both sides of his mouth. He means what he says and says what he means. Everybody that knows him, knows that he is stubborn enough to go to jail if it is necessary. Now, we don't think it will be necessary when the agitators know that they have a man who will go the limit in the governor's office.

If I were running for governor, I would have the same position and I would be delighted to have the two Atlanta daily papers join me in this position.

4. Even our opponents admit that Fred Hand is the best man in the race. Everybody says that he is the best man in the race, but they say he can't win.

Now, why shouldn't we vote for the best man? That's our duty and it is our job. To adopt a policy of trying to guess the winner and vote for him would make of all of us spineless cowards.

If the politics of this state is to be controlled by people who are not concerned with electing a good man governor, but are concerned only with getting on the bandwagon and the gravy train, then the state is headed for damnation and nothing can stop it.

As I look at it, it is the duty of every citizen to vote for the man who he thinks is the best man to fill the office.

I believe we are going to show you that he can win and if all the people who say that he is the best man in the race will join him, then he is obliged to win by an overwhelming majority without the necessity of a run-off.

I am willing to predict at this time that if we get the money necessary

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Farm Youths Have Set Ideas, Plans

ATLANTA, — State officers of Future Farmers of America were in Atlanta the other day making plans for the state FFA convention to be held July 19-22 at its camp on Lake Jackson. While there they addressed a luncheon meeting of the Atlanta Farmers Club, an organization affiliated with the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and composed of businessmen. And the youngsters told the grown-ups plenty, too.

For example, Louie Grimes, of Colquitt, state reporter for FFA, said today's farm youth wants to become financially independent; wants to serve his community and his nation as an efficient producer and a good citizen. He added:

"Men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson show us that a good farmer may rise to the highest position in his community and in his nation. And that's what FFA tries to encourage."

State Secretary Billy Manning, of Leesburg, told the club that FFA offers represent more than 17,000 Georgia farm boys who have about $2-million invested in livestock, land and crops. Other officers who spoke were Jefferson's Terrell Benton, president; Moultrie's Marvin Tillman and Culoden's Dan Haygood, vice president, and Stanford Tillman, of Surrency, treasurer.

Eisenhower Proposes Master-Highway Plan For Nation

Cook Writes Master Indictment Of Tom Dewey's Stooge In Eisenhower's Cabinet

(Continued from Page 1)

17 Sovereign States who have either mandatory or permissive segregation laws relating to public schools, which had received judicial sanction from the Supreme Court 5 times and in 18 Federal District and 59 State Supreme Court decisions.

(b) Our segregation pattern was enacted into our State laws as an expression of the will of both the negro and white races within the prescribed authority of a republican form of government as guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

(c) The written brief and oral argument as submitted by Mr. Brownell's top flight Assistant, John Rankin, contained unnecessary vicious attacks upon the people and public officials of these States.

(d) The action completely adopted the philosophy of a private corporation determined to destroy the racial integrity of both the negro and white races by a gradual process of amalgamation through intimate association from infancy through adulthood.

2. The second reason I gave for my decision dealt at length with Mr. Brownell's conduct at our 1953 South Dakota Conference. Many of the members of our group will never forget the highly improper and offensive address delivered by one of his Assistants with reference to his policy of enforcing the infamous Thaddeus Stephens Civil Rights Act of 1866. I regret exceedingly that you were not present at this Conference.

In this address an attack was made upon the Governors and the Attorneys General who had criticized Mr. Brownell's "sneak policy" of authorizing some of his F. B. I. Agents to enter penal and other State institutions for investigating purposes under this Act without collaborating with the responsible State officials in charge of the institutions.

This policy had been condemned by some of the Governors at their national conference only a few weeks before and by us two days before the address was delivered. Mr. Brownell was present and had full knowledge of our attitude. Notwithstanding this, he permitted his Assistant to inform us in no uncertain terms that he—Mr. Brownell — would continue this policy and totally disregard our suggestions and criticism.

As a result of this shocking attack on the Governors and our group, I appointed a committee to meet with Mr. Brownell and me in Washington, for the purpose of asking for a clarification of the policy, in the hope that we could persuade him to modify it. Fifteen Attorneys General joined me in this conference. We were respectfully received by Mr. Brownell. We were politely informed that he was simply pursuing a policy adopted by the Truman Administration and indicated that it would be changed to conform to some of the suggestions made by the Governors and Attorneys General. But when I personally requested him to advise his field agents and us in writing as to any changes, he demurred, and as far as I am able to ascertain, no policy changes were made.

Fortunately for Georgia, his local agents have always collaborated with our administrative officials in making these investigations and our relation has been fine, but that is not the case in other States. In fact, the initial protest against this "sneak method" of the Federal government investigating the integrity of a Sovereign State upon frivolous complaints of criminal prisoners and mentally deranged persons within State institutions was first announced by none other than your own Governor Dewey and Governor Fine of Pennsylvania. Most of the Governors and Attorneys General agreed with Governors Dewey and Fine at the time, and we of the NAAG will never be able to understand Mr. Brownell's attitude at the South Dakota Conference and his subsequent inaction on this legitimate complaint.

3. Some of the Republican members of our Association well remember that it was Mr. Brownell and his political friends, including Governor Dewey of New York, who publicly charged the late Senator Taft and his delegation with attempting to steal the nomination for President at the Chicago Convention. Naturally, this "Brownellian" political action was objectionable to our Republican members who were at the convention supporting Senator Taft and to those of us—Democrats and Republicans alike—who respected and admired this great American.

4. Some Democratic members of our group have not forgotten that it was our U. S. Attorney General who recently accused former President Harry Truman of treason in connection with the handling of the Dexter White case, and when confronted, was unable to produce evidence to support the charge. In our group there are Attorneys General who have respect for Mr. Truman and the high office he held as President of the United States.

5. One of the most commanding reasons why I am declining to invite Mr. Brownell to address our 1954 Mississippi Conference is the fact that our host Attorney General James P. Coleman informs me that his appearance in Mississippi as a principal speaker on our program would be objectionable to him and to most of the people of that State. I have always felt that a guest should never offend a host. This I shall not do to General Coleman and the fine people of his State.

Sincerely yours,
EUGENE COOK
President, N. A. A. G.

EC:s

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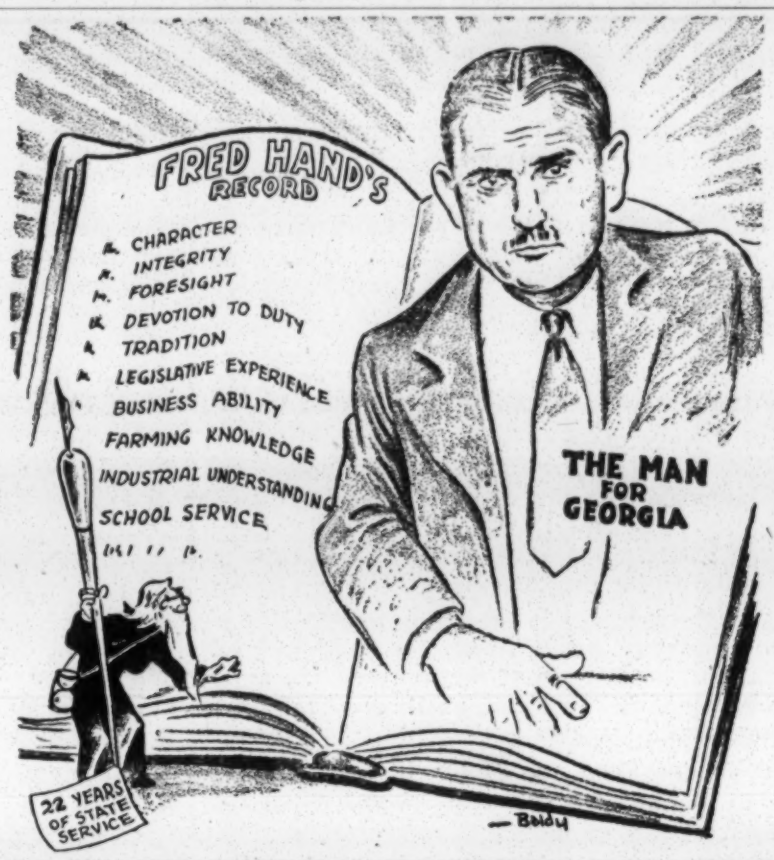
to finance a proper speaking, radio, television and advertising program that he will at least be in the run-off, if he does not win on September the 8th.

5. Now, we get to the mustache last.

Fred Hand has been held up and accused like a common felon because he wears a mustache. Now, I don't know why he wears a mustache. I do know that he has been wearing one ever since I have known him and I



have known him since he was quite a young fellow. I can see no harm in a mustache. If a man wants to wear a mustache he has that right and that privilege.

However, none of the other leading candidates in the race are as free of criticism as Fred Hand. The Lieutenant Governor and the former acting Governor have some right sorry records and I can put a lot of their conduct up against Fred Hand's mustache and I think that you would certainly prefer him with a mustache to their records.

But, I would like to make this proposition. If you will elect him Governor on Spetember the 8th, I will promise you that I will personally shave off that mustache on the morning of September the 9th.

Then you can take a look at him without his mustache and the people of Georgia can say whether they want him to serve as Governor with or without a mustache.

Now, I haven't consulted him about this proposition, but I do believe that he would be willing to trade his mustache for the opportunity of serving Georgia for the next four years as its governor.

Now, aren't these flimsy charges they are making against Fred Hand?

There is one thing you can say about Fred Hand. He has a record of accomplishments to put up against the wild promises of the other candidates. He has been in the legislature for twenty years and he has made a remarkable record. He has been in the forefront of every movement in this state for the progress and development of the state itself.

And while he has been doing this he hasn't talked out of both sides of his mouth. He hasn't said like Thompson that he advocates things in which he does not believe and forgets about things in which he does believe. He hasn't done like Griffin—say one time that he is for segregation and defying the Supreme Court and the next time saying that we must buckle under and bow down to the Supreme Court decision and mix the races in the public schools in this state.

Fred Hand's record speaks for itself. It is a solid record. He hasn't changed. He is the same Fred he was twenty-five years ago and he will be the same Fred for the next twenty-five years.

He has the courage of his convictions and he hasn't been on both sides of every question.

He is a man that you can tie to in this campaign and he is truly the best man in the race for governor.

System Of Roads Called Obsolete, Inadequate For Defense Of Country

President Eisenhower has proposed a fifty-billion-dollar highway building program.

It is proposed that five billion dollars a year more than is now being spent be appropriated by the Congress to build a network of highways all over the nation.

This five billion dollars increased expenditure is to continue for a period of ten years.

Eisenhower said that the present highway network is "inadequate locally and obsolete as a national system."

He states that this kind of a highway program is absolutely necessary to provide for the defense of the nation and to take care of a population of two hundred million people who are expected by 1970.

Government planners have long felt that the present highway system is inadequate for a swift movement of military units and they have believed that in case of a war against this country that we would be paralyzed for the lack of an adequate system of highways.

Since the advent of the Hydrogen Bomb the highway system is considered more inadequate than ever because in case of the dropping of bombs it would be necessary to hastily evacuate the population of most of the big cities.

Already the highways are inadequate to take care of the regular travel over the highways. Now add to that, the confusion that would result from the evacuation of the cities and the throwing of millions of military personnel onto the highways at the same time.

It is certainly time that the federal government was waking up to the fact that we do not have a road system that is adequate to take care of the necessary travel and movement of people and troops in the event of war.

We have given away more than fifty billion dollars since the end of World War II to different countries and different people and if this nation is able to give away fifty billion dollars, we ought to be able to spend fifty billion dollars during the next ten years to give us a road system necessary for the use of our people in peace times and one that would give us a chance to protect the nation in time of war.

Somebody, somewhere in the government ought to realize that it is time we were doing something for our own people and for the protection of our homes and the nation itself.

Now, if the Congress can just wake up and go along with the president in the building of this kind of a highway program, then we will be getting somewhere.

The politicians of the nation have been running around in circles, confused and not knowing where they were going.

They have been trying to buy peace by giving away the substances of the people of this nation and they have utterly fallen down on the job of doing the things that are necessary to protect this nation and to keep it strong enough to protect itself. Instead of being bigshots at all of the conferences of the world, we ought to be spending some of our money doing something at home. The fifty billion dollars we have been giving away has failed to make us a single, solitary ally.

So, why not do something now to strengthen and build this country and take care of this country? Today we are seeing hundreds of thousands of people killed and maimed every year on account of the fact that we do have a highway system that is inadequate to take care of the travel under modern-day conditions.

It is a wholesome sign when we do see one little evidence of the fact that somebody is coming out of the confusion which has existed in Washington and seeing things clearly.

This program should be enacted by Congress. It will give us enough money to have a real highway system all over this nation.

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, AUGUST 9, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 366

Hammer, Ex-Head Red-Front SCHW On Staff Ford Foundation, SRC Says

Asphalt Ed, Slippery Ellis, King-Bootlegger Bowen Running Melvin And Mervin For Governor Of Georgia

Prominent Political Figure Holds Pardon Griffin Issued Self To Keep Out Of Jail

Fred Hand has exposed the activities of M. E. Thompson and Marvin Griffin as the henchmen of both Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall.

He calls them Ed and Ellis' simonized twins—Melvin and "Mervin."

In a detailed statement, he tells how Melvin and Mervin, acting together, handled the affairs of Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall during the days of the asphalt scandals and the time when they followed after Henry Wallace.

Hand in his statement also labeled Mervin Griffin as the official bouncer during the Rivers Administration when Ed was throwing highway directors out of the window.

His statement follows:

I'm going to talk to you about the two simonized twins—Melvin and Mervin.

Perhaps you know them better as Negotiating Melvin Thompson and Pardoning Mervin Griffin.

They belong to that well-known political pair—Ellis Arnall and Ed Rivers.

And their claims to fame are unique.

Melvin is the only ex-governor I know who got himself a big job up in Washington and the bureaucrats there couldn't find anything he was capable of doing.

Mervin is the only man in the history of the world who ever pardoned himself.

Melvin is noted for negotiated highway contracts with kickbacks to contractors and selling liquor in Georgia's dry counties through his henchman, John Horace Bowen.

Mervin is noted for signing pardons by the bushel basketfull and bravely tossing a 120-pound Highway Department director down the steps of the State Highway Building.

Now the time has come in this campaign when we must talk about these things.

It's time we talked about the pardon racket.

It's time we talked about the liquor racket.

It's time we talked about negotiated contracts.

It's time we talked about John Horace Bowen, that notorious racketeer who is backing both Melvin and Mervin in this campaign.

Let's look at the record.

You'll recall the shady asphalt deals which scandalized Georgia during the Ed Rivers Administration. You remember the wholesale pardoning which went on in the wee hours of the last morning Ed was in office.

Well, Melvin and Mervin were the boys who carried them out.

They were Ed Rivers' simonized twins.

They were both well greased with asphalt and pardons.

When Ole Ed couldn't put over his as-

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

I still say you can't trust Marvin Griffin.

You can't trust him intellectually and you can't trust him politically.

1. You can't trust him intellectually.

Let's take his plan for keeping segregation in the public school system as an example of his intelligence.

And how does he propose to keep segregation? Well, it's the silliest proposition that any supposedly intelligent human being ever conceived. Here's how he says he's going to do it:

(a) He proposes that we make everybody who moves into Georgia live in Georgia a year before they can send their children to school.

(b) He proposes to increase the size of the county boards of education from their present number to one hundred in each town and in each county in the State of Georgia.

Now, isn't that a pretty howdy do?

How are we going to get new industries in Georgia and new people here to help us develop the state if we won't let them send their children to school for a whole twelve-months period? I can't tell whether Marvin is opposed to folks' having children or whether he is against their being educated. Of course, if they didn't get any more education than this brilliant idea indicates that Marvin has, it wouldn't do them any good and we ought to close up the school houses.

In Augusta, in Atlanta, in Savannah, in Columbus, at Warner-Robbins and many other places in Georgia, the government has stationed a lot of people who are in the military service. If the state should go crazy enough to adopt Marvin's suggestion, these poor devils would be forced to keep their children out of school for a whole year after they came into Georgia.

If Marvin has any intelligence at all, his brain certainly wasn't clicking the day he originated this fool idea.

Then, how would the average county or town in Georgia ever function with a school board with one hundred members? You would have a continual scrap and a continual squabble all the time and the worst confusion you ever saw.

Why, when you went to vote for one hundred members of the board of education at one time, you wouldn't even be able to remember the names of all those for whom you wanted to vote. And if two or three people ran for each place, you wouldn't be able to find the names of your candidates on the list even if you were able to remember their names.

In the counties where they have voting machines you couldn't even vote because the voting machines wouldn't be big enough to enable you to vote for this many candidates even if you could remember their names and even if you could find them on the list.

Then, what good would a one hundred-member board do? How could the acts of one hundred men be any more legal than the acts of five?

If five members can't enforce segregation against the dictates of the Supreme Court, the acts of one hundred members would be just as much in conflict.

When this idea was originated, the author certainly must have had a bad night before.

2. You can't trust Marvin politically.

I say this because a study of his record shows that he has jumped about worse than a flee hopping around and he has changed colors more than any lizzard ever has.

Now, let's see how he has changed on the segregation question. In September, 1950, he predicted that if the Supreme Court decided against

(Continued on Page 3)

Wife Is High Official In Georgia League Of Women Voters, Edits Publication

Two former high officials of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare hold key positions in the Southern Regional Council which is spending a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to destroy segregation in the South.

PHILIP HAMMER, former president of the Communist-front SCHW in Washington, D. C., has been listed by the Southern Regional Council as being on the cen-

PHILIP HAMMER

tral staff of the Ford Foundation project personnel. He is also Executive Officer of the Committee of the South, a vague sort of organization which has no definite announced program and whose source of funds cannot be determined.

DR. RUFUS CLEMENT, President of Atlanta University and an organizer of the Southern Regional Council, was listed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report branding SCHW a Communist-front, as being a member of the top level Executive Board of that organization.

Look Southward Angel

An undated leaflet of the SCHW titled "Look Southward Angel" listed Hammer as president of SCHW. This organization was cited as a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

No one could have held such a high office in the Washington SCHW organization unless he could be fully trusted to carry out instructions.

It was also learned by the COURIER that records subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities

(Continued on Page 2)

THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

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HE WILL PRESERVE OUR SOUTHERN TRADITIONS

Wife Is High Official In Georgia League Of Women Voters, Edits Publication

(Continued from Page 1)

from the Washington Bookshop in 1941 showed that Philip G. Hammer was a member of the same. This organization was cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and later by Attorney General Tom Clark, as a Communist front.

Dodged World War II

This same Hammer was born in Philadelphia, Pa. He studied under Dr. Frank Graham at the University of North Carolina and at Harvard. Upon coming to Washington, he was employed in the office of Bob LaFollette, liberal Senator from Wisconsin. From there he went with the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture under Henry Wallace. He later was included in the mass transfer of "liberals" to the State Department for work in the Foreign Economic Administration and the United Nation's Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In spite of the fact that Hammer held responsible government positions all during World War II, even though he was of military service age, he terminated his employment abruptly in late 1945. He is reported to have come to Atlanta in 1946 in an effort to get a magazine started which he hoped to edit, but could not make financial arrangements and left, only to return in 1947 as a business analyst for the Atlanta firm of Joseph K. Heyman.

"Slashed" Fulton County

He resigned from this position in March 1950 to become Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission and as such was author of the **"Plan of Improvement"** legislation which took most of the effective governmental powers away from Fulton County and vested them in the Mayor of Atlanta who has twice been elected to office not by a vote of white people but by the bloc vote.

Our investigation shows that Mr. Hammer, in addition to his Communist-front affiliations, was named as a member of the National Executive Council of United World Federalists in early 1949. This is an organization which proposes the surrender of our national sovereignty to a super world government which would have police powers and could arrest individual citizens of member nations.

Alger Hiss, the convicted Communist traitor, who is now serving a five-year sentence in the Federal penitentiary for perjury, made several speeches in furtherance of the United World Federalists organization, according to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Ford Foundation Pet

During the summer of 1953, Hammer took a three months' leave from his job as Director of the Committee of the South to direct an intensive study for the Ford Foundation Education Fund. Main purpose of the study was to convince the Supreme Court that a ruling by it outlawing segregation could be implemented and enforced. This work was known as the **Ashmore Project"** under which school segregation in the Southern states was studied with a view towards devising ways and means to eliminate it.

The record shows that Hammer has been extremely critical of efforts on the part of the Talmadge administration to preserve segregation in the public schools of Georgia. He has said any so-called **"pans"** to circumvent the court ruling **"won't last as long as the White Primaries."**

He has urged that whites and negroes meet together and make immediate plans for de-segregation of public schools in the South.

Guest of "Hungry Club"

According to news items which appeared in the **ATLANTA DAILY WORLD**, a negro newspaper published in that city, Hammer has been a frequent guest at the **"Hungry Club"**, a negro luncheon group before which he has made political addresses from time to time, and at the same time dined with its members in an atmosphere of mixed frivolity at the Butler Street **YMCA.**

A recent picture appeared in the **DAILY WORLD** showing **Mr. Hammer** at a panel meeting at the Atlanta University, where he reviewed the report of the **Ashmore Project** relative to ending segregation in the schools in the South. The study was made by **Dr. Harry S. Ashmore**, Hammer and others for the purpose of **"easing the transition from separate white and negro schools to mixed schools."**

Hammer's wife, Jane, is First Vice President of the Georgia League of Women Voters and is Editor of "Georgia Voter" a bi-monthly publication of the organization, in which its policy is enunciated. The announcement bulletin of Spelman College for 1952-53 lists Mrs. Hammer as a teacher of Philosophy there. Both the Hammers have been very active in directing the fight against the county unit system in Georgia.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement

The National Advisory Board of United World Federalists lists besides Hammer such names as Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University and the first negro ever to be elected to the Atlanta City Board of Education. Records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and documentary evidence possessed by it show that he has been active in at least 12 Communist-front groups and movements.

The public records, files and publications of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities contain the following citation concerning Dr. Rufus E. Clement, who was organizer and is now a member of the Board of Directors of SRC:

"The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom issued a petition which was signed by Rufus E. Clement as shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of that organization, dated January 17, 1940.

"He was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as reported in the 'Daily Worker' of October 28, 1940 (page 3); Program, Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 29-30, 1941; Leaflet, 'Sixth National Conference', Cleveland, Ohio, May 9 and 10, 1942 (page 4; an undated letterhead summarizing the 1946 work of the organization; and a Program and Call for Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947.

"It is noted on a bulletin, Spot News, (page 1) that Rufus E. Clement was one of the sponsors of the American Committee to Save Refugees, which was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee (Report, March 29, 1944, pages 49, 112, 129, 138, and 180).

Letter To President

"Rufus E. Clement was 'among the 363 outstanding Americans who signed the Open Letter to the President of the United States sponsored originally by the American Council on Soviet Relations, urging a declaration of war on the Finnish government in the interests of speedy victory by the United Nations over Nazi Germany and its Fascist allies' as shown in an official folder of that organization.

"The Civil Rights Congress was the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947, which listed Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, as one of the sponsors of the group.

"The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties released a statement hailing War Department order on Commissions for Communists. It was reported in the 'Daily Worker' of March 18, 1945 (page 2) that Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, was one of those who signed the statement.

Policy In China

"Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, was named as a sponsor of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a Conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy). (See Conference Call, January 23-25, 1948, New York City).

"An article which appeared in the 'Daily Worker' of February 21, 1949 (p. 2) stated that Dr. Rufus Clement was one of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace. The Conference 'Call' and Program (p. 12) also disclosed this information.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was made the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 16, 1947, in which Rufus E. Clement was listed as a member of the Executive Board, a Consultant, and a Member at Large on an official report of the organization.

SNYC Advisory Board

"Dr. Rufus E. Clement was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress as shown on a page from a leaflet published by the organization; a letterhead, dated June 12, 1947; and another dated August 11, 1947.

"One Rufus E. Clement was an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as shown in the 'Daily Worker' of December 24, 1944 (page 14) and a letterhead dated November 26, 1946, of that group.

"See pages 104 and 108 in the Committee's Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive for further references to Rufus E. Clement; also page 12 of the same report for reference to Rufus E. Clement."

Summation Of Facts Given By Courier About Southern Regional Council

THE AUGUSTA COURIER carried a detailed expose, June 28, 1954, which established facts about the Southern Regional Council. They are as follows:

1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as communists in testimony before Congressional committees by former associates in the party.

3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been soley a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

6. The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina. The charter of incorporation was applied for in Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944, and was granted for a period of 35 years. Attorneys for the applicants were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member.

Subsidization of the Southern Regional Council which is a haven for known communists and red fronters follows the pattern set by the Ford Foundation throughout the rest of the nation.

The State Health Dept. will receive a total of $2,730,542 in federal aid for the 1954-55 fiscal year, $1,554,357 of which will be used in six new Hill-Burton projects, it was announced.

Webster County, once known as Kinchafoonee County, will celebrate its first hundred years of growth and prosperity at Preston August 12.

Power is now being generated from the first 100,000 kilowatt unit at Georgia Power Co.'s new Plant Hammond on the Coosa River, near Rome.

Out of every dollar paid out by Georgia's state government 36 and one-half cents goes to the aid of local governments in the state, according to a Bureau of the Census report, based on 1952 fiscal figures. In other words, out of $269,887,000 spent, $98,407,000 went for maintenance of local government operations. That was a per capita of $28.24 in local government aid.

Prominent Political Figure Holds Pardon Griffin Issued Self To Keep Out Of Jail

(Continued from Page 1)

phalt deals because Lint Miller, director of the Highway Department, wouldn't go along, he sent his strong-arm man, Mervin, over to throw him out of office. And big, brave Mervin picked up little, 120-pound Lint Miller and threw him down the steps of the Highway Building.

A photographer took a picture of that brave deed and the Atlanta Journal still has it in its files.

Lint Miller had gotten a court order restraining Ed and his bouncer, Mervin, from bothering him. And after Mervin's little act, Superior Court Judge Will R. Smith of Nashville summoned him into court and sentenced him to 20-days in jail for contempt of court.

But pardoning Mervin was ready for the Judge, too.

Before Ed Rivers went out of office and the case was closed he issued himself a complete pardon.

That pardon still exists.

It's in the hands of a well-known political leader.

Mervin admits he ran the pardon racket for Ed Rivers. He says Ed told him to. Ed says he didn't do any such thing.

But the fact remains that Mervin publicly boasted that he directed the signing of pardons by the basketfull.

I have here a copy of the front page of The Atlanta Constitution of January 14th, 1941. That big picture on the front page shows Mervin and two secretaries signing pardons as fast as they could to get through before Ed Rivers' term ended.

And here is a copy of an inside page of the same issue of The Constitution. It shows the Capitol lights burning into the late hours of that night while this disgusting spectable unfolded.

When Ed Rivers passed out of the picture, Melvin and Mervin passed out with him.

But when Ellis Arnall emerged who did he bring back with him but Melvin and Mervin.

Melvin was Arnall's executive secretary and later his revenue commissioner.

Mervin was pulled out of the Pacific to come back home to be Arnall's Adjutant General.

During Ellis' term they went all-out with him to support the starry-eyed left-winger Henry Wallace. And they did their best to get the Legislature to amend the Constitution to let Ellis run again.

Failing that, Mervin went so far as to announce for governor on the Arnall-Wallace ticket. At the same time he started writing nasty editorials about Gene Talmadge in his newspaper, The Bainbridge Post-Searchlight. Three of the most vicious of those editorials appeared on February 21st, March 28th and April 18th of 1946. And I'm going to have more to say about them on a later program.

But Mervin's balloon didn't get off the ground and when he looked around to size up his chance for lieutenant governor, he found Melvin had beaten him to the draw and had Ellis' blessing. That's when Mervin did a complete flip-flop to become a Talmadge man.

Melvin beat Mervin for lieutenant governor and in the controversy which followed the death of Gene Talmadge, you remember, Ellis appointed Melvin acting governor.

During Melvin's two years in office Ellis and Ed were his advisers. They negotiated highway contracts and let John Horace Bowen sell liquor in dry counties. Testimony taken in an official state investigation in 1949 showed that M. E.'s political fund got 50 cents for every case of liquor John Horace sold. And to show how great was the graft in the highway department, the per mile cost of highway construction now is lower than it was then despite inflation and higher costs.

And now the simonized twins of Ellis Arnall and Ed Rivers are back with us again. One is running on one side and the other is running on the other side.

Ellis and Ed are supporting Melvin. And John Horace Bowen, who since has expanded his operations into Florida, has come out of hiding and is contributing to both campaigns.

John Horace told a close friend before the race started that the past six years have cost him one million dollars and he's **"got to have me a governor this time".** He's dividing his contributions between Melvin and Mervin. And he's known to contribute in the neighborhood of 100-thousand dollars.

Melvin is promising anything and everything on earth. His platform is like the old Piggly-Wiggly Stores—if you don't see what you want, ask for it and Melvin will be for it.

But Mervin has gone back to the days of his old master, Asphalt Ed Rivers, and reincarnated one of the dead spirits of his administration.

You'll recall that Eddy had two highway departments. In addition to the regular one he created an authority to build post roads.

Now Mervin wants two highway departments. He proposes to establish an authority to build rural roads.

Anybody knows post roads and rural roads are the same thing.

You know also about the asphalt scandals, the road machinery scandals and the negotiated contract scandals of Rivers' administration. They took place during Melvin's two years as acting governor, too.

Mervin knows he can't do what he wants to do with a highway department elected by the Legislature and under the Merit System. So he's taking this page out of Ed Rivers' book to get around it and fix for himself a source for graft.

That's the record. You know what happened when the simonized twins ran Ed Rivers' business. You know what happened when the simonized twins ran Ellis Arnall's business. You know what happened when Melvin was acting governor.

Do you want a repetition of the activities of these simonized twins?

Do you want a repetition of the John Horace Bowen scandals?

Elect either Melvin or Mervin and that's exactly what you'll get.

Don't forget, John Horace is playing it safe this time. He's betting on two horses.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

us in the school cases that we would shout and holler and raise sand for a time and then we would bend under and surrender to the Supreme Court.

It is remarkable that Marvin publicly admits that he would be like the tumble bug and push one way and look another. But that's what he said in 1950 he would do.

And that's what he is doing in 1954. He is shouting louder and longer than anybody on the subject of segregation hoping that by shouting louder and longer, he will make you forget that he intends to finally bend under.

He is just as bad as M. E. Thompson. M. E. said that he advocated things when he ran for governor before that he did not believe in and that he opposed things in which he did believe.

You can't trust a man who says that he will put up a big show of resistence when all the time he knows that he will not resist.

He reminds me of the woman whom Lord Byron described as follows:

"A little still she strove, and much repented,
And whispering, 'I will ne'er consent'—consented."

Truly, Thompson and Griffin ought to be called the simonized twins because they are just as much alike as two peas in a pod.

They are unique, however, for one thing. They are the only two politicians I ever knew who would publicly admit that they would say one thing and do another.

So, you can't trust Marvin Griffin on the question of separate schools for your children. His record shows that he cannot be trusted. His record shows that he has not been consistent. His record shows that in 1950 he was condemning Governor Talmadge, Fred Hand and me for saying that we would not abide by the Supreme Court decision if it was against segregation and for presenting a resolution to the Democratic Convention to the effect that the Democrats of Georgia would not abide by the Supreme Court decision if it outlawed separate schools for the whites and the negroes.

The two highway systems which he proposes in his platform shows that he cannot be trusted.

We have a good highway department. It has built more roads with less confusion and less criticism than any department we have had during the past thirty years.

There has been no suspicion of graft or pay-offs, kick-backs or negotiated contracts with our present highway department. We have three fine members of the board. They are elected by the legislature and not appointed by the governor.

They have been building roads all over Georgia and Governor Talmadge has proclaimed that they have let to contract more than twelve thousand miles of rural roads, and, according to Governor Talmadge they have established a remarkable record not only for this state, but for any state in the nation.

Thus, for the first time in the history of the highway department in Georgia we have a functioning highway department which is building roads instead of playing politics and one free from graft or suspicion.

Now with this situation, why create another? What is the idea of short-circuiting this one?

Ed Rivers had two highway departments when he was governor. Both departments had their own engineers and their own forces. They acted independently of each other.

The confusion which resulted almost got Ed Rivers in the penitentiary. He was indicted by the Grand Jury in Fulton County.

This second Highway department was created because Ed's friends couldn't handle the first one. So, a second one was created.

What happened? There was such a scandal until the Grand Jury in the federal courts and the Grand Jury in the state courts investigated all of the shenanigans and a long list of people were indicted.

The scandals which grew out of these two highway departments and the shenanigans have constituted one of the blackest pages in Georgia's history.

Now, Marvin has gone back to the days of Ed Rivers and copied the second highway set-up from the Ed Rivers administration.

Ed said the purpose of his was to build post roads. Marvin proposes to build rural roads. All the roads outside of the cities are either rural or post or whatever you want to call them.

(Continued on Page 4)

Speaker Of House Only Dirt Farmer, Real Businessman In Governor's Race

(Continued from Page 4)

an unsuspecting public.

But I'm onto their game and I'm going to expose this big steal between now and Sept. 8 from every stump in this State.

Marvin is running the most elaborate, the most expensive campaign of any candidate in Georgia history. But he's had to pawn his soul to get the enormous sums he's spending.

He has sold himself to the highway contractors, the machinery dealers, the automobile and truck dealers, the gasoline distributors and the concrete and asphalt interests. And he's promised them a Highway Department all their own—free of constitutional restrictions and the Merit System—where there will be no curbs on machinery deals, negotiated contracts, kickbacks and just plain graft.

Griffin says he's going to set up an Authority to pave every rural road in Georgia. That means he's going to set up a second highway department.

Highway Departments

Yes, you heard me right, under a Griffin Administration, Georgia would have not one, but two, highway departments.

The present highway department has been cleaned up and is free from graft and out of politics. It's a constitutional agency and is out from under the control of the governor. The General Assembly elects the three members of the Highway Board and highway funds are allocated by constitutional provision.

The present department is as far beyond corruption as it is possible by law to make it and Marvin Griffin and his cohorts know it. They know they could never persuade the General Assembly to change the system we now have. So they plan to curve around it to create another highway department which can be handled by the grafters.

Ed Rivers Plan

If you will take the wraps off this plan you will find underneath a number of prominent machinery dealers, highway contractors and asphalt dealers.

The idea for two Highway Departments isn't original. Georgia had two departments once before—during the administration of Governor Ed Rivers. And as a result several persons, including Governor Rivers himself, wound up in court under indictment.

Marvin Griffin was Ed Rivers' Executive Secretary. He got the idea from Ed Rivers. What he's proposing is the same old thing. The only new twist is that Marin Griffin would be governor instead of Ed Rivers.

Can't you see it now? Two highway departments, two highway boards, two sets of highway employees—all fighting one another for jurisdiction and funds. Where we now have one Highway Department with 2,947 employees under the Merit System, we would have two Highway Departments with probably more than 6,000 employees—half of them not under the Merit System.

Marvin's Profit Scheme

We all want to see our rural roads paved. And we've been doing an excellent job of it with just one highway department—paving more than 5,000 miles in the past six years.

Why do we have to have a separate agency to do it now?

Marvin says we need an Authority to issue bonds to pay for the roads.

I want him to tell me what the Authority will issue bonds against? If it issues them against revenue of the present Highway Department then we won't have any money left for other highway needs. If he doesn't issue them against future revenue then the only other possibility is to secure them by tolls and Marvin says he is opposed to toll roads.

Stink In The Woodpile

And, if it is possible to issue highway bonds, why can't the present Highway Department do it a lot better than a second one?

My friends, there's something hiding in this pretty woodpile Marvin is building. And it has all the makings of a rotten scandal which would make the previous administration with which this same Mr. Griffin was so prominently connected look like penny ante.

Our present highway department is doing a good job and is out of politics. If we keep the present system, as I propose, during the next four years then we'll build more rural roads than we have during the last five. And there won't be any graft, corruption or scandal.

Taking Marvin Griffin's plans for keeping segregation and creating two highway departments is like joining in a poker game with the deck stacked and the jokers wild.

I know I don't want any of it and I don't believe any decent Georgians do.

State Now Respectable

We have pulled our state government up to a respectable level for the first time in 20 years. We must keep it that way and M. E. Thompson and Marvin Griffin couldn't do it even if they wanted to or tried.

If the people of Georgia elect either of those two, they will deserve what happens to them.

I urge you, fellow Georgians, to look at the records. Examine the backgrounds, actions, statements and experience of all candidates. Then vote for the man who has the best record.

I am satisfied if you will decide this race on that basis you will overwhelmingly elect me your governor on September 8th.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Hand Exposes Fake Claims Mousey Melvin, Possum Mervin

Speaker Of House Only Dirt Farmer, Real Businessman In Governor's Race

In a speech at Americus, Georgia, on Saturday, July 31, 1954, Fred Hand again flayed Melvin Thompson and Mervin Griffin.

In addition to calling attention to the fact that Fred Hand is the only farmer in the race for governor, he took a pot-shot at Mervin and Melvin's plans for maintaining segregation.

But in the most pointed part of the speech, he attacked Griffin's plan to set up two highway departments in the State of Georgia which Hand says he copied from the example of Governor Rivers during the days when the asphalt scandals almost wrecked Ed Rivers.

In this speech, Hand said:

Only Farmer In Race

"And you farmers here—I want to tell you that I'm one of you and I'm with you. I'm the only farmer in this governor's race and I know your problems because they're my problems, too.

"I own a farm down in Mitchell County. I grow cotton, tobacco, peanuts, tomatoes and the other things that we raise in this section. When the drought hits you, it hits me, when falling prices put you in a squeeze, they get me, too.

In the last few years our farming problems have multiplied instead of decreasing. Mother Nature has thrown us a curve for three years running. And we've been getting a raw deal out of Congress ever since the Republicans took over.

I not only know farming problems from experience but I've been working on them as a member of the State Legislature for the past 22 years. And when I am elected governor, I'm going to see to it that Georgia's farmers not only are protected but also that they get the best deal they've ever had under any governor this State's ever had.

State's Debt To Farmers

The State has an obligation to help its farmers because without them it would have very little of what we have today. And I intend to see that Georgia carries this obligation out by furnishing farmers free hog serum and undertaking a program to eradicate Bang's Disease, tuberculosis and other disease among our cattle. These things will be done by qualified veterinarians working under the supervision of the State Department of Agriculture. And the programs won't cost the State any more money because sums for this amount have already been appropriated. The sad truth, however, is that they have been used to put useless employees on the state payroll rather than to serve our farmers.

I'm going to do something else, too. My administration is going to emphasize agricultural research to find new, better and cheaper ways of doing things on our farms. And these research programs are going to give special attention to irrigation and finding some way to keep some of our crops from being burned up by long dry spells like we're having down here now. I want to put the best minds we've got to work on this problem and keep at it until we come up with a solution.

Faces Vital Problem

But, my friends, we face difficulties far more grave than even our agricultural and economic problems. We are confronted with the stark reality of being in danger of losing our traditions and, even worse, our right to run our own affairs.

The United States Supreme Court has told us we cannot say which schools our children go to or have a voice in determining who their classmates will be. This high court of political-minded judges has handed down a ruling that we must mix white and colored children in our schools and has indicated it is going to send special federal masters down here to see that we do it.

I don't want mixed schools in Georgia.

I don't believe you do either.

I refuse to accept this sociological ruling by the Supreme Court.

No Mixed Schools

I don't believe you will accept it either.

And I pledge to you that, as your governor, I will not permit a single Negro child to attend a single white classroom in the State of Georgia for the four years I am in office. I will go to jail—and stay there the entire four years, if necessary—before I will approve the expenditure of the first penny of state money for mixed schools.

I just won't have mixed schools.

If that's defying the Supreme Court of the United States, then I'm defying it.

If that's being lawless, then I'm lawless.

But no power on earth can force me to sacrifice my conscience and convictions or sell the people of Georgia down the river.

Georgia laws and her Constitution call for segregation. They have not changed. And so long as I am governor they shall be enforced, the Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding.

Peoples Best Interest

In Georgia the best interests of Georgians come first. And as governor I shall serve those best interests and carry out the wishes of the majority of both races rather than the orders of the Supreme Court.

I'm no johnny-come-lately on this matter.

I have never been on but one side of this issue.

I have been fighting for 22 years—first with 'Gene' Talmadge and then with Herman—to keep the races separate in Georgia.

I saw this Supreme Court ruling was coming and did all I could to help prepare Georgia for it. I helped to write into our laws the provision under which funds can be cut off from any school in which the races are mixed. And I sponsored and fought for the creation of the State School Building Authority which is giving us separate, but equal, facilities for the races.

New School Buildings

This one program—of which I am chairman—has done more to keep segregation in Georgia than any other one thing. I say this because the more than 1,000 fine new school buildings it is putting up throughout the State have given Negroes equal facilities. And more important these facilities demonstrate the fact that the white people of Georgia are playing fair with the colored people.

Some of the candidates in this race are not telling you the truth about where they stand on segregation or what they are going to do if elected. Rather they are running up and down this State calling me names and trying to hide their sorry, shabby and disgraceful records by shouting "them lying newspapers."

They remind me of people who get on a San Francisco-to-New-York train three miles outside New York City and then hop off first in Grand Central Station, wave their arms and declare to those who came all the way—"It sure was a great trip we had, boys."

But don't you be fooled, my friends and neighbors.

Fred Hand got on the segregation train when Ole Gene started it and he's been riding it with the Talmadges ever since.

M. E. And Segregation

M. E. Thompson got on the segregation train over yonder at Plains. But I'll bet you when he hops off here in Americus, he's going to tell you it was a "great trip."

M. E.'s record gives the lie to his claim to be a defender of segregation. He's the fellow who has had the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People every time he's run for office. And he's got it again this year. If you don't believe me, ask him. He won't tell you he doesn't have it and he won't say anything to offend the Negro bloc vote, either.

M. E. showed his true colors when he made a speech up at Decatur, Georgia, on October 3rd, 1952, and stated: "In 1948 I campaigned for re-election as Governor of Georgia. In that campaign I said I was for things I was against. I said I was against things I was for."

Doesn't that mean M. E. Thompson says the opposite of what he means?

Breaks His Promises

Doesn't that mean M. E. Thompson does the opposite of what he promises?

Doesn't that mean that when M. E. Thompson says he is in favor of segregation he really is against it?

Doesn't that mean that when M. E. Thompson promises you segregated schools he intends to give you mixed schools instead?

You know the answer.

And that brings us to Marvin Griffin.

The Lieutenant Governor flaged down the segregation train five miles south of Ellaville. But when he arrives here in Americus he's going to trot out his best four-letter words and tell you what a "blank, blank good trip" he had.

Marvin's Racial Stand

Can you believe him? No, because Marvin hasn't been on the segregation train any longer than M. E. has.

He may have a big mouth and a loud voice, but all his shouting, ranting and raving can't cover up the fact that he advocates abiding by the ruling of the United States Supreme Court even if it means placing white and Negro children side-by-side in the classrooms of our schools.

And the proof of it is in his own newspaper, the Bainbridge Post-Searchlight. On September 14, 1950, he wrote:—and I want you to listen good to this—

"Georgia will have to abide by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. We will buck and raise sand and say we won't, but in the end, we will have to bend under."

Does that sound like he's going to defend and preserve segregation come "hell or high water"?

General Confusion

He would like to make you believe that black is white, white is black and when you're properly confused mix the two, but good.

And for the purposes of confusion he could not have a better plan than the one he proposed before the Georgia Education Commission.

This is what he proposed to do to keep segregation in Georgia's schools.

He wants to make persons moving into Georgia wait a whole year before they can send their children to our schools. And to compound that confusion he wants to increase the membership of our county school boards from five to 100.

That is what he said he would do if elected governor.

How a mature man who has been honored with his State's second highest office could make a proposal so utterly silly, stupid and asinine is beyond my powers of comprehension.

Ruin Industrial Chances

How his recommendation could possibly preserve segregation is beyond my ability to explain.

But I'll tell you what it will do.

It will stop industry from coming into Georgia.

It will cause much of the industry we already have to move away.

It may cost us our Armed Forces installations.

Industry isn't coming to a State where its personnel can't send their children to school. Companies aren't going to remain in a place where they can't bring in new workers and officials and guarantee their families an education. The Armed Forces aren't going to put up with a State which won't educate the families of servicemen assigned there.

This "plan" would make us the laughing stock of the nation.

Can you imagine a 100-member school board in session?

Where in most of our small county site towns would we find a hall big enough to accommodate such a group and all the people who would come to watch the show?

Marvin's 100 Members

How long a ballot would it take to elect such a group?

When you were voting for the 100 members of the Board would you be able to distinguish between the white and colored candidates?

How would the counties pay for the expenses of such a group?

It's so ridiculous, it's pitiful, isn't it?

But that's what Marvin's going to do. He's going to stop industry from coming in. Then he's going to compound the confusion with monster school boards. And then when all the shouting, ranting, raving and bucking is over, he's going to bend under to the Supreme Court.

That's not all I want to tell you about this gentleman from Decatur County.

Scores of Grafters

Behind his smokehouse door the grafters, the special interests, the big money boys and the influence peddlers are at work perfecting a diabolical scheme to steal the State Highway Department from the people of Georgia.

They're fixing to try to put across the biggest double deal ever perpetrated upon

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

Now, Marvin makes out like the idea is that he will issue bonds without the people voting on it and take a lot of the highway money and retire the bonds.

But if it were bonds that he were after, an act of the legislature could easily authorize the present highway board to issue bonds as it could authorize the new highway department to issue bonds, or revenue certificates, as some people call them.

Now, if he is sincere in wanting to create some authority to issue bonds, why not let the present authority issue them? What is an authority anyhow? The legislature simply authorizes certain individuals to act on the part of the state and issue bonds, or revenue certificates and to do certain things.

Now, if it is roads he is after, why not let the board elected by the legislature build the roads and issue the bonds?

Mark my word, when they undertake to get out from under the present highway department, it is not roads they are after. It is money they are after for the contractors, the materialmen, for the machinery dealers and the politicians.

Now, this proposal of Marvin Griffin's is a "nigger in the woodpile". It is a scheme concocted to get campaign contributions with the promise that they will be paid off by this second highway department.

They know they cannot use Jim Gillis and his associates to raise campaign funds or to pay back the contractors, the materialmen or the machinery dealers for contributions through crooked contracts.

I say to you that any man who comes with this proposal can't be trusted.

There is one other thing that you should not forget about Marvin Griffin. He was Ed Rivers' official **bouncer.** Ed used him when he wanted to fire somebody. He fired Lint Miller from the highway board one time and Lint refused to move. So, Ed sent Marvin over to bounce Lint out the front door on the seat of his pants.

Marvin was the most competent and willing bouncer Ed had around to do the bouncing. So, Marvin was the official bouncer.

I have heard of liquor joints and honky-tonks and gambling joints having a bouncer. But Marvin is the first bouncer that any governor ever had in Georgia.

This is no time to be electing bouncers who have a record of bouncing as governor of your state.

There is no difference between Marvin Griffin and M. E. Thompson. They are two of a kind. They have had the same training.

They were trained by Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall. They were the two lieutenants who ran Ed Rivers' business. They ran Ellis Arnall's business.

They were stooges for Ed and Ellis then and they are stooges now. Both of them have around them a bunch of racketeers who are trying to take over the government of the State of Georgia.

Some of these racketeers are contributing to both of them figuring that they will be well-healed if either gets elected.

I say there is no difference between both of them because I have tried them both and I know. Most of the people of Georgia know them to be just alike.

So, this time you had better vote for a man whom you can trust. Ask anybody in Georgia and they will tell you you can trust Fred Hand. Ask anybody in Georgia and they will tell you he is the best man in the race.

So, why not take the best man instead of a bouncer or a bruiser?

(14)
N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 | THE AUGUSTA COURIER, AUGUST 16, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. | No. 367

Heads Of 2 Southern Negro Colleges, SRC Directors, Red-Front Affiliates

* *

Hand Urges People To End Talmadge, Anti-Talmadge Feud; "I Am Ashamed Of That Contempt Citation," Griffin Says

Fingerprints Smear Mervin's Pardon; Back Now But Not On Page 323 As Was Originally

In a television speech Monday night, August 9, 1954, Fred Hand stated that his candidacy gives the people of Georgia a chance to eliminate the twenty-five year old feud between the Talmadge and anti-Talmadge people in Georgia.

He stated that thousands of people on both sides were supporting him and that a vote for him gives the people of Georgia an opportunity to eliminate this old feud and to permit all the people of the state to work together for the advancement and the development of Georgia.

He again reviewed the record of the simonized twins, Melvin and Mervin, and told of the peculiar antics surrounding the disappearance of Mervin's pardon from the official records and its sudden re-appearance.

Hand also stated that Mervin was bragging about his on-the-job training.

Hand stated that he did have fine training under Ed Rivers to be a bouncer because it was in this capacity that he was trained and used by Ed Rivers.

His speech is as follows:

Good evening, my Georgia friends:

Since last Monday night I've been traveling over Georgia telling people about the public records of the simonized twins —Melvin and Mervin.

And a lot of people have had their eyes opened both by what I've had to say and the antics of the twins trying to get out of the spotlight I've turned on them.

Melvin says he's just not going to discuss his record.

The truth is he can't discuss it because it condemns him.

Mervin says the discussion of his record is just 'a lot of hullabaloo" which is taking attention away from the issues in this race.

The truth is his record is an issue in this race.

Last week I told you about Mervin pardoning himself when he was executive secretary to Ed Rivers.

He swiped a copy of my script from one of the newspapers and was loudly denying what I said before I got through saying it.

Then Wednesday night in Columbus I showed the people a photostatic copy of that pardon over television.

So on Thursday afternoon Mervin issued a yard-long statement admitting that I had been right about the pardon all the time. He agreed that he actually had signed his own pardon but declared that he wasn't ashamed of it.

But, my friends, that's not the first time Mervin has owned up to that pardon. And the last time he did he was singing a dif-

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

When you cast a vote for Fred Hand for Governor you will not be ashamed of it.

Most of the people who are supporting Melvin Thompson and Mervin Griffin are ashamed of their position. I have had numbers of people to tell me that when they go around asking people who they are for, that the supporters of both Melvin and Mervin take them around the corner and whisper in their ears.

Most of them are ashamed to speak out in the open.

They explain that they got for Melvin and Mervin because at first they thought Melvin was going to win or that they thought Governor Talmadge was for Mervin.

Now they are beginning to doubt that Melvin can win and they doubt that Governor Talmadge is for Mervin.

Recently, Governor Talmadge has stated that he is not supporting any candidate. He has promised Fred Hand that he will not support any candidate and Mervin's campaign headquarters has filed with the news services a statement signed by his publicity expert by the name of Green denying that Mervin or anyone connected with his headquarters has ever said that Governor Talmadge was supporting them.

As a matter of fact, Governor Talmadge still doesn't trust Mervin.

Now both Mervin and Melvin are desperate. They have been fighting Fred Hand with every method known to the cunning mind of schemers.

To minimize his campaign, they have deliberately spread every false rumor imaginable over the state. They first reported that I was supporting Fred Hand in the day time and Melvin Thompson at night. Everybody in Georgia who's known me, knows that I have been on one side or the other in every campaign for thirty years and I have fought as hard as I know for my side of the fence.

Everybody knows that I do not straddle the fence on anything and never have. They know that this time I am for Fred Hand for many reasons. The principal reason is that my stomach isn't strong enough to stand either Mervin or Melvin.

They have deliberately circulated the report that Fred Hand's campaign was broke and that we were out of money. Well, we haven't been able to get half as much money as Mervin and Melvin have. The reason we haven't been able to get it is because we haven't made the shady deals with the contractors, the materialmen or the liquor racketeers that they both have made. These kind of folks when they make big campaign contributions expect to get it back out of the State Treasury. Neither have we made the trades that have been made through the Purchasing Department to get money. It is through the State Purchasing Department that

(Continued on Page 3)

Educators Fighting Segregation With $240 Thousand Ford Foundation Grant

Investigation by THE AUGUSTA COURIER into the activities of the Ford-financed Southern Regional Council, shows that it would have been impossible to congregate so many known Communist Party members and persons who have had affiliations with communist-front groups, except by design.

This week, THE AUGUSTA COURIER starts printing the communist-front affiliations of members of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council, which is now spending a $240 thousand dollar grant from the Ford Foundation to destroy segregation in the public schools of Georgia and the South.

Facts About SRC

During this series, the AUGUSTA COURIER has established the following facts concerning the Southern Regional Council organization:

1. It is the successor to the defunct communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and is, itself, a haven for known communists and communist-fronters.

2. At least thirty-eight of SRC's officials and members of its board of directors have association with groups and activities which have been branded communist-fronts by responsible federal officials or congressional committees.

3. That two top members of the SRC's board of directors have been branded as known communists in testimony before congressional comittees by former associates in the Party.

Political Action Group

4. That Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of SRC, was also a top official in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and his name has been linked to other "red" fronts, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

5. That the SRC, though claiming to be a tax-exempt, charitable activity, is nothing more than a political action group, which has consistently followed the Communist Party line, and has cooperated closely with other groups bent on destroying our way of life in the South.

6. That all except one of the organizers and incorporators of the SRC have been exposed as having records of affiliation with communist-front groups and activities.

Commie-Front Records

This week, THE AUGUSTA COURIER is publishing the communist-front records of two former leading lights in the South-

(Continued on Page 3)

GRIFFIN GETTING CAMPAIGN FUNDS THROUGH STATE PURCHASING DEPARTMENT

* *

RIVERS' NAME ON MARVIN GRIFFIN'S PARDON NOT IN GOVERNOR'S HANDWRITING

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

THIS NEWSPAPER ENDORSES FRED HAND FOR GOVERNOR

(From The LaGrange Daily News)

For a long while now we have surveyed the candidacies of the several gubernatorial runners in the state with much interest. For we, like other voters and citizens in Georgia, were trying to make our choice on the man we would like to see become our next governor.

We believe that Fred Hand, the distinguished Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives of our General Assembly, is that man. We of this newspaper believe that the guiding hand of Fred Hand is definitely the need of Georgia at this time.

We have not formed this opinion in support of Mr. Hand's candidacy without much deliberation. There are many good men in the race for the state's number one office, but we feel that the qualifications of Fred Hand stand head and shoulders above the qualifications of any of the other eight persons who seek Georgia's highest elective post.

In the light of the campaign we have tried to study all of the issues. And in doing so, we have tried to study how each of the candidates stood on these issues. This, also, has strengthened the candidacy of Fred Hand in our opinion.

Let us look at the issues. The first is segregation. Mr. Hand stands without question a champion of the true tradition of Georgia and we know with him at the state's helm they shall be maintained.

The second real issue is services, even though they have been divided by many of the candidates. Mr. Hand stands for improved services to Georgians and his record supports a clear and advancing economy for our state. The candidate we shall support has shown by action through the years, not in campaign oratory alone, that he will work, and work hard, to better the life of his fellow Georgians.

The third major issue is Georgia's schools and this one is not contained singularly in the segregation issue.

No matter what many will say, Georgia's schools need help and they need a guiding hand for improvement. Fred Hand has shown that he is willing to work to better the state's schools. He is the author of the School Building Authority and Fred Hand has long been a champion for better schools in our state. In this one issue alone, the candidate we support stands far ahead of his opponents.

There is the need for better highways, improved health facilities and welfare aid, aid to farmers and veterans, encouraging the development of industry of our state, and the problems of communism and gangsterism which must be met. Fred Hand will do a good job on all of these. He has the legislative experience and the welfare of his state on his conscience to do a remarkable job with this need. He has shown it by his record.

However, there is a crying need for Georgia today which was the real and final point which has so solidly swayed us to the candidacy of Fred Hand, the man from Pelham in South Georgia. It is this business of money.

Whether we care to face facts or not, Georgia's most serious problem is that of money. Our state needs money for better roads, for better schools, and for better services for its citizens. This will all require money, more money.

Where is this money to come from? Some of it will come from the citizens themselves. More of it must come from a more efficient administration so badly needed in our state affairs.

There is no way for any of the candidates to escape the plain and simple fact that money is Georgia's big problem today. Fred Hand has not tried to run away from it. We need money for everything—schools, roads, industrial development, a program of development for the entire state. All of this takes money.

We believe that Georgia's stake in the future will best be served by following a man who is skilled in this field. And this alone is the most important issue of the campaign of 1954.

How many of us realize that the Governor of Georgia will oversee the handling of approximately $250 million dollars per year for the next four years? Within his four-year term of office our next governor will handle one billion dollars of our money. That's more money than most of us can even visualize.

The decision Georgia must make is who shall be put in charge of the collection of this money and in the spending it. We believe the voters of Georgia have a better chance for good government by electing a man with a wide experience in financial affairs and such a man is Fred Hand.

The other candidates can talk all they want to about segregation, about this and that. But to us the main issue is that of money. When it comes to this Fred Hand is the man.

There is not another man, or woman, in the race to be Georgia's next governor who can even compare with Fred Hand's record as a businessman, and as a high official handling the complex affairs of a growing state government. We believe that this alone qualifies him as the best man to be our next Governor because he best fills Georgia's most crying need—Money and how it shall be spent.

Fred Hand was born in 1904 at Pelham in Mitchell County. He went to the schools of Georgia and grew up in the family store in his home town. Today he is the president of the Hand Trading Company, which is the largest concern of its type in the world.

He is married to the former Voncile Parker of Decatur County and they have five children: Frederick Barrow Jr., Voncile Parker, Alice Virginia, Mary Florence and William Thomas.

Mr. Hand served in the State Senate in 1931 and in 1933 he was elected to the House of Representatives from Mitchell County. In 1941 he was elected Speaker Pro Tem and in 1946 he was elected Speaker of the House. He has served in that capacity for four consecutive terms.

He was the sponsor of the Minimum Foundation Program for Education and also sponsored the State School Building Authority and now serves as its chairman. There is little doubt that he is the best friend Georgia schools have in public office.

Mr. Hand helped re-draft the Constitution of Georgia in 1945 and helped revise Georgia's outmoded tax system in that same year. His voting record in the legislature is one of consistent progress.

We believe that Troup County and all of Georgia will have an able friend in the governor's mansion if Fred Hand becomes our next governor.

Thus we enthusiastically endorse the candidacy of Fred Hand for the next four years as Georgia's chief executive with the full assurance that in him our state will have the best qualified man it can elect to lead our executive affairs.

Fingerprints Smear Mervin's Pardon; Back Now But Not On Page 323 As Was Originally

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"The editor of The Statesman, Mr. Eugene Talmadge, has seen fit to write several scathing editorials against me here lately. And by the same privilege of a country newspaper, I will comment on some of his newspaper charges which would be more ludicrous if they were not so asinine."

Mervin was running for governor when he wrote that editorial. **He was trying to beat Gene Talmadge.** And what he said wasn't so complimentary, was it?

Now he's running again and he's trying to convince everybody what a great Talmadge man he is. Just listen in on his Saturday afternoon rallies.

He's trying to annoint himself as the heir to the Talmadge organization.

This picture I've outlined to you tonight is from the official records of my two opponents — Negotiating Melvin Thompson and Pardoning Mervin Griffin.

It shows you just how ridiculous the political situation is here in Georgia.

For 25 years now we have been voting for candidates for governor on a basis of whether they were Talmadge men or anti-Talmadge men. Some people have hated the Talmadges and others have supported them.

Honestly, now, can you think of anything more ridiculous than voting for a man simply because he voted for or against a Talmadge?

There isn't any Talmadge running in this race. And you have the opportunity for the first time in many years to ignore the factional lines when you cast your ballots.

In this race I'm receiving support from both Talmadge and Anti-Talmadge people. I'm being backed from all sides because people are tired of the bitter political feuding which has been going on in this State.

It's time we stopped this feud.

The Talmadge people are saying I'm the best man in the race.

The anti-Talmadge people are saying I'm the best man in the race.

I deeply appreciate the kindness of both in saying so and I hope that I am.

But the point I'm trying to make is this —let's stop this old feud and put an end to factional fighting and bitterness in Georgia.

You can do it by joining with the thousands of people from both camps in supporting Fred Hand and electing him your next governor.

In conclusion I want to make you this proposition:

Give me a part of your time and your dimes and dollars between now and September 8th and help get me elected.

And when I take office I will give you my full time for four years trying to make you the best governor Georgia has ever had.

I will not use the governor's office for personal or political profit.

I will not use it to build a political machine.

I will not use it to elect myself to any other office and neither will I permit anyone else to use it for any of those purposes.

If you want a governor who will be governor to all the people, I'm your man.

Let me hear from you.

Let me know you are working for me in your county.

And send me in your dimes, quarters and dollars to help pay for the television and radio time I'm using to bring you my messages.

I must have your help if I'm to win this race for you.

Thank you, my friends, and God bless you all.

Over 95 Per Cent Of Georgia Farms Now Served By REA

ATLANTA,—Georgia has come a long way in improving conditions on her farms in recent years. For example, more than 95 per cent of the state's rural territory is now served by electricity and this power is now available to virtually 100 per cent of the rural population, it was revealed by Gov. Herman Talmadge in a speech before the Sumter Electric Membership Corp.'s recent annual meeting in Americus.

"We are particularly proud of the fact that Georgia now ranks fourth among all states of the Union in rural electrification development," Talmadge said. "Less than two years ago we were very much pleased when we learned that 85.6 per cent of the farms were receiving this service. Today the figure is 95.7 per cent, an increase of about ten per cent in the service in this short period.

"When this move started a few people said the plan was 'socialistic.' It is simply a case where the farmers borrowed money from the government over a long period of years at a low interest rate to get a job done that all of them needed."

Pointing out that much of the growth of rural electric service is due to the large number of new uses that have been found for electricity—and of late that includes irrigation—the Governor said:

"At present there are more than 400 ways in which electricity can be used advantageously on the farm. Its utilization is now an economic necessity which can pay its way with substantial profits to the farmer.

"We are paying more attention than ever to irrigation in Georgia. Through the use of electric current, pumps can be operated which can use water from wells, creeks, rivers, springs, lakes and ponds to provide sufficient water for the crops grown on the farms. Irrigation not only provides increased yields and better crops but also provides crop insurance during prolonged dry weather."

Praising the Sumter organization for its "impressive record of achievement" in that part of the state, Talmadge said the corporation now has 1,900 miles of lines serving 5,400 members in eleven counties. The counties are Sumter, Lee, Terrell, Randolph, Chattahoochee, Schley, Marion, Webster, Stewart, Quitman and Dougherty.

Cracks And Otherwise

Two yokels entered an expensive restaurant and, at the end of dinner, a haughty waiter brought two small bowls. They examined them and one said: "Let's ask the waiter." The other insisted: "If we do, he'll know we're a couple of hicks."

After awhile they still hadn't figured out the purpose of the bowls and the first yokel finally asked the waiter what they were. "They are fingerbowls," he was told.

"See," said the second yokel, "you ask a ridiculous question, you get a ridiculous answer."

Educators Fighting Segregation With $240 Thousand Ford Foundation Grant

(Continued from Page 1)

ern Conference for Human Welfare, and who have been listed as members of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council. These two officials are helping formulate the policy under which the Ford grant will be spent in an effort to destroy segregation. They are:

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, who was listed in the report branding the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a communist-front, as a member of a nominating committee of SCHW, 1947-48.

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, president, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, whose record shows that he worked actively in the SCHW in a leadership capacity, and that he has had a particular affinity for associating himself with numerous communist-front organizations and causes.

Both of these men are presidents of negro colleges.

Their records, as furnished this newspaper by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, follow:

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

The "Daily Worker," March 4, 1948 p. 2), named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of a letter in behalf of Communist deportation cases, which was sponsored by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. A letterhead of the group contained his name as one of the sponsors (letterhead, December 11 and 12, 1948).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committe for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, was a member of the initating committee for a Congress on Civil Rights which was held in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946. (See: Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights.) He was an honorary National Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, New York, as shown by an undated letterhead concerning a conference held October 11, 1947. He signed a call for a national conference of the Civil Rights congress to be held in Chicago. ("Daily Worker," October 21, 1947, p. 5).

Civil Rights Congress

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, signed a statement by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in praise of Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948 (pamphlet, How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace, p. 9). A leaflet, "End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace!" (December 1948) named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of the National Council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union. He was a member of the sponsoring Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee on Education, as shown by a bulletin of the group, dated June 1945 (p. 22).

Soviet Friendship Council

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee . . . , in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian . . . . "

He signed an Open Letter sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties denouncing U. S. Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges ("Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, p. 4; Booklet, "600 Prominent Americans," p. 25). He also signed a statement sponsored by this organization hailing the War Department's order on Commissions for the Communists, as shown by the "Daily Worker," March 18, 1945, (p. 2).

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.) The Special Committee . . . , in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation . . . as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." The Congressional Committee . . . , in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation . . . as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Cited As Subversive

Letterheads, dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, list Doctor Mays as a member of the Advisory Board. A leaflet of the organization (exhibit 46, Public Hearings, July 22, 1947, Steele) also contained the name of Doctor Benjamin Mays.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" by the Attorney General in a letter released December 4, 1947. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee . . . , in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the organization as a Communist front. The Congressional Committee . . . , in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.

The "Daily Worker," April 27, 1947 (p. 24), reported that Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Georgia, signed a statement against the ban on the Communist Party. He signed a statement against the North Atlantic Pact, according to the "Daily Worker" of June 28, 1949 (p. 2). He spoke at a conference on "Jim Crow in the Nation's Capital" ("Daily Worker," December 21, 1950, p. 8).

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON

In The Worker of January 11, 1948 (page 3, magazine section, Southern edition), James W. Ford, Communist, reported on an interview with Dr. Charles **Spurgeon** Johnson, "first Negro President of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee." The interview was held on the occasion of Dr. Johnson's inauguration as the sixth president of the university, November 6, 7, and 8, 1947."

During this committee's hearings regarding Communist infiltration of Minority Groups in July 1949, Dr. Johnson appeared as a witness and testified that he was president of Fisk University; he told the committee that " I began my academic career, after leaving the University of Chicago, first working as a research director for the Urban League, then as research director for the National Urban League, then as director of the department of social sciences at Fisk University. I have been president of that institution two years." Dr. Johnson further told the committee that "I have served as United States delegate to the first conference of UNESCO in Paris, and to the second conference in Mexico City; as a member of the President's Board of Foreign Scholarships under the Fulbright Act; as a member of an International Commission, under the old League of Nations, to Liberia. I worked with the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, and served on committees with some of those Departments, including the Department of Justice and the Department of Commerce."

Denies Red Membership

Under oath, Dr. Johnson testified before the committee that "I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party." (Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 1, pages 471-475).

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been cited as a Communist-front organization which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. (From a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.) Later, it was cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States" (Committee on Un-American Activities in report dated June 12, 1947).

Dr. Johnson was on the Farm Tenancy Section of the program at a conference of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Birmingham, Alabama, November 21, 1938, as shown on the official program; the same source named him as a member-at-large of the Southern Council of the organization in 1938-1939. The Call to the organization's second conference which was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940, named him as one of the sponsors of that conference; he was a member

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Mervin Griffin is financing his campaign.

Melvin Thompson made a deal with three highway contractors to put up one hundred thousand dollars to start his campaign last spring. These three contractors will control the members to be appointed to the highway department and the liquor racketeers are contributing to both Griffin and Thompson.

But in dribbles and small donations, we are getting enough money to wage the campaign.

At the same time, they shout that Fred Hand is rich. This is not true. I have had occasion to examine his financial position and most country merchants and country lawyers I know over Georgia are worth as much money as Fred Hand. It is true that he operates a large business, but he owns a small percentage of the stock in that business.

Then, Mervin Griffin is denouncing me from every stump in Georgia. Four years ago when I managed Governor Talmadge's campaign and Mervin attached himself to the Governor's coattail, he was telling everybody what a fine fellow I was.

He now says that I ran the pardon racket at the time when he signed his name to the pardons. Well, there is one thing about it. I didn't get any pardons for myself, for any of my clients or for anybody else. Marvin did get a pardon for himself and he issued basketfuls to other people. The way that I knew about the wholesale pardoning of people on the last day of Ed Rivers' administration came about when I went to the Capitol to protest the pardoning of a man who killed his son in Augusta, Georgia. When I got to the Capitol, the Governor was not in town. I found Marvin issuing pardons galore.

He laughed at my protest and told me he was going to pardon the man who killed his own son to collect insurance on his life. He also told me he didn't care what anybody said he was going to turn all of them out that wanted to get out before he left the Capitol that night.

He made good his threat. He stayed in the Capitol until the wee, small hours of the dawn signing and issuing pardons. I have seen some of these pardons. Marvin, or one of his secretaries even signed Ed Rivers' name to some of these. I know his signature and these are not his. Now, whether Ed gave his authority to sign his name, I do not know. Anybody in Georgia who knows Ed Rivers' signature knows that Ed did not sign Marvin's pardon. I have had this signature compared to other official documents in the Capitol. Either Marvin or some secretary or someone else signed Ed's signature to Marvin's pardon.

Now, I have no way of knowing whether Ed Rivers authorized this or not. But I do know that it is customary for someone to be authorized to sign the Governor's name to many documents around the Capitol. When you get a letter from the Governor at any time, it is usually and on most occasions signed by someone else. There are so many signatures until the Governor usually delegates someone to sign for him.

In a great many instances, they use rubber stamps to affix the Governor's name.

So, Mervin ran the pardon racket. He says that he did it out of loyalty to Ed Rivers. It doesn't make any difference why he ran it or how he ran it, the fact remains that he did issue the pardons and ran the racket himself.

All of these rumors are deliberate falsehoods spread with the deliberate intent to confuse and deceive the voters.

But the people of Georgia are beginning to see through the antics of the simonized twins and to realize the sorry records they have made as public officials.

The public knows that Mervin and Melvin have both had on-the-job training under Ed Rivers. Mervin was trained to be a bouncer. He was the rough-neck in the crew. So, he was the man picked above all others for training to bounce the chairman of the Highway Board down the steps of the building on the seat of his britches. Melvin was trained to handle asphalt and the liquor deals. Marvin has somehow secured the benefits of M. E.'s training and is now mixed up not only in the pardon racket, but in the asphalt and liquor deals.

If there ever comes an official investigation of the State Purchasing Department, you are going to read in the record which has been made during this campaign the most sordid scandal ever exposed in the State of Georgia.

Mervin is running that racket through some of the shadiest characters who have ever hung like buzzards around the state capitol. Their names may be called before this campaign is over. The details of their deals and the swindling of the people may be re-counted item by item for the benefit of the people.

Fred Hand's campaign is a wholesome campaign. He offers to Georgia an opportunity to eliminate all these scandals, rackets and shady deals of the past and the present.

Fred Hand gives the people of Georgia a wonderful opportunity. He gives them an opportunity to eliminate the feud which has existed in this state between the Talmadge and the anti-Talmadge people. He gives the people of the state an opportunity to unite without all of the bitterness of the past and to work together in a spirit of friendship and harmony for the progress and the advancement of the people of this state. Georgia has a great opportunity. We are standing on the threshhold of a great development. In order to have this development we must have the people of Georgia working together as a team.

Now, what have we had in the past? About half of the people have been for the Talmadges. About half have been against them. Friend has

(Continued on Page 4)

Fingerprints Smear Mervin's Pardon; Back Now But Not On Page 323 As Was Originally

(Continued from Page 1)

ferent tune.

Eugene Talmadge jumped on him about the pardon racket in 1946. And in a reply printed as an editorial in his newspaper, The Bainbridge Post-Searchlight, on March 28th, 1946, Mervin said — and I quote:

"And futher, Editor Talmadge, why don't you send one of your henchmen over to the Governor's Office and consult the records and find out that on Page 323 that I received a pardon for contempt of court. This came out of removing the Chairman of the Highway Board from his office. This embarrassment emanated from loyalty to Ed Rivers when he was Governor. I am ashamed of that contempt citation."

Well, all I know is somebody must have been ashamed of this pardon because it was removed from the official records.

We had the records checked for it before I brought the subject up. And it was missing then.

But after I exposed the pardon and the fact that it was locked up in a public official's safe, it reappeared as mysteriously as it had disappeared.

It's back in the books now and you can go over to the State Capitol and read it for yourself. **The only difference is it isn't on Page 323 like it was when Mervin put it there.**

It's now on Page 593 and its pretty soiled and smeared with fingerprints.

Who took the pardon?

Why was it taken?

Why was it lost for such a long time?

Why was it replaced?

And what do those secretarial symbols under Ed Rivers' signature on that pardon mean?

Those, my friends, are questions which some candidate besides myself will have to answer.

You remember I told you last week why that pardon was issued.

It was issued to get Mervin out of serving a 20-day jail sentence. And he got the sentence for throwing the Chairman of the State Highway Board down the steps of the Highway Building on the seat of his britches.

Mervin's now telling you he's been taking on-the-job training.

That's true, but he hasn't been training to be governor.

When he worked for Ed Rivers he was called executive secretary but he really was training to be a bouncer.

Ed Rivers used him as an official bruiser and bouncer. When he got ready to throw somebody out of office he sent Mervin over to do the job.

Mervin says he carried out orders out of loyalty to Ed Rivers.

Now, we've all heard of honky-tonks, gambling joints and places of ill repute having official bouncers. But Mervin is the only official bouncer the State of Georgia has ever had.

So if you want a bouncer to use in a honky-tonk or some of these other questionable places, Mervin is your man.

Like he says, he's had excellent on-the-job training.

Now, that's enough for Mervin. Let's talk about his twin, Melvin.

Melvin has had some good on-the-job training, too.

While Ed Rivers was training Mervin to be a bouncer, he was also training Melvin.

He didn't think Melvin was strong enough to be a bouncer so he trained him to deal in asphalt.

And when Melvin got to be our accidental governor, he lived up to his training.

He dealt in asphalt.

During this time when he was training under Arnall to be governor, he wrote the most shameful record ever written in the history of the State of Georgia.

Let your minds go back to the governor's race of 1948.

During that campaign Ed and Ellis were negotiating highway contracts for Melvin. Contractors were given contracts all over the State without any competition whatsoever. They were not required to bid. Contracts were handed out to favorites.

During that campaign Herman Talmadge proved that the price of these negotiated roads were increased by the contractors ten per cent and this ten per cent was given to Melvin to finance his campaign.

Melvin has never denied this or the other slimy deals which took place while he was in office.

And now he says he won't discuss his record.

He won't because he can't and stay in this race.

Mervin claims he is the heir to the Anti-Talmadge machine built up by Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall.

Mervin is trying to ride the Talmadge coattails.

Melvin is trying to ride the Rivers-Arnall coattails.

Now, you good Talmadge people over the State remember that Mervin once was in the Anti-Talmadge machine. But he couldn't get what he wanted from Ed and Ellis so he turned loose from their coattails and he's been grabbing for the Talmadge coattail ever since.

Now let me tell you what kind of a Talmadge man Mervin is.

You know he edits a little weekly newspaper at Bainbridge.

In 1946 while he was working for Ellis Arnall he wrote some nasty editorials condemning Eugene Talmadge. He wrote them because Eugene Talmadge didn't trust Mervin and said so in his newspaper, The Statesman.

On March 28, 1946, Mervin wrote an open letter to Eugene Talmadge. This is what he said—and I quote:

"Many people say you are dishonest but since I can't prove it, I will not be ungentlemanly enough to say that is so."

In the same editorial, he also wrote—and again I quote:

"So I say to you both, you and Ed Rivers are factions of the past and the majority of our people would go fishing before they would be limited to a choice between you. The people have a plague on both your houses."

And a third quotation from that editorial reads like this:

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STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

been arrayed against friend and neighbor has been arrayed against neighbor in a bitter feud. Now we have the opportunity to unite together as friends and neighbors behind a wholesome candidate and a wholesome campaign. It is the greatest opportunity the people of this state have ever had.

Fred Hand has thousands of Talmadge people supporting him. Fred Hand has thousands of the anti-Talmadge people supporting him. They are joining hands in this campaign where they have fought bitterly in the past. They are re-newing friendships and they are stopping the old feuds. It is a great opportunity for you to join in this great movement.

I think it is time we all asked ourselves some questions.

Do you want for Governor:

1. Mervin Griffin, who was the official bouncer of the Rivers Administration?

2. Melvin Thompson, whose political fund received fifty cents for every case of liquor sold by John Horace Bowen's crowd in the dry counties of Georgia?

3. Mervin Griffin, who ran the pardon racket during the Rivers Administration?

4. Melvin Thompson who, when he acted as Governor, negotiated highway contracts without bid and collected campaign funds from the contractors as a pay-off for the contracts?

5. Mervin Griffin, who proposes to create two highway departments, one to build roads where federal money is involved and one to build roads where only state money is involved? Where the roads are built with only state money, the federal government cannot check into expenditures and is not required to approve it. Therefore, shady deals are possible without any check.

6. Melvin Thompson, who will abolish the present state highway setup where the members are elected by the legislature and will turn the department over to three highway contractors who put up the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to start him off in the race for Governor?

7. Mervin Griffin, whose supporters have advised Jim L. Gillis, Chairman of the State H'ghway Department that Mervin's first official act will be to fire Jim?

8. Melvin Thompson who has the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? The Atlanta negroes are telling that M. E. has told them that he must publicly take a position for segregated schools to get the votes of the white people, but that when he is elected he will allow the Supreme Court to make him mix the white and the negro children in the schools.

9. Mervin Griffin, who in his own paper on September 14, 1950, said that when the Supreme Court decision came that for a time he would raise sand, but would finally bend under and comply with the Supreme Court decision on segregation?

10. Either one of these simonized twins, Melvin or Mervin, who both had on-the-job training as official bouncers and shady dealers in asphalt and liquor during the Rivers Administration?

If you are willing to endorse such shady deals and such conduct, then you can chose between Mervin and Melvin.

But, if you wish to be proud of your vote, you can vote for Fred Hand. If you vote for Fred Hand, you will be guaranteed:

1. That you will not be ashamed of your vote.

2. That separate schools will be maintained for white and colored children.

3. That the State School Building program will continue.

4. That we will have an adequate program of education in Georgia.

5. That we will keep the highway department out of politics. The members of the board will still be elected by the legislature and that he will recommend that the legislature re-elect Jim Gillis in January.

6. That there will be no negotiated contracts nor shady asphalt deals contracted by the highway department.

7. That there will be no shady deals in the Purchasing Department and that all business people will have an even chance to bid with the purchasing department. The practice of handing out big machinery, truck and tractor deals to a few favorites without competition will be eliminated.

8. That you will have a business-like, efficient and economical administration of state affairs.

9. That more competent and efficient personnel will be furnished to the State Revenue Commissioner so that he can collect all of the income and sales taxes due the state.

10. That the state will have a successful businessman, farmer, legislator and state administrator in the Governor's office.

11. That we will continue to build and develop Georgia so that the income of the people may be increased and the living standards improved.

12. And generally, that you will have the kind of government Georgia ought to have.

So, I urge you and all of your friends to get busy and let's work from now until September the 8th and elect Fred Hand as your next Governor.

If you join us in this endeavor, it will be one of the finest contributions you will ever have an opportunity of making to your state.

Educators Fighting Segregation With $240 Thousand Ford Foundation Grant

(Continued from Page 3)

of the group's Executive Board, according to an undated leaflet "The South is Closer Than You Think"; he was a member of the Nashville Committee of the organization, as shown on an official report of the group which was undated.

A letterhead of the Southern Negro Youth Congress dated June 12, 1947, named Dr. Johnson as a member of its Advisory Board; the same information appeared on their letterhead of August 11, 1947, and on a page from a leaflet published by the organization.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (press release of December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Special Committee . . . cited the organization as a Communist-front (report of January 3, 1940); and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "surreptitiously controlled" by the "Young Communist League" (report of April 17, 1947).

Dr. Johnson was a member of the Sponsoring Committee, Committee on Education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., as shown on the proceedings of the conference on Education About the Soviet Union which was held October 14, 1944 in New York City; a bulletin of the Committee on Education of the National Council dated June 1945 (page 22), also named him as a member of the Sponsoring Committee.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as having been, "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General cited the National Council as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953).

A letterhead of the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held in Washington, D. C., March 2-3, 1940, named Prof. Charles S. Johnson as one of the sponsors of that conference; he was one of the sponsors of the organization's United Nations in America Dinner which was "a tribute to the contributions of the foreign born in America," April 17, 1943.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (Report 1311 of the Special Committee . . . dated March 29, 1944; also cited in a report dated June 25, 1952). The Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

The program of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, disclosed the name of Dr. Charles S. Johnson in a list of sponsors of the conference. The Scientific and Cultural Conference was cited as a Communist front which was "actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its Review of the conference, released April 19, 1949); in the same review, the National Council was cited as a Communist-front organization.

The January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the United States House of Representatives, was signed by Charles S. Johnson, Director, Department of Social Science, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

The National Federation . . . has been cited as "ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (the Attorney General, Congressional Board, September 24, 1942, page 7687); Attorney General Clark cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948); the Special Committee . . . cited the National Federation as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942 and January 2, 1943); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation as "actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report 1115 of September 2, 1947).

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, AUGUST 30, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 369

Former Vice-President, 13 Directors Of SRC Linked To Communist-Fronts

* * * \

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year ____ $2.00
Six months ____ $1.25

Courtesy of The Atlanta Constitution

Courier Publishes Records Of Others In Articles Exposing Ford-Financed Group

(Continued from Page 1)

as a sponsor of the organization's National Conference in Chicago, November 21-23, 1947.

The Civil Rights Congress has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953); it was cited as being "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" (Committee on Un-American Activities in report of September 2, 1947).

Atwood Signs Appeal

The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (page 8), reported that R. B. Atwood had signed an appeal of the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy to lift the embargo on arms to Loyalist Spain. The Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944 (page 180).

The official proceedings of the National Negro Congress which was held in 1936 contains the name of **Rufus B. Atwood** in a list of members of the organization's National Executive Council; the same source named him as a member of the organization's Presiding Committee and General Resolutions Committee; the source identified Dr. Atwood as being from Kentucky.

National Negro Congress

The National Negro Congress was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as shown in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942 (pages 7687 and 7688); the organization was also cited by the Special Committee as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes" (reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

William E. Cole, Knoxville, Tenn., (Director, **SRC**).

A letterhead of the League of Young Southerners dated August 13, 1940, contains the name of William E. Cole in a list of sponsors of that group; a letterhead of the Council of Young Southerners dated June 26, 1940, contains the name of William E. Cole in a list of sponsors.

The League of Young Southerners (also known as the Council of Young Southerners) was cited as having "its origin in the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare," as shown on its letterhead. (From a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated June 12, 1947).

Donald Comer, Alabama Industrialist, (Director, **SRC**).

On May 6, 1949, Mr. Paul Crouch testified before this committee in Executive session, at which time he told the committee he had been a member of the Communist Party for 17 years. Mr. Crouch made the following statement concerning Donald Comer:

Armed With Names

"The Communist Party, armed with the names of important persons as main speakers before the conference (Southern Conference for Human Welfare), obtained a number of other endorsements such as this Professor Nixon, and succeeded in getting the name of Donald Comer and many others who personally are anything but Communists, and, armed with these names, went to Dr. (Frank) Graham and convinced him that the Southern Conference was a bona fide organization interested only in improving the conditions of the South." (See Mr. Crouch's testimony, page 191.)

An official report of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare named Donald Comer as a consultant on Panel 1—Industrial Production; he was identified as Chairman, Avondale and Cowikee Mills, Birmingham, Alabama. He participated in the Farm Tenancy Section of a program of the Southern Conference November 21, 1938, in Birmingham, Alabama (program of the conference which was held from November 20 to 23, 1938); the same source named him as a member of the Committee on Resolutions of the same conference.

Comer Vice Chairman

In a list of officers of the Southern Conference . . . for 1938-1939 which appeared on the same printed program referred to in the last paragraph, Donald Comer was named as one of the "15 Vice Chairmen (1 from each of 13 States and 2 from South at Large)"; he was identified as an Industrialist, owner of the Avondale Mills, Inc., Birmingham. He spoke on the subject, Industrial Life in the South, at the afternoon session Monday, April 15th, of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, as shown on the Call to that conference in which source he was identified as President, Avondale Mills, Alabama. (Citation of the Southern Conference appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga. (Director, **SRC**).

The Daily Worker of March 18, 1945 (page 2) reported that Grace **Towne** Hamilton signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, hailing the War Department's order on Commissions for Communists; she was identified as being associated with the Urban League, Atlanta.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States; it had previously been cited as an organization used by the Communist Party to "create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; Congressional Record of September 24, 1952, page 7687); the group was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (reports of March 29, 1944; June 25, 1952; and January 2, 1943); also cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as having been "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (report dated September 2, 1947).

Luther P. Jackson, Petersburg, Va. (Director, **SRC**).

Dr. Luther P. Jackson, President, Virginia Voters League, Petersburg, Virginia, signed a statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, calling for International Agreement to Ban Use of Atomic Weapons, as shown by the statement, attached to a press release of the group December 14, 1949 (page 17).

Peaceful Alternatives

The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives . . . has been cited as having been organized "to further their (Communists in the United States) part in the Moscow campaign" (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities originally released April 1, 1951).

The Daily Worker of April 26, 1948 (page 11) reported that Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State College had signed a letter defending the Jefferson School of Social Science, cited as an "adjunct of the Communist Party" (the Attorney General of the United States in press release of December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1952); "At the beginning of the present year (1944), the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science" (report of the Special Committee . . .dated March 29, 1944).

Dr. Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State College signed a statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, as reported in the Daily Worker of November 22, 1948 (page 7); he also signed a statement of the Civil Rights Congress in defense of Gerhart Eisler (Daily Worker, February 28, 1947, page 2).

Civil Rights Congress

The Civil Rights Congress was formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it was "dedicated . . . specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947). The group was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Rev. D. V. Jemison, President, (Director, **SRC**).
National Baptist Convention, Selma, Ala.

In testimony by Mr. Walter S. Steele in public hearings before this committee in July 1947, D. V. Jemison was named as a member of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress; the information appeared on a leaflet published by the organization and presented by Mr. Steele as Exhibit No. 46. (See page 96 of the public hearings for Mr. Steele's testimony.)

The same information appeared on the organization's letterhead dated June 12, 1947 and another dated August 11, 1947. The Attorney General has cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means. (Press release of December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953.) The Special Committee . . . cited the organization as a Communist front in its report released January 3, 1940.

Baptist Leader Jemison

An Urgent Summons to a Congress of Civil Rights in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946, contained the name of Dr. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention, in a list of sponsors of the congress (printed in the Committee's Report on the Civil Rights Congress which was released September 2, 1947, page 22). The Civil Rights Congress was formed at Detroit in April 1946 as a merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; citation of the group appears on page 1 of this memorandum.

Dr. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention of USA, was one of those who signed an appeal to the President of the United States "to effect immediate release of Gerhart Eisler, permitting him to return to his homeland" (from PM for March 3, 1947, page 20, reprinted in the Committee's Report on the Civil Rights Congress, pages 28-29).

A statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, attached to a press release of December 14, 1949 (page 1), contains the name of the Rev. D. V. Jemison, President, National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., Selma, Alabama, in a list of initiators of a Statement Calling for International Agreement to Ban Use of the Atomic Weapons; a letterhead of the organization dated March 30, 1950 contained a facsimile of his signature; a leaflet of the organization entitled Statement of Policy which was issued in December 1950, names him as Vice Chairman of the organization.

Group Aids Commies

The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact has been cited as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact to further the cause of "Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign" (report on The Communist "Peace" Offensive originally released by the Committee on Un-American Activities April 1, 1951).

On the Call to the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, May 29-30, 1950, in Chicago, the name of the Rev. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention, Selma, Alabama, appeared in a list of Initiating Sponsors of the conference, cited as a meeting called by the Committee for Peaceful Aternatives . . . and aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda" (from the committee's "Peace" offensive report).

The Daily Worker of August 10, 1950 (page 1) and August 14, 1950 (page 2) both named Dr. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention, as having signed the World Peace Appeal; an undated leaflet received for files September 11, 1950 and entitled Prominent Americans Call For . . . named him as having endorsed the Appeal.

Propaganda Campaign

The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; it was lauded in the Communist press and put "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal' . . . (and) received the official endorsement of the Su-

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Courier Publishes Records Of Others In Articles Exposing Ford-Financed Group

(Continued from Page 2)

preme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." (from the committee's "Peace" offensive report of April 1, 1951).

David D. Jones, Greensboro, N. C. (Director, **SRC).**

David D. Jones, identified as President, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., signed the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the U. S. House of Representatives (from a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of the organization); with the same identification shown, Dr. David D. Jones signed a statement of the National Federation, hailing the War Department's order on commissions for Communists (from the Daily Worker of March 18, 1945, page 2). Citation of the National Federation . . . appears on page 3 of this memorandum.

As shown in the Daily Worker of February 28, 1947 (page 2), Dr. David D. Jones signed a statement of the Civil Rights Congress in defense of Gerhart Eisler. (Citation of the Civil Rights Congress has been shown on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Red-Front Group

The printed program of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions' Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace which was held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, contains the name of Dr. David D. Jones in a list of sponsors of that conference. The National Council of the . . . has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities (report dated April 19, 1949); in the same report, the Scientific and Cultural Conference . . . was cited as "actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations".

The Council on African Affairs was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953). The following sources show Dr. David D. Jones as a member of the Council on African Affairs: A pamphlet of the group entitled For a New Africa (April 14, 1944, page 36); a leaflet entitled What of Africa's Place in Tomorrow's World? (June 26, 1944); a letterhead of the organization dated May 17, 1945; their pamphlet entitled Seeing is Believing (1947); another pamphlet, Africa in the War; another entitled 8 Million Demand Freedom; and a leaflet, The Job to be Done, which was used as Exhibit No. 69 by Mr. Walter Steele during his testimony before the committee in July 1947.

Letter To Governor

Dr. David Jones (with no middle initial shown) who was identified as President, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., was a member of the Committee for Defense of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, CIO, according to the Daily Worker of July 24, 1947 (page 3). The Food, Tobacco and . . . was expelled from the CIO by a vote of the Executive Board, February 15, 1950, effective March 1, 1950, as shown on a press release of the 12th CIO Convention, November 20-24, 1950.

The New York Times of October 9, 1914 (page 12) announced that an Open Letter had been addressed to the Governor of New York State, asking him to grant a pardon to Morris U. Schappes who was serving time from a sentence "arising from the 1940 Rapp-Coudert investigation of subversive activity in the New York City schools. Morris Schappes told the Committee he had been a Communist . . . " Among those named in the Times article as having signed the Open Letter was David D. Jones, President, **Binnell** College, Greensboro, N. C.

The Schappes Defense Committee was cited as Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press release of April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953); it was cited as "a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely the defense of a self-admitted Communist who, was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York" (Special Committee . . . in a report dated March 29, 1944).

Bennett College President

The Call to the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare to be held in Chattanooga Tennessee, April 14, 15 and 16, 1940, contained the name of David D. Jones, President, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., in a list of sponsors of that conference. (See citation of the Southern Conference . . . on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Z. A. Looby, Nashville, Tenn. (Director, **SRC).**

A 1939 membership of the National Lawyers Guild, on file with this committee, contains the name of **Alexander Looby,** 419 Fourth Avenue, Nashville, Tenn. The National Lawyers Guild has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee . . . (report of March 29, 1944) and by the Committee on Un-American Activities (report of September 17, 1950).

The Daily People's World of April 25, 1948 (page 11), reported that **Alexander Looby,** Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee, had spoken before the Southern Negro Youth Congress; The Worker of May 16, 1948 (page 2), disclosed that one **Z. Alexander Looby,** Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee, had spoken before the same organization. (Citation of the group appears on page 4 of this memorandum).

Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Bishop, (Director, **SRC).**

Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

Edwin A. Penick, Chairman, N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Raleigh, N. C., was named as a sponsor of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare on the call to the conference which was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940. (Citation of the Southern Conference appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Georgia Tech Professor

Glenn Rainey, Prof. of English at Georgia Tech, Atlanta, Georgia, (Director, **SRC).**

Glenn **W.** Rainey, Prof., Georgia School of Tech., Atlanta, was one of the sponsors of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare (see last paragraph above).

G. D. Rogers, Tampa, Florida, (Director, **SRC).**

G. D. Rogers, President, Central Life Insurance Company, "joined in calling" the Fourth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference in New Orleans in April 1940, as reported in the Daily Worker of March 1, 1940.

Jacob L. Reddix, Jackson, Miss. (Director, **SRC).**

One Jacob L. Reddix, identified as being from the State of Indiana, was a member of the National Executive Council of the National Negro Congress, as shown on the official proceedings of that congress which was held in 1936 (page 41 of the proceedings).

Packed With Commies

The National Negro Congress was cited as "deliberately packed with Communists" and as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688; press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948, redesignated April 27, 1953); the Special Committee cited the organization as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes" (reports of January 3, 1949; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

Austin T. Walden, Attorney. (Fund Raiser, **SRC).** Atlanta, Georgia.

The Daily Worker of October 7, 1952 (page 3), reported that **A. T.** Walden of Georgia would lead a workshop discussion at the National Lawyers Guild conference on civil rights, legislation and discrimination in New York City, October 10-12, 1952. (See citation of the Guild on page 6.) Austin T. Walden signed a letter of opposition to the Mundt anti-Communist bill (letter and list of persons, May 12, 1948). Walden was affiliated with the Georgia Chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, according to a letterhead of that group.

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racket and who had been the official bouncer for Ed Rivers when he was governor?

How would you feel when you read in the newspapers of the nation if you should elect a man who admittedly has been engaged in the liquor racket in Georgia and who has been engaged in a highway racket in Georgia?

Now, some people say that when we call attention to these things in the past records of Melvin Thompson and Marvin Griffin that we are slinging mud.

Now, mind you, we are not slinging mud. We are not discussing their personal affairs, not their private lives.

When we call these things to your attention we are discussing their public and official records. When Marvin Griffin ran the pardon racket for Ed Rivers he was an official of this state and what he did was the official record of the Executive Secretary to the Governor.

When M. E. Thompson was running the liquor racket and the highway racket he was acting as governor of your state.

When Marvin Griffin threw Lint Miller down the steps of the highway office and put him in the hospital he was an official of this state and held an official position with Ed Rivers. I do not know exactly what official title he had at the time, but actually he was Ed's official bouncer. He was the only man Ed had around who was bruiser enough to go over to the highway department and throw a man out of the building who refused to leave.

So, we are discussing their official records. We are discussing their conduct in office when you tried both of these simonized twins on a former occasion.

We are only showing you what they did when they were in authority and you can only judge what they will do in the future by studying their records in the past.

These facts are official records. They are not denied by either candidate. What they have done is a part of the history of Georgia and this conduct is written into the official records and history of this state.

Now, are you going to fall into this trap? Are you going to listen to the political propaganda they are spreading that you are forced to vote for one or the other?

There are good men in the race and men who can be depended upon. Therefore, there is no reason for you to be forced into this trap.

Then, why shouldn't a voter vote his conscience and vote for the best man?

The supporters of these two simonized twins have been frantically running around the state trying to tell you that the other candidates do not have a chance and that you have got to vote for one or the other.

Now, wouldn't that also be a pretty come-off? Are we to say that we are spineless cowards and we do not have the courage to vote our convictions and that our sole motive in voting is trying to guess the winner and vote on the winning side.

I don't believe the people of Georgia are going to be fooled by this tommyrot. I believe that the people of Georgia are going to vote their consciences and vote for the best man in the race.

I believe that I am supporting the best man in the race. However, there is one thing of which I am sure. That outside of those who are on the payroll of the state and those who are trying to get on the payroll of the state, outside of those who are profiting in their dealings with the state, or hope to profit in their dealings with the state, that every man who votes for either Melvin Thompson or Marvin Griffin is ashamed of his vote.

As evidence of this fact, the Associated Press has already reported that their survey shows that more than one half of the people of Georgia haven't yet decided for whom they will vote.

As further evidence of the fact that the average person is ashamed of both Melvin Thompson and Marvin Griffin, let me tell you this:

The other day, I asked a prominent citizen of a good county in Georgia to make a survey of his county and give me his best opinion of the political situation in his county. He reported that he spent two days going over his county. He said that when he talked with a person who was supporting Fred Hand, Tom Linder or Charlie Gowen that they spoke it out loud and seemed to be proud of their vote. But he said that every man he talked to who was supporting either Marvin Griffin or Melvin Thompson took him around the corner and whispered to him as if they were ashamed to let anybody know what they were going to do.

Well, I say that the majority of the people of this state are ashamed of both of them and if either one of these birds should be elected that the whole state will live to be ashamed of the man who wins.

It isn't possible for either one of them to have decency, honesty or economy in government. Both of them are making promises enough to ruin and wreck their administrations.

Both of them are mixed up with deals in liquor, asphalt and highway contracts and promises of business through the purchasing department that will produce a scandal in this state and make every decent person in this state ashamed of his own government.

Now, let's look at the situation for a minute.

We have made great progress in Georgia. We have launched the state on a fine school program and we will be spending not less then $125,000,000.00 next year on education as well as being in the midst of a $200,000,000.00 school building program. We will be spending $70,000,000.00 a year to build highways and farm-to-market roads in this state. We will be building hospitals all over Georgia and we will have the biggest welfare program in the history of the state to care for our institutions and

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rebuild Georgia.

We're naturally and justifiably proud of what we've accomplished.

But we can't afford to relax our efforts.

We can't afford to let this steady march of progress halt or hesitate.

We must continue to grow and advance.

It's necessary that we have more industry in Georgia. Each of our towns needs to develop new industry among its own people and attract industry from other sections of the nation into its area.

It's our hope that our people can build and operate as much as possible of the industry we need. And at the same time we must attract new industry and new business from other areas.

We mustn't halt our progress in building roads.

During the next four years our State Highway Department will have nearly 300-million dollars to spend—more than 70-million dollars a year.

We must take this money and use it to build a system of roads which will enable us to develop our State and increase the prosperity of our people.

This is no time for toll roads.

This is the time for building free roads to serve every community of the State and every visitor to the State.

More and more the business of the State is being conducted over our highways.

Our entire tourist trade which is growing every year depends upon them. The only way we can encourage it is by having an adequate system of roads in every direction.

And while we are building through highways, we mustn't forget that the farmers and the people who live in the country are entitled to good, hard-surfaced roads, too. They must have them to get to their markets, their schools and their churches.

If you elect Fred Hand your governor, he will see that this 300-million dollars

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is spent to build you a system of free roads which will help increase the prosperity of all the people.

Although roads are important, building them isn't the most important thing for our State to do.

Our greatest resource is our children; yours and mine.

We cannot be content with providing them with second-rate education.

They are entitled to the best and it shall be my purpose, as governor, to give them the best system of education money can buy.

I'm for the proposed Adequate Program of Education. And I believe if this State is managed in a business-like manner—if our taxes are collected vigorously and impartially and if present tax loopholes are closed up—we can finance an Adequate Program of Education without crippling any of the other activities of our state government.

Georgians' per capita income is about 500-dollars a year less than the national average. People in many states are able to earn nearly twice as much as the people of Georgia are able to earn.

This economic problem will never be solved until we have a better-educated and a more-skilled people.

It shall be my purpose to see to it that the people of Georgia have an educational system which will give them the knowledge and skills necessary to solve this problem and increase their productivity.

Likewise we shall not forget our sick people.

We'll continue to build hospitals wherever they're needed.

We'll continue to look after the unfortunate people who are in our hospitals and institutions.

We're not going to neglect our old people. We'll match every dollar the federal government offers us so that aged citizens can get larger pensions than they're receiving today.

How are we going to continue this progress in Georgia?

Our future development depends upon the type of government we have in the State Capitol.

We can't encourage our own people to build new industries or new industries to come into Georgia unless we have a stable government—one which inspires the confidence of the people who will invest their money in these enterprises.

These industries and investors must know that they won't be punished or gouged.

They must know that they'll have a state government they can trust.

They must know that they'll have stability in Georgia.

Let me ask you a question.

What do you suppose would happen in Georgia during the next four years if, on the night of September 8th, the newspapers, wire services and radio and television networks announced to the world that Georgians had elected a man governor who has a reputation for being mixed up in a pardon racket?

What do you suppose would happen if they announced to the world that you had elected a man governor who had operated a liquor racket when he was in office once before?

One of the candidates, as you know, was executive secretary to Former Governor Ed Rivers. He signed hundreds of pardons which caused a shameful scandal and even pardoned himself. He threw the State Highway Director down the steps of the State Highway Building and put him in the hospital.

Another of the candidates served 18-months acting governor. He let a notorious racketeer sell millions of dollars worth of liquor in dry counties and collected 50-cents for each case sold. He negotiated hundreds of highway contracts and his campaign fund got the kickbacks.

How much confidence do you think investors would have in Georgia if either of these men were elected?

Frankly, I don't think that's going to happen. I hope you won't let it happen.

Now, suppose the newspapers, wire services and radio and television networks announced to the world that you've elected a sound businessman as your next governor?

In that event the people of this nation wouldn't be afraid to invest their money in Georgia. They would have confidence in our State and its leadership.

I say that to you because they would know in that event that Fred Hand has a life-long record as a safe and sane businessman . . . that during the 22 years I have served in the Legislature my opponents have found nothing in my record they can criticize . . . that I've handled 130-million dollars of your money in building school houses without the first suspicion being cast upon my transactions.

When I'm elected the newspapers, wire services and radio and television networks will tell the world that you've elected a man who has behind him a background of stability and a business and political record that cannot be attacked. They'll tell the world that I'm the man Governor Herman Talmadge picked when he needed somebody to direct Georgia's vast school building program.

Marvin Griffin has been eliminated from this race.

His campaign has collapsed and he's losing ground rapidly every day.

He's been his own undoing. He's killed his chances in two ways.

In the first place, he proposed a plan to preserve segregation that is utterly stupid and asinine. He told the Georgia Education Commission he would require everybody to live in Georgia a whole year and keep their children at home before they could send them to school. Then he said he would increase the size of county school boards from five to 100 members.

You and I all know that the foremost question in everybody's mind right now is how to keep segregation. And tommyrot like Mr. Griffin's proposal is not in keeping with the gravity of the situation.

In the second place, people had forgotten that Marvin was Ed Rivers' faithful lackey. They had forgotten that he issued all those hundreds of pardons to criminals all over Georgia. They had forgotten that he pardoned himself. They had forgotten that he single-handedly threw Lint Miller out of the State Highway Department and sent that frail, little man to the hospital with injuries.

Now that Marvin has cracked up, we've got to attend to Mr. M. E. Thompson.

You've tried Melvin as acting governor.

You know what he did then and you know what he'll do if he's elected again.

You know how he used millions of your dollars in negotiating highway contracts with unscrupulous contractors instead of letting the contracts to the lowest bidders.

You know how he let John Horace Bowen take over the State Revenue Department and Melvin fire a capable revenue Commissioner and replace him with one who would play ball with John Horace.

You've seen and heard of the report that one of the most respected judges in Georgia made about the activities of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Bowen. Judge Claude Shaw of the Fulton County Superior Court said . . . and I quote . . .

"John Horace Bowen is the biggest liquor racketeer that I have uncovered and the most flagrant liquor law violator in Georgia. Bowen became powerful because of his personal and political alliance with Mr. Thompson. He was able to flaunt the law and be able to go unpunished. He and his gang sold millions of dollars of liquor in practically every dry county in Georgia."

My friends, the choice is yours.

Do you want to advertise to the world that you've elected a liquor racketeer as your governor?

Do you want to advertise to the world that you've elected a man who made shady highway contract deals as your governor?

Do you want to advertise to the world that you've elected a man who has run a pardon racket as your governor?

Do you want to advertise to the world that you've elected a man who was the official bouncer for Ed Rivers as your governor?

If you agree with me that we should not be besmirch the fair name and good record of Georgia, then I ask you to look around among the other candidates and pick the best man to be Governor of Georgia.

I hope that my record for the past 30 years will commend itself to you and that you will feel that I am the best man.

If you do, then I ask you and all the people of Georgia to join with me between now and September 8th to defeat M. E. Thompson, John Horace Bowen and the three contractors in this state who are attempting to force M. E. Thompson on you again.

It's a crusade and I need your help.

I don't have the help of the racketeers or the contractors.

I don't have their big money to spend.

But I promise you that if you will give me your time and effort during the remainder of this campaign, I'll give you four years of consecrated service in an effort to have a clean, decent, honest, stable, business-like government in Georgia.

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to provide pensions for the blind and the aged. We will have the biggest program this state has ever had to promote the health of our people.

We now have a stable and a progressive government in Georgia.

As a result of our forward-looking policies and our stable government, Georgia is the center of attraction in the entire Southeast for new industries and new businesses of every kind. During the last five years 450 new industries have come into the Atlanta area alone. Every town, city and county in Georgia is now bidding for new industry.

All over this state, the people are encouraging local people to create new business and new industry and we are inviting people from outside of the state to come here and take advantage of the wonderful opportunity we have.

Surely, Georgia is on the march. We are making progress and have a great future unless we fumble the ball.

Now, we can fumble the ball and halt the progress that we have been making.

The finest way I know to halt this progress is to elect a governor who does not inspire the confidence of the people of the state and the people of the nation.

Now, if we elect Marvin Griffin governor, how can we expect new business and new industry in Georgia?

Suppose you lived in a distant state and were figuring on locating a new industry in Georgia, or a new business in Georgia, or thinking of moving to this state, what would you do if you read in the paper that the people of Georgia had elected him governor when you knew that he had participated in a pardon racket in this state and had been Ed Rivers' official bouncer and used to literally throw people out of public office?

Even the people of Georgia could have no confidence in their government with Marvin Griffin as its head and people who wanted to invest their money here wouldn't take a chance in Georgia.

Now, suppose you lived in a distant state and was thinking of locating a new industry or a new business in Georgia and investing your life's savings here. Would you do it if you knew that M. E. Thompson was governor after he had been mixed up in the liquor racket with John Horace Bowen and the shady highway deals that he made when he was acting governor of this state on a former occasion.

We cannot command the respect or the confidence of the people of the nation with either one of these birds in the governor's office.

You would not trust your government with either one at the helm and you could not expect the people of the nation to trust your government or to have the faith in the state that is necessary to attract new industry and new business.

It is too great a price to pay to vote for either of these birds and the people of Georgia should make up their minds that they are not trying to get on anybody's bandwagon, but that they are banding together to elect the best man for governor.

I hope you will study the records of all the candidates. They all have a record and you are entitled to know what it is.

I believe that if you study the record of Fred Hand you will reach the conclusion that he is the best man for Georgia.

Now, Fred Hand isn't a silver-tongued orator and neither does he have the capacity to hold great crowds spellbound with honeyed words and tricky phrases.

On the contrary, Fred Hand is a plain farmer and a businessman.

He has demonstrated his business ability by making a success of a big business concern in Georgia and by the operation of his own farm.

While Fred Hand is not a rich man he heads a big business in South Georgia and he has managed that business in such a manner as to make a success out of it.

Then too, he has served 22 years in the legislature, and eight years he was Speaker of the House.

And after this 22 years experience, Governor Talmadge appointed him to run the State School Building Authority. This authority is in process of building $200,000,000.00 worth of school buildings in this state. Already $130,000,000.00 dollars worth of these buildings are under construction in the various counties and communities of this state.

During all this time, no one has been able to point a finger of suspicion at Fred Hand or to say one thing about his official conduct.

So, I say to you that Fred Hand has proved himself and his ability as a businessman, as a member of the legislature, as Speaker of the House, and as head of the State School Building Authority.

If you elect Fred Hand governor the people of the state will have confidence in your government, in its honesty and in its integrity and people all over the world who are thinking of investing their life's savings in Georgia will have confidence in Georgia.

If you elect Fred Hand your governor the march of progress will continue.

If you elect either Melvin Thompson or Marvin Griffin as your governor, then you have destroyed the faith of the people everywhere in the integrity and in the stability of your state government.

Let's not elect a bouncer as governor. Let's not elect a pardon racketeer as governor. Let's not elect a liquor racketeer as governor. Let's not elect a highway racketeer as governor.

These politicians who are supporting Thompson and Griffin have shrewdly designed a trap for you to enter.

Now, you can walk into the trap if you like or you can vote for the best man for governor.

Talmadge Talks On Pet Topic: Farming

ATLANTA,—There's one subject Gov. Herman Talmadge just naturally likes to talk on. It's agriculture any phase of agriculture. For example, on the same day recently the farmer-governor addressed the annual convention of the Georgia Bankers Assn.'s County Key Bankers Division at Rock Eagle Park, near Eatonton, an the North Georgia Veterinary Supplies' annual barbecue at Gainesville. Main topic in both instances: Agriculture.

Georgia's leading position in the hatchery and poultry industry is due in large part to the service agencies which keep them supplied with the latest types of feed and disease control materials, he told the large gathering at the barbecue which was given for some 500 poultry feed dealers and hatcherymen of the area. Said he:

"We (the present state administration) have gone all-out in encouraging experimentation and developing other facilities for service to poultry farmers in Georgia."

To the County Key Bankers he said: "This group of bankers and businessmen, through the agricultural committee, have adopted a definite program which is being carried out to aid progressive agricultural development in the state . . . The key banker is the spark plug in promoting all banks' interest and support in agricultural improvement programs."

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, SEPTEMBER 13, 1954, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 371

Courier Revea Is 14 More SRC Members Have Previous Commie-Front Records

* *

Richmond Group Seeks Restoration Of States' Rights; Hugh Grant, Former U. S. Ambassador Heads Association

Federal High Court Ruling In School Segregation Cases Revive Ancient Fight

Richmond County has organized an association to restore states' rights.

The Supreme Court decision in the segregation cases gave rise to this organization. The organizers claim that this decision took away from the states all rights to handle their internal affairs or their customs and was the last straw in the destruction of the rights of the states.

So, now they are after restoring states' rights. They hope that their organization will spread and be a state-wide organization and with the final view that it may become South-wide, to promote an organized fight to pass a Constitutional amendment or to do whatever else is necessary to return to the states the power which the states reserved themselves when the Constitution was adopted.

Hugh Grant, a former ambassador to Thailand, is President of the organization, Roy V. Harris is Vice President and Rodney S. Cohen is Secretary-Treasurer until a permanent organization is adopted.

Recently, the association sent out a letter inviting membership and stating the purpose of the organization.

The letter is as follows:

Following the U. S. Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954 declaring racial segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, a small group of Richmond County citizens agreed to try to establish an organization with a view to arousing our citizens to the full recognition of the threat against our State and local laws, institutions, customs and traditions. An informal, unpublicized meeting of citizens was held early in June. A second meeting was held on July 16, at which time the action taken at the previous meeting was endorsed, an organization established, name selected, temporary officers chosen, and a planning committee designated to formulate a definite program of action.

The organization, ASSOCIATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF STATES' RIGHTS, is not affiliated with any political organization or any other group. Its program is designed to investigate and challenge any unwarranted Federal encroachments upon the rights of the people of the several States under their State Constitutions and laws. Its methods will be open and above-board and opportunity will be afforded for full and free discussions of the problems confronting the people of the States as the result of such encroachments. The general policies of the Association were outlined in a newspaper article which was published on the front page of The Augusta Chronicle on Sunday, July 18, 1954, and subsequently in the Congressional Record on July 28, 1954 through the courtesy of Representative

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

When you read this, the September 8 Primary will be over.

It is being written before the results of the Primary are known. However, even though I do not know what the results will be I would like to comment upon the race.

In the first place, I would like to say that the man who has lost more face and more prestige as a result of the campaign than anybody else is Governor Talmadge.

There are many reasons for this. It was Governor Talmadge who gave M. E. Thompson his first shot in the arm. When Governor Talmadge stated that if more than one of his friends ran for governor that he was going to Lovejoy and watch M. E. Thompson get elected governor, he created a bandwagon psychology in favor of Thompson. Governor Talmadge is the man who put Thompson in the race by this statement. Otherwise, Thompson would have been a nonentity in the race.

Thompson capitalized on this statement and urged all the weak sisters to get on his bandwagon.

Then Governor Talmadge made a lot of his friends mad when he gave a statement to the newspapers indicating that Fred Hand had lied about Marvin Griffin's pardon. The governor had told too many people that he had this pardon locked up in his safe before the incident happened and all of these people spread the word that the governor had told them that he had it.

I do not know whether the governor had the pardon or not, but I do know that he told me he had it and he told a lot of other people over Georgia that he had it. This has become pretty well known over the state and it has left the governor in a ridiculous position.

Then too, the Governor promised Fred Hand that he would take no part in the race. He stated to me on several occasions that he would not take any part and he would just vote for his choice. In addition to making the promise and telling other people this is what he would do, he announced to the people of Georgia through the newspapers that he would take no part in the campaign.

Yet, he had the officials at the state Capitol putting all the pressure they could in behalf of Marvin Griffin. While Fred Hand was repeating over and over on the stump Governor Talmadge's promise to him and reminding the people of the fact that the Governor had publicly stated he would take no part, Governor Talmadge was working night and day for Marvin Griffin. He was calling people and urging them to consolidate behind Marvin. He was talking to them in his office.

These same people whom the Governor called and these people he talked to in person knew that Governor Talmadge had stated publicly that he was not going to take part in the race.

After the Governor had called these people and seen them in person, they went into the various counties and told the Governor's friends that the Governor wanted them to vote for Marvin Griffin. These people thought something was funny when they were reading in the papers that the Governor was having no part in the campaign and yet his leaders were telling them that he had asked them to help carry the county for Marvin Griffin.

This one thing caused the Governor to lose a lot of the goodwill that he had built up in Georgia during the past four years.

Then too, Dixon Oxford, after a conference with the Governor, took over the Highway Department. Jim Gillis said that under the circumstances he was going home and that he would not be back until after the election, if ever.

(Continued on Page 3)

Dr. Howard W. Odum, University Of N. C., Tuskegee Institute Head, Are On List

Fourteen more persons who have been listed by official publications of the Southern Regional Council have been turned up by the Augusta COURIER as having previous association with one or more Communist-front groups.

Half of those included in this week's expose by the COURIER were former top officials and workers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization now defunct and previously branded by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities as a Communist-front.

This newspaper, in its series of articles on the Ford Foundation-financed SRC, has named and proved that 25 members of the Board of Directors of this organization were formerly the leading lights of the red-front SCHW.

38 Have Red Records

In addition to this, we have shown that at least 38 officials, members of the executive staff or Directors of the SRC have had known records of association with Communist or Communist-front groups.

We have shown that two persons who have been branded as known Communists in testimony before Congressional Committees were the very highest officials in SCHW and are listed on the Board of Directors of SRC in literature of that organization.

We have proved through documentary evidence that the Southern Regional Council is in fact the successor organization to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and, as such, has been a haven for known Communists and Communist-fronters.

Veil Stripped From SRC

We have stripped the veil from the fact that SRC, though claiming to be a tax exempt charitable activity is solely a political action group consistently following the Communist Party line and is working night and day to destroy segregation in all facets of life in the South.

This week the Augusta COURIER is printing 14 more records of persons who have been listed as directors of SRC.

The records of these people show a particular affinity for Communist-front groups and Communist-front activities.

Following are the names of the Directors of the SRC and their records of association with these groups, as contained in the public records, files and publications of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities:

Dr. Howard W. Odum

Dr. Howard W. Odum: The Call to the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940, contained the name of Howard W. Odum, University of

(Continued on Page 2)

THE AUGUSTA COURIER CIRCULATES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1007 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One year $2.00
Six months $1.25

THE SEGREGATION FIGHT

The drive to destroy segregation has just begun. The Supreme Court decision was not the end, but the beginning.

The ultimate aim is to destroy the civilization of the South and to destroy the nation by creating a mulatto race in America.

Harry Emerson Fosdick, as leader of a committee of one hundred, has agreed to raise one hundred thousand dollars for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to carry on the law suits that are necessary.

Misguided and half-witted church people are falling in line all over the nation.

Immediately after the decision, Dean James A. Pike of the New York Cathedral criticized churches of the country for not abolishing racial segregation in the churches.

In a sermon on May 23, 1954 he said the fact that the Supreme Court says that segregation in the public schools violates the constitution is a judgment against the church itself because the church still follows the pattern of segregation. And segregation is often practiced in church schools, hospitals and other institutions and in our lay associations of men and women, some of them bearing the name of the church, according to the Dean.

So, he called upon the churches over the country to do away with segregation.

On May 11, 1954 the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York voted unanimously to reject the invitation of the City of Houston, Texas, for the church's convention to be held there in 1955 because they practice segregation in Houston, Texas.

By strange coincidence, the convention of the diocese was held in the New York Cathedral.

Likewise, ministers and preachers over the South have been hailing with glee the decision of the Supreme Court and asking for the abolition of segregation.

Now we shall see what these so-called Christian people do in their own churches. In most of them, they would be willing to admit the rich negroes, but they will all be opposed to the poor negro because he can't contribute to the salaries of the preacher or the expenses of the church as the members of some churches are expected to do.

So, it can be safely said, regardless of all these supposed ministers are now saying from their pulpits, that the poor negro will catch hell if he tries to get into one of these high society white churches.

Yet, they who are protected by their wealth and their position from having to mix and mingle with the poor negro are trying to ram it down the throats of white people who can't help themselves.

It all makes me sick

No wonder when a man comes along like Billy Graham that you find the people of the country hungrying and thirsting to hear him preach.

They are fed up with the stiff-necked hypocritical attitude of some of their church leaders. They are literally starved to death for the real thing.

But watch these church leaders and these hypocritical preachers who are now gloating over the Supreme Court decision. No poor negro will be welcome in their church.

Yet, subtly following a sickly philosophy they are trying to destroy the civilization of the South and the traditions of a great people and a great section of the nation.

They have fallen to the siren voices of the communist fellow travelers who are seeking gradually and slowly to destroy a great race and a great country.

We are not afraid of this country being destroyed by a hydrogen bomb or by invading armies. We are afraid of the treasonous termites who are eating away at the foundation of the government and the country itself from within.

Look out, folks. We are going to see some strange happenings in this country.

Dr. Howard W. Odum, University Of N. C., Tuskegee Institute Head, Are On List

(Continued from Page 1)

North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., in a list of sponsors of the conference.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been cited as a Communist-front organization which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. (From a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944, page 147.)

On May 23, 1947, the Hon. James E. Murray of Montana asked unanimous consent to have included in the Appendix of the Record, "a statement made by 87 leading American liberals, setting forth what they consider to be a standard of political conduct for those who believe in liberalism or progressivism as a middle way between the extremes of reaction and communism—the true highway toward the fullest achievement of American democracy. This statement of liberalism accuses the American Communist Party and its sympathizers of an un-American lack of forthrightness and announces the refusal to associate with American Communists as a proper and reasonable requirement for anyone who is to be of practical help to the cause of liberalism in the United States.

Statement of Leaders

"The statement of these 87 liberal leaders draws a proper distinction between association with American Communists and their sympathizers, on the one hand, and, on the other, an objective attitude toward the problems of Russia and a hope for peaceful relations with that country; these liberal leaders point out that 'failure to reckon with the above distinction occasions the grave present-day plight of the liberal-progressive cause.'"

Identified as a Sociologist, University of North Carolina, Howard W. Odum was named as one of those who signed the statement. (From the Congressional Record Appendix, page 2599, May 23, 1947.)

Marion A. Wright: The Daily Worker of May 20, 1947 (page 5), named Marion A. Wright, South Carolina Division, Southern Regional Council, as having signed a statement of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. (Citation of the organization appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Aid Spanish "Democracy"

Carter Wesley: The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (page 2), reported that "Nearly one hundred of the most prominent Negro leaders throughout the nation have endorsed the campaign to lift the embargo against Spain, the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy announced yesterday. The endorsement came in response to a letter circulated by the Committee which urges Congress, the State Department and the President to 'throw the full weight of American Democracy on the side of world democracy by lifting the embargo now placed against Republican Spain, fighting against tremendous handicaps in support of those principles and ideals upon which America was founded and whose ultimate realization our people hold dear.' . . . " Among those who signed the letter was Carter Wesley, Editor of the Houston Informer.

The Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been cited by the Special Committee . . . as a Communist-front organization (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, page 180).

Negro Youth Congress

Albert W. Dent: Albert W. Dent, President, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity and Director, Flint Goodrich Hospital, "joined in calling" the Fourth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference of the Southern Negro Youth Congress which was held in New Orleans, April 18-21, 1940 (Daily Worker, March 1, 1940).

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and "among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (the Attorney General of the United States in a press release dated December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Special Committee . . . cited the organization as a Communist front (report dated January 3, 1940); it was cited as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League by the Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 271 of April 17, 1947.

A. W. Dent, Business Manager, Flint Goodrich Hospital, spoke before the Health Section of the conference held in Birmingham, Alabama, November 20-23, 1938, by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on the printed program of that conference; the same source identified him as a member of the Southern Council of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, from Louisiana. A. W. Dent, Business Manager, Flint Goodrich Hospital, New Orleans, Louisiana, was one of the sponsors of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940, as shown on the call to that conference. Identified as President, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana, he was named by the Daily Worker of May 20, 1947 (page 5) as having signed a statement of the Southern Conference for . . . An undated report of the same organization named him as a consultant on Panel III, Youth and Training, Civilian and Military, of a conference held by the group in Nashville, Tennessee; he was identified in this source as President, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana. (See citation of the organization on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Denounces Poll Tax

J. Gordon Hancock: Committee files contain no references to a J. Gordon Hancock, identified with the Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia. However, the 1953-1954 catalogue of the Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, names Gordon **B.** Hancock as Professor Emeritus.

On October 9, 1940, the Daily Worker (page 3), published an article by Ben Davis, Jr., datelined Richmond, Va., October 8, which stated that "James W. Ford's meeting here Monday night was an unusual as it was successful. The outstanding Negro leader and Communist vice-presidential candidate, . . . lashed into poll tax 'democracy' and received a profoundly Negro audience when he presented the Communist message of peace, security and the Bill of Rights . . . The Communist Party of the State, because of the war hysteria and red-baiting one would expect in a state dominated by a Carter Glass machine, did not succeed in obtaining a hall for the Ford meeting.

"But the meeting took place anyway. It was held in the Moore Street Baptist Church, one of the leading Negro churches of the city. Dr. Gordon Hancock, prominent Negro minister and newspaper columnist, is pastor of the church. However, the meeting did not take place under Communist auspices, but under the auspices of the church itself with Dr. Hancock and the Board of Deacons participating . . . The service began in the usual church fashion . . . When this was finished the meeting was turned over to Alice Burke, State Secretary of the Party, who conducted it in the interests of the Communist election campaign . . .

Preacher Defends Commies

"Dr. Hancock, an extremely conservative Negro minister, summed up the feeling of the people in a few remarks following Ford's address: 'We are glad to hear you, Mr. Ford. We do our own thinking but we are interested in the truth. We are glad to see a Negro with the courage to run for the vice-presidency of the United States . . .We are not afraid of Communists, but I don't fall out with people who are. The Communists are a legal party. They have a right to be heard and we have a right to hear them.' . . . "

Dean Gordon B. Hancock, Associated Negro Press columnist and editor, signed "Christmas Greetings and a New Year Plea by Negro Americans" prepared by "fifty-one prominent Negro leaders from 16 states" urging Henry A. Wallace to declare himself a candidate for election as President in 1948.

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown on letterheads of the organization dated June 12 and August 11, 1947, and a page from a leaflet published by the group and used as Exhibit No. 46 by Mr. Walter S. Steele during his testimony before this committee July 22, 1947.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., "which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (press release of December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Special Committee . . . cited the group as a Communist front in a report dated January 3, 1940; and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (Report No. 271 of April 17, 1947, page 14).

World Peace Propaganda

J. M. Ellyson: No references appear in file to the name of J. M. Ellyson; however, the following is shown on an individual whose name is spelled **Ellison:**

Prof. J. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, endorsed the World Peace Appeal, as shown on an undated leaflet entitled "Prominent Americans Call For . . . " (received by the committee September 11, 1950).

The World Peace Appeal (also known as the Stockholm Peace Petition) was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stock-

(Continued on Page 3)

Dr. Howard W. Odum, University Of N. C., Tuskegee Institute Head, Are On List

(Continued from Page 2)

holm, March 16-19, 1950. It received "the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 378 of April 1, 1951, page 34).

Cited as Red-front

Dr. J. M. Ellison signed a statement of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, addressed to the American People and entitled "We Uphold the Right of All Citizens to Speak for Peace . . ." (from a handbill announcing a meeting in Town Hall, New York City, September 28, 1951). The National Council of the Arts, . . . was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its Review of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (House Report No. 1954 dated April 19, 1949, page 2).

F. D. Patterson: Soviet Russia Today for December 1942 (page 42) named **Frederick Douglas** Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, as one of the sponsors of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; a letterhead of the Congress, dated October 27, 1942, named Dr. Patterson as one of the patrons of that congress. A letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., dated March 13, 1946 and a memorandum issued by the National Council March 18, 1946, named Dr. **Frederick Douglas** Patterson as a sponsor of the organization. He was named on an undated letterhead of the National Council as one of the sponsors of a congress held November 6-8, 1943.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press release of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953); in Report 1311 of the Special Committee . . . dated March 29, 1944, it was cited as having been the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian in recent months.

President of Tuskegee

Dr. F. D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, "joined in calling" the Fourth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference of the Southern Negro Youth Congress in New Orleans, April 18-21, 1940 (Daily Worker, March 1, 1940); he was Chairman of the Advisory Board of the organization, as shown on a letterhead of the group dated June 12, 1947, a page from a leaflet published by the organization (used as Exhibit No. 46 by Mr. Walter Steele during his testimony July 22, 1947 before this committee), and a letterhead dated August 11, 1947. (Citation of the organization appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

An undated leaflet entitled "The South is Closer Than You Think," published by the New York Office of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (received by this committee about February 1947) contains the name of F. D. Patterson in a list of members of the organization's Executive Board. He was co-chairman of the Race Relations Section of the Southern Conference . . . at Birmingham, Alabama, November 20-23, 1938, and also a member of the Committee on Resolutions at the same conference, as shown on the printed program of that meeting.

Identified as President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, Dr. F. D. Patterson was co-chairman of the panel on The Meaning of Religion for Democracy at the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940, as shown on the Call to that conference on Democracy in the South. He was Vice Chairman of the Southern Conference . . . from the South at Large, as shown on an official report of the organization showing officers for 1938-1939, in which source he was identified as president of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. (Citation of the Southern Conference . . . appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Letterheads of Council

Letterheads of the Council of Young Southerners dated June 26 and August 13, 1940 contain the name of F. D. Patterson in a list of sponsors; a letterhead of the League of Young Southerners dated August 13, 1940, contains the same information. The Council of Young Southerners (also known as the League of Young Southerners) was "described on its letterhead as having its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare" (Report 592 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated June 12, 1947, page 5).

F. D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, signed a letter of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom which was dated May 26, 1940. The American Committee . . . has been cited as a Communist-front organization which defended Communist teachers (Special Committee . . . in report dated June 25, 1942; also report of March 29, 1944).

Frederick D. Patterson spoke at the Second National Negro Congress, October 15, 1937, in New York City, as shown in an announcement of that congress, a report of the congress and in New Masses in October 26, 1937 (page 11). The National Negro Congress has been cited by the Attorney General as "an important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" and as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953.) The Special Committee . . . cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes" (reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

Prof. Florence Sytz

Florence Sytz: Prof. Florence Sytz was one of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and held in New York City March 25-27, 1949 (from the Call to the conference; also conference program, page 13).

The Scientific and Cultural Conference has been cited as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheel-horses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations" (Review of the conference, prepared and released April 19, 1949 by the Committee on Un-American Activities).

Paul Christopher: The Southern Patriot for December 1946 (page 8), named Paul R. Christopher as Vice President for 1947-1948, Southern Conference for Human Welfare; an undated leaflet entitled "The South is Closer Than You Think," published by the New York Office of the Southern Conference . . . (received by this committee in February 1947) also named him as Vice President of the organization; a letterhead of the Southern Conference . . . dated June 4, 1947 named him as Vice President and a member of the organization's National Committee. (See citation of the Southern Conference on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Connected With Commies

The name of Paul **R.** Christopher appears in a list of individuals who signed the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of the organization, in which source he was identified as Tennessee Regional Director, C. I. O., Knoxville, Tennessee.

The National Federation . . . has been cited by the Attorney General as "ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party" but by which the Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" and as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687; press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953.)

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (reports of January 2, 1943; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

Will W. Alexander

Will W. Alexander: The official Register of the United States for 1937 and for 1940 both list Will W. Alexander, Administrator, Farm Security Administration, Department of Agriculture, with legal residence shown as Georgia (5th Congressional District).

Mr. Lauchlin Currie testified in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities August 13, 1948, during hearings regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government, at which time he made the following reference to a Will Alexander:

"Mr. Stripling: Did you ever visit Mr. (Nathan Gregory) Silvermaster at his home at 5515 Thirtieth Street, N. W.?

"Mr. Currie: Yes; I was entertained at his home several times. There were always other people present and the occasion was entirely **social.**

"Mr. Stripling: Could you name the other people present, please?

"Mr. Currie: I don't remember at this time all the people present. I do remember he had his immediate superiors, people more or less of my rank in Government. who were present, in the Farm Security Administration and his former superiors in the Maritime Labor Board.

"Mr. Stripling: Would you name them, please?

"Mr. Currie: There was Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Will Alexander, I recall specifically; also Mr. Louis Bloch . . .

"The Chairman: Mr. Currie, how many times were you at the Silvermaster home?

"Mr. Currie: I think in the whole period, three or four or five times; I do not really recall exactly.

"The Chairman: And what were the approximate dates?

"Mr. Currie: I do not remember, Mr. Congressman—Mr. Chairman.

"The Chairman: Well, did they start in 1943 or 1944?

"Mr. Currie: . . . I was invited after my first official contact with them, which must have been in 1940, but I only imagine that. I cannot recall from my knowledge.

"The Chairman: When was the last time you were there; what year? . . .

"Mr. Currie: I left the Government in 1945, and I assume it was probably within a year of that time, but I really must say that that is only guessing . . .

"The Chairman: Can you again tell the committee . . . the names of the persons who were present at the Silvermaster home when you were there?

"Mr. Currie: The person I definitely recall would be Mr. C. B. Baldwin, who was Mr. Silvermaster's boss at the Farm Security Administration; and I believe Mr. Will Alexander, who was also followed Mr. Baldwin in the Farm Security Administration, and Mr. Louis Bloch, who was chairman of the Maritime Labor Board who was the previous superior of Mr. Silvermaster, and their wives. I believe that is right. I am not quite sure of my recollection . . . " (see pages 857 and 870 of the hearings).

Known, Suspected Reds

Reference to Mr. Silvermaster was made in the committee's report released December 31, 1948 (pages 15 and 16); in a statement regarding the background of Mary Jane and Philip O. Keeney, prior to their testimony before the committee in May 1949, reference was made to the effect that "the Keeneys became acquainted with numerous individuals in Washington who are known and suspected Communists, including Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, his wife Helen, and William Ludwig Ullmann, who have been reported as primary functionaries to Soviet espionage activities. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and William Ludwig Ullmann have appeared before this committee and have declined to answer questions regarding their Communist affiliations and their espionage activities under the protection of the fifth

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

As soon as Gillis got out of town all the stops in the Highway Department were pulled out and Oxford put the call on everybody. They went after the contractors and the Highway employees. Oxford even called bankers who had state deposits in their bank and urged them to support Griffin. The bankers got the idea that the purpose of this call was a vague threat to remove the deposits unless they would support Griffin. The people of the state charged this to Governor Talmadge and it has caused him to lose a lot of respect. Tom Linder had the support of the old-time woolhat boys who followed Eugene Talmadge and the Governor's activity behind Marvin Griffin has alienated this group of people.

Likewise he alienated most of those who voted for Fred Hand.

Fred Hand's friends felt that Fred had been stabbed in the back by the Governor. They still feel the same way.

They know that in 1947 Fred Hand was one of a few men who were responsible for the legislature's electing Governor Talmadge and they know that had not Fred stood by Governor Talmadge as he did that the Governor could not have been elected by the legislature and would probably have never been governor.

They know that Fred Hand supported him in two races for governor and as Speaker of the House stood by him as a great tower of strength. He stood by the Governor when Marvin Griffin was not Lieutenant Governor and could not help him. He stood by the Governor and supported his legislation when Marvin Griffin was making no effort to help the Governor at all.

Fred Hand's friends know that he stood by the Governor in the House of Representatives when the Governor was forced to call on other friends to help him out in the Senate because of the inefficiency and careless leadership he had in the Senate.

Therefore, Fred Hand's friends believe that since the Governor took an active part in behalf of Marvin Griffin after he had promised Fred Hand not to do so that he stabbed Fred in the back.

They feel that if the Governor were going to actively campaign for Marvin Griffin that he should have so advised Fred Hand before he permitted Fred to get into the race.

Then there is another thing that Governor Talmadge will never be able to erase from his record.

When he supported Marvin Griffin he supported a racketeer and he knew he was supporting a racketeer.

It is going to be difficult for him to explain why he chose a racketeer as his candidate for governor.

When Governor Talmadge ran for Governor in 1948 and 1950 he denounced the pardon racket of the Rivers Administration.

Yet, the Grand Jury of Fulton County says that Marvin Griffin ran this pardon racket. They had sworn evidence before them and they found that Governor Rivers passed the authority to grant pardons to Griffin, that Griffin held hearings and granted pardons when the Governor was out of the state and that he so handled the granting of pardons that it amounted to a brokerage business for a select few of the "Inner Circle".

Governor Talmadge has done a good job in advertising Georgia to the people of the nation and he has raised the estimation of the government of this state in the eyes of the people. Now by supporting a known racketeer for Governor he has whittled away some of the prestige he has enjoyed in the past.

It is one of the things that will haunt him the rest of his days and like a ghost it will keep rising to haunt him.

So, I say that Governor Talmadge has suffered a worse defeat than any of the defeated candidates in the race and that he has made a record of which he cannot be proud and one of which he must be ashamed the rest of his days.

He let some of his friends get him in a wreck during one of his campaigns that resulted in a broken leg and his being put in a hospital. This wreck almost took him out of the race in 1948.

The friends who wrecked him in 1948 were well intentioned friends, but were acting at the time very unwisely and very foolishly.

Once again he has let some friends lead him. Once again, they led him into a wreck.

This wreck will be known as the wreck of 1954.

Figuratively speaking, he has at least broken a leg and this time the leg may not heal like it did in 1948.

Regardless of how the election results and regardless of who gets elected the Governor has been in a wreck and how serious the damage to him is to be remains to be seen.

My friend, Jim Gillis has also lost prestige because it wasn't clearly known during the campaign which of the candidates he was supporting.

(Continued on Page 4)

Dr. Howard W. Odum, University Of N. C. Tuskegee Institute Head, Are On List

(Continued from Page 3)

amendment to the Constitution" (testimony of Philip O. Keeney . . . page 223).

A letterhead of the League of Young Southerners dated August 13, 1940, contains the name of Will W. Alexander in a list of sponsors of the group. (Citation of the organization appears on page 5 of this memoradum.) A letterhead of the Council of Young Southerners (also known as the League of . . .) dated June 26, 1940, contains the name of Will W. Alexander in a list of sponsors.

Forester B. Washington

Forester B. Washington: Dr. Forester B. Washington was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown on letterheads of June 12 and August 11, 1947, and a page from the organization's leaflet which was used as Exhibit No. 46 by Mr. Walter S. Steele in testimony before this committee July 22, 1947. (Citation of the organization appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

Social Work Today for December 1937 (page 2) named Forrester B. Washington as one of the sponsors of that publication; he was Cooperator-Sponsor of the same magazine, as shown in Social Work Today for June-July 1940 (page 2). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited Social Work Today as a Communist magazine (report of March 29, 1944).

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.: The Daily Worker of March 29, 1949 (page 5), named one Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Wilberforce, Ohio, as an individual who signed a statement of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, on behalf of Communists who were subject to deportation. (See page 9 of this memorandum for citation of the American Committee . . .)

Identified as Bishop, A. M. E., Wilberforce, Ohio, R. R. Wright, Jr., signed a statement attacking the arrest of the leaders of the Communist Party (Daily Worker August 23, 1948, page 11); he signed the "Statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of the leaders of the Communist Party who had been arrested (The Worker, August 29, 1948, page 11). Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., signed a statement attacking the Mundt anti-Communist bill (Daily Worker, May 4, 1948, page 11).

Identified with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop R. R. Wright spoke at a meeting of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions September 28th (Daily Worker October 1, 1951, page 3); in an advance announcement of that meeting, which appeared in the Daily Worker on September 26, 1951 (page 8 — an advertisement), Bishop Wright was identified as being from Atlanta, Georgia. R. R. Wright, Jr., signed a statement of the National Council of the Arts, . . . , addressed to the American People to "Uphold The Right of All Citizens to Speak For Peace" (from bill entitled "Halt The Defamers Who Call Peace Un-American!" in connection with the September 28th meeting. (See page 4 of this memorandum for citation of the organization.)

Gullible Persons Sought

A mimeographed program of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives named Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., A. M. E., Bishop of Georgia, Atlanta, as Chairman of Kennote Session and Speaker at a Memorial Eve Session of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace in Chicago, May 29-30, 1950; the same information appeared in the Daily Worker of May 30, 1950 (page 9).

The Mid-Century Conference for Peace was held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and was cited as having been "aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding-board for Communist propaganda" (Report 378 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 1, 1951).

A 1947 pamphlet of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., contains the name of R. R. Wright, Jr., identified as a Bishop, in a list of members of the Council; the New York Times of April 6, 1948 (page 46L) reported that "Communist-influenced forces were accused yesterday of plotting to seize the organization and the property of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., of 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, and of using the council as a feeder for party activities. The charges were made by Dr. Max Yergan, for ten years the executive secretary of the council. He declared the council had been attacked on several fronts 'against the best interests of Negro people everywhere.' . . . Dr. Yergan said the fight to drive him out of the organization began when he proclaimed to the Federal Government that the Council was neither Fascist, Communist nor subversive. 'Today it is either me or the Communists,' he declared . . .

African Affairs Council

"Dr. Yergan said the majority of the seventy council members were his supporters. They include . . . Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., . . . listed as out-of-town members who voted by proxy for the Yergan position . . ."

The Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., was one of the sponsors of the National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, Illinois, November 21-23, 1947, as shown in the Daily Worker of October 21, 1947 (page 5), the Daily People's World of October 28, 1947 (page 4); and the program of the conference entitled "Let Freedom Ring." He was one of the sponsors of the Freedom Crusade of the Civil Rights Congress (Daily Worker, December 15, 1948, page 11); and protested the indictment of the twelve leaders of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, December 31, 1948, page 3). Identified from Wilberforce, Ohio, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., was one of the sponsors of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, January 18-19, 1949, called by the Civil Rights Congress (from a leaflet entitled Freedom Crusade which was the program of that conference).

Civil Rights Congress

The Civil Rights Congress has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Congress was formed in April 1946 as a merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, two Communist-front groups; it is "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" (from a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947).

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., was one of the sponsors of the Win-the-Peace Conference which was held in Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1946, at which time the National Committee to Win the Peace was organized. (From a letterhead of the Conference dated February 28, 1946; the Daily Worker of March 5, 1946; and the Call to a Win-the-Peace Conference.)

The National Committee to Win the Peace was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Opposes McCarran Act

Identified as being from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., signed an Open Letter to Members of the Eighty-Third Congress of the United States, urging support of legislation to repeal the McCarran Act; the Open Letter was prepared by the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. (From the Daily Worker of January 19, 1953, page 3; and an undated Open Letter on official letterhead, received by this committee in January 1953.)

Lucy Randolph Mason: Lucy Randolph Mason was a member of the Executive Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on an undated leaflet entitled "The South is Closer Than You Think" (received for files in February 1947); Mr. Walter S. Steele's testimony before this committee in July 1947 (pages 57, 139 and 141); and in the committee's report on the Southern Conference which was prepared and released June 16, 1947, pages 1 and 4. (Citation of the organization appears on page 1 of this memorandum.)

A letterhead of the League of Young Southerners dated August 13, 1940 contains the name of Lucy Randolph Mason in a list of sponsors of that organization, citation of which appears on page 1 of this memorandum.

Josephine Wilkins: A letterhead of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare dated June 4, 1947 names Josephine Wilkins as Parliamentarian and a Member of the National Committee of that c tion, citation of which appears on page 1 of this memorandum.

Josephine Wilkins was one of the sponsors of the League of Young Southerners, as shown on a letterhead of the organization dated August 13, 1940. (See page 2 of this memorandum for citation of the group.)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

He may have been supporting more than one.

At least this is the opinion of the public generally.

However, Mr. Gillis will probably be able to overcome his loss of prestige and the people may understand why he took the course he did take.

But there is one thing that stands out above all others in this race and that is that too many people do not vote their conscience on a basis of principle, but they diligently search for the winner.

Another thing that stood out like a sore thumb is the fact that too many people in this state were seeking a candidate who would give them something personally instead of a candidate who promised to give them a competent and a clean administration of the state affairs.

And that brings up the worst thing I know about politics.

It takes a lot of money to be elected Governor and the cost of radio, television, newspaper advertising in the making of a campaign is prohibitive.

Now, you can't run without doing these things and you can't run without money.

There are plenty of people who are willing to contribute. But the ones who are willing to contribute expect some special favor from the state. **They either expect highway contracts, deposits of money in their banks, to sell the state something, or to be protected in one of the rackets.**

Now, if a man can convince this group of people whom I call racketeers that he has a good chance to win, he can get all the money he wants.

The thing that astounds me is that the people of the state do not know what's going on in these campaigns and they seem little concerned.

If this trend continues you are going to see the government of every state in this nation and the federal government controlled by racketeers.

The reason for this is the fact that legitimate business people are asleep. They do not recognize that somebody must pay the freight. They seem to think that all these campaigns are run without money.

The business people do not contribute and consequently they are defaulting in their duty and surrendering to the racketeer the control of the government of their state.

We are never going to have good government until the business people recognize that they must help pay the freight.

It is easy to get money out of gamblers, bootleggers and people who want rigged contracts with the state.

They will contribute in enormous amounts.

The business people of the state must recognize that he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. Unless the business people of this state recognize this fact and they are willing to assume their responsibility for the government of their own state, then they should quit criticizing governors and other state officials who run rackets for the benefit of their friends.

A straight-laced candidate is handicapped in the raising of campaign funds. One who isn't particular about his obligations fares better.

The whole situation boils down to this: Unless the good people of this state are willing to participate in politics openly and to help pay the expenses of campaigns, then they are surrendering the government of this state to people who are willing to contribute and to people who are willing to stick their necks out and are willing to participate.

The duties of citizenship require all of us to take part in the management of the biggest business in Georgia and that is the state government. When we are afraid to open our mouths or to take part, it means that we are slackers in our duty.

After the results are known, we will have more to say about the campaign.

Federal High Court Ruling In School Segregation Cases Revive Ancient Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

James C. Davis of Georgia.

The success of the Association depends upon the active interest of representative citizens. I am therefore authorized by the planning committee, Messrs. S. D. Copeland, Bright McConnell, Frank Turner, William Lester and Roy Harris, to invite you to participate as a member of a Committee of 100 citizens, which will constitute the Executive Committee of the Association. Funds are needed immediately for such things as advertising, in which the objectives of the Association will be outlined, stationery, and clerical help. A voluntary contribution of $10.00 by each member of the Committee of 100 is suggested.

I join the members of the planning committee in expressing the hope that you will accept membership by completing the enclosed card and sending it promptly with your contribution to Rodney S. Cohen, Jr., temporary Secretary-Treasurer, 802 Marion Building, Augusta, Ga. All contributions will be strictly accounted for with regular reports of expenditures.

Awaiting your response and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
HUGH G. GRANT
(Temporary President)

Ga. Ad Commission Named To Promote Industry, Tourist

ATLANTA, — Georgia in recent years has been doing a creditable job of selling herself to the rest of the world, particularly in so far as industries and tourists are concerned. But she hopes to do even better in the future. Reason: Gov. Herman Talmadge has established a Georgia Advertising Commission.

The commission, composed of twelve members representing a cross section of industries and businesses over the state, is designed to promote a "systematic plan of nation-wide advertising" to boost the state's industries and tourist attractions.

The Governor said he had formed the commission to "help correlate the advertising efforts of private enterprises and that of the state." In swearing in his appointees he told them to work together to get the most out of the dollars spent for advertising. The commission is purely an advisory body.

Nelson M. Shipp, secretary of the Georgia Department of Commerce, was appointed chairman by Gov. Talmadge. In addition to Shipp other members of the commission are:

Alfred W. Jones, chairman of the board of the Sea Island Co.; C. E. Woolman, president of Delta-C & S Air Lines; W. S. Stuckey, of the Stuckey Candy Co.; J. J. McDonough, of the Georgia Power Co. and president of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce; Howard Callaway, of the Ada Cason Gardens, Hamilton.

Horace Caldwell, owner of Radium Springs Development, near Albany; Flournoy Fiske, president of Fine Products Corp., Augusta; Harrell Perkins, vice president of Central of Georgia Railroad; Mills B. Lane, president of Citizens & Southern National Bank; Jesse Jewell, head of Jewell Poultry Enterprises, Gainesville, and Herbert Bondurant, vice president of Southern Railway.

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 | THE AUGUSTA COURIER, MAY 30, 1955, AUGUSTA, GA. | No. 408

Georgia Free To Defeat Supreme Court Ruling Outlawing Racial Segregation

* *

Griffin Will Dictate Tax Committee's Recommendations; Will School System Needs Be Met Or Largely By-Passed?

Thrasher's Group Proposes Raising Nearly 70 Million New Revenue Annually

The report to be made by Governor Marvin Griffin's Tax Study Committee will have a great effect on the future of Georgia.

This committee can recommend to Georgia people a solution to their school problem, or it can take a nibble at the problem, dodge responsibility and leave the solution to future administrations and legislatures.

The Griffin leaders have shown a decided trend towards taking a nibble at the problem and doing just enough to get by and leave the disagreeable work to the future.

Problem Faced Squarely

However, the subcommittees in their reports to the full committee have not taken a nibble at the problem, but instead, have faced the problem squarely and recommended that the state solve the problem now.

The subcommittee on schools, which was headed by State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr., has recommended that the state raise between sixty and seventy million dollars in new revenue a year for the purpose of giving us an adequate system of education.

This subcommittee report recommended that the full committee endorse a program which called for an increase of state appropriations to the public schools in excess of fifty million dollars a year and for an increase to the University System of approximately ten million dollars.

Plan Is Proposed

Thrasher's subcommittee didn't stop there. They recommended a plan of taxation for producing the money to finance the program.

Georgia today is faced with a critical situation with regard to its public schools and their growth and development in the next few years depends entirely upon the recommendation of this committee.

So far, the full committee has not divulged whether it will nibble at the problem or whether it will undertake a solution as the subcommittees have.

Will Griffin Nibble

It is generally understood that the full committee report will be dictated by the Governor and that the committee will abide by his wishes. Up until now, Griffin and his key leaders have given every indication of just nibbling. However, the reports from Thrasher's committee was so convincing, so thorough and so exhaustive until the Governor and his advisors may not be able to escape the inevitable conclusion.

They certainly will be asked the question that if we must have this amount of money eventually to build an educational system in Georgia, then why not

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

There have always been cranks and crackpots among college students.

At that age, most of us thought that we were endowed with all of the wisdom of the ages and were inclined to be smart alecks whether we went to college or not.

Unfortunately, college kind of brings these traits out, gives a man an exaggerated ego and causes him to be a little worse than the average individual.

Up at the University of Georgia a little handful of college students have been distributing some handbills.

These handbills weren't printed by college students and neither were they published by college students.

There are organizations all over the country working among school and church groups and trying to get people to circulate similar literature and to engage in similar activities.

Seven boys headed by a young fellow who lives at Milledgeville, Georgia, circulated these handbills on the University of Georgia campus.

They have joined up with all the other crackpots trying to destroy segregation.

"Here's a copy of the handbill which they distributed at the University:

"THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA'S STUDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE URGES YOU TO BEGIN

"CREATIVE POLITICAL ACTION

". . . study the problem of race relations intelligently and objectively. Here are a few suggested books in this area. These books are in the University of Georgia Library.

"Lillian Smith, **NOW IS THE TIME.**

Harry Ashmore, **THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS.**

William S. Nelson, **THE CHRISTIAN WAY IN RACE RELATIONS.**

Robert Penn Warren, et al, **I'LL TAKE MY STAND.**

Johnathan Daniel, **A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS THE SOUTH.**

". . . sponsor and plan study seminars on race relations in your local community, your church, your social organizations, etc. You can get speakers and material from the following organizations.

American Friends Service Committee, 617 West Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina; Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

"Your church's board on race relations or social action.

". . . write and/or have an interview with your representative in the Georgia State Legislature. Discuss ways of preparing to face the coming implementation of the U. S. Supreme Court decision.

". . . write the governor and express your concern for the development of all potential leadership in our state.

". . . write the Board of Regents of the University System, Deans of the University, and other University officials and urge them to find intelligent and mature means of preparing our state for the coming change.

". . . seek the truth. Accept your freedom to stand in the midst of our divided society and express your convictions."

Now these young students not only had to be cranks, but they were duped by the organizations to which they refer in their pamphlet.

Nobody but a crank would distribute these circulars under the conditions that exist in Georgia.

In the first place, the law of Georgia provides that the races shall

(Continued on Page 3)

Cook Gives Reasons To Savannah Editor Why State Able To Protect Its Citizens

The State of Georgia is now free to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision ordering the mixing of the white and negro races in the public school system, according to Eugene Cook, Attorney General of Georgia.

Cook says that not only is the State of Georgia free to take such action, but six other states are likewise free to do so. These six states are Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Maryland.

Reasons For Conclusion

As his reasons why he reaches this conclusion, Cook, in a recent letter to William J. Robertson, Editor of the Savannah Morning News, said:

"Many good reasons have been given indicating that it might have been wise for me to make an appearance. On the other hand, I am still of the personal opinion that my decision will eventually prove to be right.

"As you know, the decision of the Court of May 17, 1954, holding that segregation of the races in public schools violated the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, was unanimous and no effort on the part of anyone singly or together could possibly obtain a reversal or modification. In fact, the invitation of the Court did not suggest that we would be privileged to even question that decision. To appear as a friend of the Court in a case of this kind with a brief in criticism of the decision and a prayer for reconsideration, modification or reversal would have been inappropriate and not even reviewed by the Court.

Purpose of Invitation

"The purpose of the invitation was to bring before the Court in an official manner all Attorneys General representing States in which the impact of the decision may be felt. In doing this, the Court very shrewdly obligated the Attorneys General who went before it on that invitation to become a party to the formulation of the enforcement decree or decrees and, therefore, honor bound to insist that the citizens of their respective States comply with such decree or decrees.

"This I could not do under the circumstances, when I know that the people of Georgia will not abide by the Court's conclusions on the question of enforcement.

"In fact, when I made my original decision, which was concurred in by Governor Talmadge, the Governors of South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, I was firmly convinced that the people would by-pass whatever enforcement decree or decrees the Court might write and that they could do so within the framework of the Federal and State Con-

(Continued on Page 2)

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Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:

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CIO Out To Whip The South

The Camden Chronicle

The CIO said in Washington this week that a group of its unions had arranged to lend the CIO striking Southern Bell Telephone Company workers $1,250,000 to help in their 50-day old strike in nine Southern states.

It is not surprising that the CIO labor unions should take this action. The CIO has long been bitter towards the South because of its failure to get a strong foothold here. It has spent thousands upon thousands of dollars trying to organize the textile workers of this region but has been repulsed in its efforts. **It has been able to make no gains in this section at all because Southern workers are too smart to be trapped.**

Now they see the possibility of even losing some of the very slight holdings they have in the South. **If the phone workers lose their strike it will just about put the finishing touches on the CIO in this section. Hence the CIO unions have decided to turn loose some of the many million of dollars they have lying idle in their treasuries—money they collected from poor working men and women as dues—in an effort to force the Southern Bell Telephone Company into line.**

The striking telephone workers also announced that they had received a gift of $500,000 to aid them in their strike. They declined to say where this gift came from. We do not know whether this is a part of the $1,250,000 which the CIO labor unions are going to lend or not. If it isn't the strikers should be forced to tell who did give the $500,000. One wonders not only who gave it but why.

But what is the outlook for the telephone strikers? Even if they should win the strike, their union dues will probably have to be raised in order to pay back the money loaned by the CIO unions and then look at what they have lost in the time they have been out on strike. They are going to lose no matter what happens.

But the big labor bosses will continue to live in luxury, stop at the swankest hotels in the country, ride around in big cars at the expense of the workers who are not out on strike and who are continuing to pay their "dues."

The Telephone Strike

The telephone strike is now over and nobody lost but the strikers. They lost to the tune of seventeen and a half million dollars in pay in addition to a lot of self-respect.

They couldn't help but lost self-respect in view of all of the violence that accompanied the strike over the nine Southern states. The strikers cut cables, dynamited buildings and shot other people. In so doing, they made criminals out of a long string of strikers.

As an aftermath they left a lot of their fellow workers to face the criminal courts and possible penitentiary sentences.

Hundreds of other strikers will know that they are criminals although they were not caught and will probably never face trial.

That's a terrible price to pay for a strike.

The strike went on for about seventy days. In addition to losing seventeen and a half million dollars in pay which the strikers would have received had they been at work, the unions spent millions of dollars trying to keep the strike going. Walter Reuther loaned them a million and a quarter at one time and some union which wanted to remain anonymous loaned them a half million and then they spent their own money.

How much the strike cost the strikers no one will ever know.

The public suffered very little inconvenience as a result of the strike. Telephone service went on as usual and it is believed that the telephone company made more money as a result of the strike than they lost as a result of the damage.

We can't believe the telephone company lost a single penny.

Then, when the thing was all over the union officials signed the same agreement which the telephone company offered them before they went out on strike.

They struck over the silliest thing in the world. The telephone company insisted that they put a provision in the contract agreeing that during the life of the contract the union wouldn't strike. Finally, the union officials had to swallow this dose and they signed the contract and agreed not to strike.

There was only one change made in the contract which they accepted and the one offered before they struck. The telephone company agreed that they would arbitrate the question of all people who were fired during the strike on an individual basis.

So, arbitrators will decide whether those fired during the strike will come back or not and by the time they get through arbitrating them one by one, most of them will be dead with old age.

So, the strikers took a licking. They are the only people who lost.

The union officials didn't miss a meal. The union officials didn't miss a payday. The union officials didn't go hungry. They got their salaries just the same. They rode in their big cars and they slept in air conditioned hotel rooms just the same. Their expenses were paid out of union funds and will continue to be paid out of union funds.

That causes us to ask one question. How long will the average union member continue to be used and cheated as they are now being used and cheated by the union officials?

The average union member is nothing but a sucker and he can't realize it.

Georgia Leads In AG Research Work, Declares Griffin

ATLANTA,—Painstaking work by the experiment stations of Georgia over a long period of years is paying off in big dividends to the farmers and will be of even greater benefit to them in the future, declared Gov. Marvin Griffin at the dedication of the Coastal Plains Experiment Station's new administration-laboratory building, just held at Tifton.

"In 1950, when the University of Georgia's College of Agriculture was reorganized, the Tifton experiment station became an integral part of the state's total agricultural research program," he said. "Georgia can now boast of one of the most extensive and best organized programs of agricultural research of any state in the Union."

The findings of research are now processed through the College of Agriculture and through its extension personnel to all farmers in every part of the state, the Governor explained.

He said presently there are three major experiment stations—at Athens, Griffin and Tifton. There also are four branch stations located in Union, Gordon, Sumter and Burke Counties and four field stations in Decatur County, at Reidsville's State Prison Field, at Alapaha Field in the lower coastal plain and the Eatonton Field station in the Piedmont area. In addition, there are two cooperating U. S. Department of Agriculture stations, jointly staffed with state stations, in Oconee and Liberty Counties.

"These stations have been listed to show just how extensive and important this great program is to the farmers living in every section of our state," Griffin said. "The extensive research work in these stations has paid rich dividends. No state in the South has produced so many new crop varieties and hybrids which are used by Southern farmers as has Georgia.

"In the livestock field, Georgia and the Southern states have felt the impact of the work done at these experiment stations . . . In a state where progress depends upon the economic welfare of the farmer, no better investment can be made than in finding new and better answers to the problems which face our farm people."

Teen-Age Traffic Safety Conference Plans Shaping Up

ATLANTA,—Plans are going forward for the third annual Governor's Teen-Age Traffic Safety Conference, to be held August 7-13 at Camp Safety Patrol on Lake Blackshear, near Cordele. It is sponsored by the Georgia Teen-Age Traffic Assn., under the guidance of the Georgia Citizens Council.

Council Director John W. Maloof has sent out letters to high school principals, county school superintendents and Hi-Y and Tri-Hi-Y counselors all over Georgia outlining the procedure for selecting the teen-age delegates, and calling on them to get the machinery in motion at the local level, where the youthful delegates are chosen.

Both boys and girls, either juniors or seniors in high schools as of next fall's school term, are eligible as delegates. The sponsors are shooting for a registration goal of 300 delegates, with each of Georgia's counties being represented by one or two of its outstanding students. The smaller high schools will have one delegate and one alternate; the larger schools two delegates and two alternates.

Room and board for each delegate is $12.50 for the entire week of the conference. The only other expense is the cost of transportation to and from the camp. In the past, this expense of each delegate has been borne by some interested individual in the community, or by local merchants, or civic clubs or other groups.

"It is not a large expense, but a small investment that will pay off big dividends by helping Georgia youths become better citizens," emphasizes the Citizens Council.

Qualified adults serve as constultants at the conference. In addition to the educational or "work part" of the conference, which will be devoted entirely to various phases of traffic safety, there will be a well-rounded recreational program including swimming and many other forms of sports, it was pointed out.

Cook Gives Reasons To Savannah Editor Why State Able To Protect Its Citizens

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stitutions. Subsequent acts by the people and the legislature in amending the Constitution and the enactment of circumvention measures by the legislature have confirmed this conclusion of mine.

Georgia Not Committed

"In view of the present posture of the issue, Georgia is not committed, either morally or legally, to submit.

"Incidentally, press reports reflect that the Chief Justice has asked each of the Attorneys General representing the Southern States the question of whether an honest effort will be made by these States to comply with whatever decree or decrees they formulate. Had I been before the Court, my answer would have necessarily been "no," to which answer the Court may well have found me in contempt and foreclosed any further comments and observations as far as Georgia is concerned.

Has No Authority

"Another reason which I failed to point out in my letter to you is one I have saved for future use, but will give it to you now. Under the Federal Constitution an amendment to that document becomes the law of the land instanter, unless implemented by Congress. The Court has no authority to implement an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Its sole prerogative is that of interpretation. The May 17, 1954, decision construed the 14th Amendment and the question of whether its meaning should be imposed upon the people instanter or at some future date is solely the prerogative of the people through their duly elected representatives in Congress. Constitutional lawyers are unable to find any precedent in which the U. S. Supreme Court said to the President of the United States and to Congress that an amendment to the Federal Constitution could not be enforced until a given date. Congress, however, has the right to implement amendments to the Constitution even though they may be self-executing because the Constitution is the written expression of the people and its implementation is exclusively that of the U. S. Congress.

"Had I officially appeared with a plea to the Court that because of the peculiar conditions in Georgia prevailing at the present time the Court should postpone the enforcement of this decision indefinitely or allow time for orderly adjustment, I would have necessarily officially conceded the right of that Court to usurp the prerogative of Congress and the people.

NAACP's Contention

"General Counsel for NAACP, Thurgood Marshall, stated to the Court in his arguments that its decision should be enforced forthwith because the Court was without authority to postpone it. In this I concur with him. According to a report I received from two of my Assistants who were there observing incognito, no member of the bench disputed the NAACP Attorney's charge. At least, they did not take exception to what he said.

"It is my firm belief that the Court's decision in the segregation issue and its disgraceful effort to implement it will be a matter against which constitutional lawyers of the United States will rebel for the next generation, and I am sincerely expecting some of our ablest constitutional lawyers to finally convince the Court of its error by the use of public indignation and congressional effort in a manner that will place upon the bench constitutional lawyers and not pseudo-lawyer politicians. No one who shares my view holds out any hope for this much-desired accomplishment under the reign of the Court as it is presently con-

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Black Race's Contribution To Civilization Is Negative

World's Advancement Due To Caucasians, Medical College Professor Says

The black race alone has not contributed to any civilization throughout the history of the world, according to Dr. W. C. George, Professor of Anatomy at the Medical College at the University of North Carolina.

In a recent paper he has tried to outline that the integration of the white and black races will result in the destruction of the creative genius of our people.

The Courier has already carried two articles on his recent paper and has tried to point out that integration of the black and white races means tragedy for the American people.

The reason the black race has never contributed to any civilization is due to a distinctive difference between the Caucasian and negro races.

Caucasian Race

The Caucasian race has made great strides and has led in the development of the civilization of the world under circumstances more difficult than the circumstances under which the negro races have lived.

In developing this idea, Dr. George says:

"Is there any difference between the Caucasian and negro races in their relative ability and will to achieve? In an earlier paper I cited evidence from tests given in the military forces and elsewhere leading to the conclusion that the mean level of intelligence in the Negro is roughly 20% lower than in whites. Race integrationalists have attempted to discredit such evidence in one way or another. Quite recently Carothers (1953) has published a further extensive study, made in Africa, of the African mind and personality, and he cited a number of rather recent studies made by other investigators. Although he seems reluctant to accept the implications of these studies, he does record the data and the conclusions. Whatever the absolute accuracy may be, we cannot lightly dismiss so much old and new objective evidence, all of which points in the same direction.

Finds Inferiority

"Dr. Carothers was born in South Africa, went to school and to medical college in England, and has spent his life on the staffs and as director of mental hospitals in Africa. In his rather extensive monograph on **The African Mind in Health and Disease** one finds the statement that, 'The available objective data point to a marked inferiority on the part of the native in comparison with the European children in educability.'

"Attempting to summarize the attributes of the African, Carothers says, 'The African has accordingly been described as conventional; highly dependent on physical and emotional stimulation; lacking in spontaneity, foresight, tenacity, judgment and humility; inapt for sound abstraction and for logic; given to phantasy and fabrication; and, in general, as unstable, impulsive, unreliable, irresponsible, and living in the present without reflection or ambition, or regard for the rights of others outside his own circle. To counteract these ruderies, he has also been described as cheerful, stoical, self-confident, sociable, loyal, emotionally intuitive, and eloquent, and as bearing no grudges and having an excellent memory, a large vocabulary, and an aptitude for music and the dance' (p. 87). Concerning reliability of behavior in Africans, Carothers cites cases and says, 'The failures were of the usual kinds met with in Africa; . . . . although such failures occur from time to time, of course, in experience of European employees . . . . they would only occur frequently in western European civilization in persons who would be considered thoroughly irresponsible, whereas Africans who do not frequently default in ways like these are rather exceptional people.' I could not vouch for the correctness in all details of this appraisal of Africans, but it certainly corresponds in many ways with our experience in dealing with American Negroes.

Racial Developments

"One might give acquiescence to the efforts to explain away such evidence as has been obtained by tests and other observations if the historical record revealed significant accomplishment by the Negro race. But such is not the case. Throughout the thousands of years during which the different branches of the Caucasian race were developing the civilizations of Egypt, Sumeria, Assyria, Chaldea, Babylon, Persia, India, Palestine, Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece, Rome, Modern Europe, America—throughout all these thousands of years the Negroes in Africa have not developed beyond food gatherers and a hoe agriculture. Although they have been in peripheral contact with civilizations of other races since the days of early Egypt, they have borrowed little and created little.

"Bad environment is not an acceptable excuse for failure of the Negroes to do anything much but survive. They had a whole continent, indeed a whole world, to have great resources. Furthemore, other races have overcome environmental difficulties. Why should not the Negroes? Overcoming difficulties is the very essence of civilization. Toynbee has pointed out that the development of the Egyptian civilization required 'the transformation of the prehistoric jungle swamps of the lower Nile into the ordered networks of dikes and fields where soil and water are subject to human control.' Also, the Mayan culture of Central America was developed in the tropical humid jungles where conditions were similar to conditions that confronted the Negroes in central Africa.

Black Races Negative

"If you want confirmation, read the world historians. Ridpath remarks, 'The whole of ancient and modern history is virtually occupied with the ambitions, activities, and grand monuments of those Ruddy peoples, who, springing from a common origin in the east and spreading everywhere, have obtained and held the mastery of the world.' And Arnold Toynbee says, 'The black races alone have not contributed to any civilization.'

"Does modern history confirm or refute the lesson of ancient history? In spite of the efforts of press agents to make out a flattering case for the Negro race, it is well known that during their 300 years in America their contributions to our civilization have been and are relatively meager whereas their contributions to social delinquency have been major. Apologists claim this is due to discrimination and lack of opportunity, a claim that is hardly credible for the record is not significantly different in areas that boast of their lack of discrimination. A few years ago the Philadelphia Presbytery made a race relations survey of their area. Concerning crime and delinquency, the survey reports what they refer to as 'Disturbing facts of Negro juvenile delinquency in Philadelphia. Though Negroes constitute only 14.5 percent of Philadelphia's population, 43 percent of juvenile arrests have been Negroes . . . Four out of every five Negro boys are now coming into some scrape with the law by the time they reach 18.'"

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be separate. So says the Constitution of Georgia.

Then in addition, the law of Georgia says that in the event white and negro students are mixed in the University System that the whole University will be shut down and closed. In other words, there is no money in Georgia to operate the University in the event that negroes are admitted there.

Likewise, there would be no money to operate the three negro schools should whites be admitted to either of those schools. Yet, here these boys are advocating flying in the face of the law of Georgia and closing the University itself.

What does such an insignificant matter as closing the whole University mean to a crank of this kind?

Unfortunately, these organizations have infiltrated into the schools and churches of this state and they have a lot of weak-minded people suffering with a case of conscience because they are not marrying up and mixing with the negro race.

Then, these young cranks seem to be tied up with two communist-front organizations. Their pamphlet says that you can get material from American Friends Service Committee and Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Conservative in its May, 1955, issue said of the American Friends Service Committee the following:

"American Friends Service Committee", Henry Cadbury, chairman. Once a respected organization representing the Quakers, this outfit is now a propaganda apparatus which sends Socialists and left-wingers all over the country to address religious and educational groups. Many of these speakers are authors of books and publications openly plugging for the banishment of the free enterprise system and the adoption of collectivism as a national policy. One of the Friends' lecturers, a Negro, was sent to Pasadena, California, to address the local branch of the American Association of University Women. After expounding his social theories to the AAUW ladies, he was arrested on a morals charge when he was found at three o'clock in the morning in a parked car with two white men.

"Henry Cadbury, chairman, has been shown as belonging to such officially cited Communist fronts as the American Rescue Ship Mission, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and as being affiliated with the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact which, according to the House Un-American Activities Committee, was instituted by Communists."

Now, you all know about the Southern Regional Council. You know that for weeks the Augusta Courier ran an expose of the Southern Regional Council.

On July 12, 1954, we summed up what we had printed in the June 28, 1954 issue of the Courier. Here's what we said then:

"THE AUGUSTA COURIER carried a detailed expose, June 28, 1954, which established facts about the Southern Regional Council. They are as follows:

"1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

"2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as communists in testimony before Congressional committees by former associates in the party.

"3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

"4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

"5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

"6. The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina. The

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Thrasher's Group Proposes Raising Nearly 70 Million New Revenue Annually

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let's have it now?

The report of the full committee will be written at an early date, adopted by the committee and transmitted to the legislature.

Should this committee boldly and bravely present the true facts to the legislature and recommend a full and complete solution now, then the legislature might adopt the program and if so, Georgia would be catapulted into a period of growth and development unheard of here before.

Only Courage Needed

Will Griffin dare take the chance? Will he dare risk his political neck on the chopping block and recommend the amount of taxes that will be necessary to solve the problem?

It will take an unusual amount of political courage for Griffin to take the chance and the gamble.

It is always safer politically to do just enough to get by and to give those who are clamoring for an expanded program of education just enough to close their mouths for the time being.

Griffin is to be sympathized with in his position because it is a perilous position. If he be politically minded and politically ambitious he will certainly be more cautious than usual. On the other hand, if he has made up his mind that this is his last fling at politics and this is his last chance it will be easier for him to do what is necessary to be done. But the average, everyday person is not in position where he is required to make the decision and he can feel safe and smug. But the man on the firing line like Griffin and the members of the legislature will be required to spend many uneasy and restless nights.

Few Dodge Successfully

Yet, that is the price that one must pay for glory. Those who are placed in positions of honor and power are subjected to the hazards of the game.

Some few people have managed to stay in office for a lifetime and skip by the pitfalls and dodge the distasteful issues from time to time. But few men have been so lucky and so successful.

It is strange that history has not recorded the records of those who have skipped by easily, but those who have faced up to the emergencies and the crises when they came and did something about it.

If Griffin faces up to this issue and raises the money necessary to keep Georgia's march of progress going, he may be unpopular for a time, but he will live to see the day when he is praised from one end of the state to the other.

The issue now is up to Griffin. What will he do? For an answer to that question, we must wait and see.

Framers Of Constitution Feared Supreme Court's Powers

Danger Of Tribunal To American Form Of Government Told By U. S. Senator

The usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States in recent years makes especially interesting what the framers of the Constitution thought about the Supreme Court at the time of its creation.

U. S. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina, in a recent speech to the Harvard Law School Association of New York City, dealt with this subject.

In his speech, he outlined that there were delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 who were afraid of the power given the Supreme Court.

Limits Not Well Defined

One delegate said, "There are no well-defined limits of the judiciary powers, they seem to be left as boundless as an ocean," and then ended by saying, "It would be an Herculean labor to attempt to describe the dangers with which they are replete."

George Mason, of Virginia, claimed that the judiciary of the United States would absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states.

To all these arguments, Alexander Hamilton said that the supposed dangers were "in reality, a phantom."

So, with full knowledge of how the Supreme Court has abused its power in recent years, Senator Ervin entitled his speech "Alexander Hamilton's Phantom."

Opinions of Delegates

And in reference to what the delegates to the constitutional convention thought about the Supreme Court at the beginning, Senator Ervin said:

"The men who composed the American Constitutional Convention of 1787 comprehended in full measure the everlasting political truth that no man or set of men can be safely trusted with governmental power of an unlimited nature. In consequence, they were determined, above all things, to establish a government of laws and not of men.

"To prevent the exercise of arbitrary power by the Federal Government, they inserted in the Constitution of the United States the doctrine of the separation of governmental powers.

Separation of Powers

"In so doing, they utilized the doctrine of the separation of powers in a twofold way. They delegated to the Federal Government the powers necessary to enable it to discharge its limited functions as a central government, and they left to each state the power to regulate its own internal affairs. It was this use of the doctrine of the separation of powers which prompted Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase to make these memorable remarks in his opinion in TEXAS vs. WHITE:

" 'Not only, therefore, can there be no loss of separate and independent autonomy to the States, through their union under the Constitution, but it may be not unreasonably said that the preservation of the States, and the maintenance of their governments, are as much within the design and care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the National Government. THE CONSTITUTION, IN ALL ITS PROVISIONS, LOOKS TO AN INDISSOLUBLE UNION, COMPOSED OF INDESTRUCTIBLE STATES.'

"In their other utilization of the doctrine of the separation of powers, the members of the Convention of 1787 vested the power to make laws in the Congress, the power to execute laws in the President, and the power to interpret laws in the Supreme Court of the United States and such inferior courts as the Congress might establish. Moreover, they declared, in essence, that the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers of the Federal Government should forever remain separate and distinct from each other.

Arbitrary Power

"The members of the Convention of 1787 did not put their sole reliance upon the doctrine of the separation of governmental powers in their effort to forestall the exercise of arbitrary power by the Federal Government. They balanced the President's power to veto the acts of Congress against the power of Congress to legislate, and they balanced the power of Congress over the purse against the President's power as Commander and Chief of the Army and Navy. They made the Supreme Court of the United States independent of the President and the Congress by giving its judges life tenure during good behavior and by providing that their compensation should not be diminished during their continuance in office. They failed, however, to place in the Constitution any provisions to restrain any abuse of its judicial power by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"This significant omission was not overlooked at the time. Elbridge Gerry, a delegate from Massachusetts, asserted:

" 'There are no well defined limits of the Judiciary Powers, they seem to be left as a boundless ocean, that has broken over the chart of the Supreme Lawgiver, thus far shalt thou go and no further, and as they cannot be comprehended by the clearest capacity, or the most sagacious mind, it would be an Herculean labor to attempt to describe the dangers with which they are replete.'

Mason Makes Objection

"George Mason, a delegate from Virginia, made this more specific objection:

" 'The Judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states . . .'

"Others declared, in substance, that under the Constitution the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States would 'not be in any manner subject to . . revision or correction'; that 'the power of construing the laws' would enable the Supreme Court of the United States 'to mould them into whatever shape it' should 'think proper'; that the Supreme Court of the United States could 'substitute' its 'own pleasure' for the law of the land; and that the 'errors and usurpations of the Supreme Court of the United States' would 'be uncontrollable and remediless.'

Hamilton's Opinion

"Alexander Hamilton rejected these arguments with this emphatic assertion: 'The supposed danger of Judiciary encroachments . . is, in reality, a phantom.' He declared, in essence, that this assertion was true because men selected to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States would 'be chosen with a view to those qualifications which fit men for the stations of Judges', and that they would give 'that inflexible and uniform adherence' to legal rules 'which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice.'

"In elaborating this thesis, Alexander Hamilton said: 'It has been frequently remarked with great propriety, that a voluminous code of laws is one of the inconveniences necessarily connected with the advantages of a free government. To void an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before them; and it will readily be conceived, from the variety of controversies which grow out of the folly and wickedness of mankind, that the records of those precedents must unavoidably swell to a very considerable bulk, and must demand long and laborious study to acquire a competent knowledge of them. Hence, it is that there can be but few men in . . . society, who will have sufficient skill in the laws to qualify them for the station of Judges.'

"By these remarks, Hamilton assured the several States that men selected to sit upon the Supreme Court of the United States would be able and willing to subject themselves to the restraint inherent in the judicial process. Experience makes this proposition indisputable: Although one may possess a brilliant intellect and be actuated by lofty motives, he is not qualified for the station of a judge in a government of laws unless he is able and willing to subject himself to the restraint inherent in the judicial process."

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charter of incorporation was applied for in Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944, and was granted for a period of thirty-five years. Attorneys for the applicants were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member."

Now, these young cranks at the University have aligned themselves with at least thirty-eight members of the Southern Regional Council who have belonged to organizations cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General of the United States or the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives.

So, that's a fine bunch of folks they have lined up with.

And that's the kind of people who are infiltrating the churches and the educational institutions with their filthy, slimy doctrine of racial mixing.

They have used every argument in the world. They have claimed it to be the Christian duty of the white people to mix their blood with the negro blood. They have worked on the consciences of a lot of church people and a lot of crackpot preachers have gone off with them. Some teachers have likewise gone as well as people in other leading positions.

Their aim is a mulatto race in America. They hope to produce a mulatto race in order to weaken America.

This doctrine of race-mixing is communist doctrine. It had its beginning with the communists. It has been promoted by the communist movement from beginning to end.

The Communists know that if they can mix the blood of the white man in the United States with that of the negro that they will destroy the creative genius of the American people and will so weaken the race until by infiltration and without firing a single shot they can take over this country and make America a sattelite to be included behind the iron curtain.

Back of all of it is the determined purpose to destroy the creative and inventive genius of the American people and trim us down to their size. As soon as they can mix us up with negro blood this condition can be produced and America can either be conquered or destroyed according to the whims of the particular dicator who happens to be in control of Moscow.

Now, the pity of it is that young men at the University of Georgia who who come from fine families can be induced into joining up with such filthy and slimy movements.

The fact that they can do so on the campus of the University is no compliment to the teaching staff of the University or to those who sit in administrative positions.

If they had been indoctrinated with a hearty, healthy dose of good old Americanism and the principles that the decent people in Georgia stand for, then the cranks would not even have the nerve to stick their heads above the water.

The people of Georgia pay the bills. The people of Georgia are entitled to know the things taught at the University and they are entitled to have the minds of their children indoctrinated with a more wholesome philsophy.

Now, it is true that there is only a small group in the University who entertain such crazy notions. But the minority group is there.

These minority groups not only exist in the University, but they exist in practically every county in Georgia. They have infiltrated in the churches and into some of the local schools.

Some of our preachers entertain some of the same kind of ideas and most leaders of most churches today are preaching the same kind of filthy doctrine.

Cranks and crackpots have come up with strange doctrines from time to time throughout history. There is nothing strange about that.

Now, the thing for you and I to worry about is the fact that my neighbor doesn't seem to be concerned about this situation and those of us back home are sitting down and doing nothing about it.

I have repeatedly said that it will be too late for us to close the door after the horse has escaped. We have been sitting complacently too long. By our complacency and our failure to take positive action we have led the national politicians into believing that we will gently submit to this kind of a crime being pulled off in this country.

When are you going to do something about it? When are you going to organize in your community? When are you going to investigate what is being taught in the schools in your county? When are you going to do something about the church literature that goes into the hands of your child? When are you going to check up on your preacher and your church?

Cook Gives Reasons To Savannah Editor Why State Able To Protect Its Citizens

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stituted.

Destroy School System

"Georgia now stands well to circumvent the Court's decision within the framework of both the Federal and State Constitutions without having committed itself either morally or legally. Moreover, I, as Attorney General, am free to carry out the mandates of the legislature and the people through the orderly processes of defending the State constitutional provisions and statutes designed to accomplish this purpose.

"According to press reports, the United States Solicitor-General demanded of the Court that it forthwith declare all State legislation and constitutional amendments designed to circumvent its decision to be in violation of the Federal Constitution. Should the Court do this, it would mean the complete destruction of Georgia's public school system until the people amended the State Constitution permitting the expenditure of State tax funds for mixed schools. Presently we are without authority under our Constitution to levy taxes for the support of mixed schools.

"Under such circumstances, it is obvious that my position would be untenable had I assisted the Court in writing a decree to bring this about.

THE COURIER GOES INTO HOMES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JUNE 20, 1955, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 411

Action Of Extra Session Of Assembly Determine State's Future Long Time

* *

Virginia School Bonds Issued In 1953 Held Invalid Now Because Of Desegregation Ruling Of U. S. Supreme Court

Old Dominion Jurist Denounces Racial Decision Of High Tribunal

A Virginia judge ruled recently that a county could not use its 1953 school bonds to build schools in which white and Negro races were to be brought together.

Circuit Judge Leon M. Bazile in a Hanover County case, held that its bonds raising $1,000,000 in school construction funds, are now invalid. He said they had been issued before the United States Supreme Court's decision on May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

That Virginia's constitution required separation of whites and Negroes in schools was known to voters when they approved the bond issue on July 14, 1953, the judge said.

Denounces High Court

In granting the injunction upon the petition of an Hanover County attorney, Judge Bazile denounced the Supreme Court for its 1954 desegregation order. He said:

"We are for the first time in American judicial history presented with an opinion which overrules well-considered and rightly considered opinions by some of the greatest American judges on the authority of the unestablished opinions of certain psychologists."

The Virginia judge charged that the members of the Supreme Court's real objective is to bring about complete socialization of the races, and not only nonsegregation in the schools.

Quotes Taft's Opinion

In his twenty-one-page opinion, Judge Bazile quoted from an opinion of the late Chief Justice William Howard Taft, wherein it is held that the matter of school segregation (in a case involving a Chinese) was within the constitutional powers of state legislatures to decide.

"Mr. Chief Justice Taft was a much greater and abler judge than any member of the present court," the Virginia jurist commented.

The judge pointed out that the Supreme Court has twice spoken in the past in favor of separate but equal schools for whites and Negroes, and further that state police powers in that respect were not compromised by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Excerpts From Opinion

"Unfortunately," he added, "the present court has the power—not the right—to reconstrue the XIV Amendment, and having done so, however erroneous and worthless its opinion may be, the several states are bound by it."

Excerpts from the opinion of Judge Bazile barring the use of county bonds for construction of non-segregated school buildings and in which he holds those bonds to be invalid now, is as follows:

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STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

Governor Marvin Griffin made a great speech to the legislature when he opened the extra session on June 6, 1955.

He outlined the progress that Georgia has made in recent years and it is real progress that we have made.

In this connection, he said:

"All of us have witnessed the economic gains which have been made under an expanded program of State services. True, it has meant greater sacrifices, but the result has been higher incomes for all our people and a greater degree of human security for both urban and farm families in Georgia.

"The record of total accomplishments shows that we have made strides during the last five years far beyond all expectations.

"Business indices prove that we are well along the way toward taking our proper place as a leader among the most progressive states of the union.

"Value of goods produced by our industries during the last five years is up over a half billion dollars. Plant payrolls have risen another $150 million dollars annually in the same period. This economic expansion has created 100,000 new jobs for Georgians.

"Our population has gained nearly a quarter million since the last census in 1950, and is expected to top 4 million within ten years.

"Motor vehicle registration, in the last five years, shows that 250,000 additional cars and trucks are now in use on our highways.

"All of these statistics I cite to demonstrate we are growing rapidly. We must give thought at this time to what we can do to insure a continuation of this forward movement.

"If we plan and work, we will see built here more than 2,500 new industrial plants in the next decade, costing in excess of $150 million dollars, and affording new employment opportunities to over 200,000 Georgia workers.

"These added factories will bring about a half billion dollars in additional payrolls to stimulate the state's economy.

"With such prospects as these, it is clear that vast new markets will be created for the products of our farms. There will be more mouths to feed and more dollars through increasing earning capacity to buy farm commodities.

"Experts predict that within our graps is a multi-billion dollar market for farm and consumer products that we can see realized in the next ten years.

"The question now is whether we are proud of this progress and whether we will take advantage of the challenge that presents itself to us?"

And after the Governor asked the question contained in the last paragraph, he said:

"As for me, I am not content to sit idly by and let one of the most golden eras of opportunity in the economic history of the nation be lost to our people in Georgia.

"We are resolved to go forward and seize the opportunities which can be ours.

"I shall not turn my back on progress.

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Industrial Capital Will Go Elsewhere If Georgia Refuses To Go Forward

The future of this state depends upon what the present legislature does for the health, the education and the welfare of the people of Georgia.

And the future depends upon how the legislature finances the program for health, education, welfare and highways.

As this is written, the legislature is still in session and has not adjourned and it may have finished its work and adjourned before this issue of the Courier reaches the reader.

As it now looks, Governor Griffin will pass most of his revenue measures. The majority of them have already passed the House and are ready for action in the Senate.

All Bills May Pass

It is a safe prediction that all of his revenue measures will pass with some amendments and some adjustments with the exception of the extension of the sales tax to services on personal property.

If the bill to extend the three percent sales tax to services on personal property passes it will probably be in a watered-down condition or with some amendments.

Without the sales tax extension, he will not be able to raise the sixty-five million dollars sought.

If everything else passes with the exception of the sales tax, the state should receive additional revenue to the tune of approximately forty million dollars.

Schools At Bottom

Sixty-five million dollars is the minimum on which an adequate program of education, health, welfare and roads can be financed and if only forty million dollars is produced, it means that it will be necessary for the Governor, as the director of the budget, to trim the appropriations down accordingly.

Under the present financial set-up, the schools will come last and any deficit in raising the amount sought by the governor means that the biggest cut will come in the school appropriations.

The Governor can't be entirely blamed for this condition because it is one which has gradually developed in state finances.

Gas Tax Allocated

Under the present constitution, all gasoline tax and automobile tag taxes are allocated to the support of the highways. If this provision of the constitution is followed, the Highway Department will probably secure the amount of money which the Governor's study committee recommended.

The study committee and the Governor have recommended approximately eleven million dollars for this purpose.

Then, in order to protect federal funds available for old age assistance and aid

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TO BE FULLY INFORMED ABOUT STATE AFFAIRS READ THE COURIER

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:

One year $4.00

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

"I shall not desert our children in their hour of need."

After I had finished reading his speech, I couldn't help but pick up the Sunday issue of the Atlanta newspaper where they devoted a full page showing that Georgia leads the nation in the output of moonshine liquor.

And then I couldn't help but think that Georgia is 'way down the line in the field of education.

With all of the progress we have made in Georgia in recent years under the Minimum Foundation Program, we are still 'way down near the foot of the list.

If Governor Griffin raises the full sixty-five million dollars which he seeks to raise, we will be able to spend only two hundred dollars on each child in average daily attendance in the public schools. The average in the nation last year was two hundred and forty-five dollars and the average of the more prosperous states is in the neighborhood of three hundred dollars per child.

I can't understand how any Georgia citizen can be content to have the federal officials say that Georgia is "the number one moonshine state in the country" and realize that we are near the foot of the list in education.

Possibly the lack of an adequate system of education in the past is the explanation as to why we have built up so many lawbreakers, so many moonshiners and so many bootleggers.

Of course, the fact that we have been a moonshinning state is no news to me. I have known that for some time.

There is one county in Georgia where one of its leading citizens told me two or three years ago that practically all of the people of that county were interested in the moonshine liquor business either directly or indirectly.

Yet, this county has one of the poorest school systems I have ever known and the people of this county, many of whom I know, are poorly educated, unskilled and untrained for the ordinary avocations of life.

But my experience with them shows that they are very skilled in making, hauling and peddling moonshine liquor. They have been well-trained in these unlawful endeavors and their county is and has been racket-ridden.

In the past three years, agents of the state and federal government have destroyed 10,460 liquor stills and made 11,882 arrests in Georgia.

Last year, these same agents destroyed 3,640 stills and made 3,903 arrests.

Last year, these agents poured out 79,065 gallons of moonshine and 2,255,137 gallons of mash.

Now, these agents didn't destroy one-tenth of the stills in Georgia nor one-tenth of the liquor that was made, or the mash that was ready for the distilling process.

So long as we are the number one moonshine state in the nation we can't be the number one state in education and if we ever reverse these figures and become the number one state in education we will soon cease to be the number one moonshine state.

The peculiar thing about this moonshine business is that over half of the moonshine made in Georgia is made in forty-six counties around Atlanta. Forty-five of these counties are so-called "dry" counties. That is, they vote dry and won't let legal liquor be sold in those counties.

Yet, they do nothing about moonshine liquor.

Now, moonshine liquor can be stopped in Georgia if the enforcement officers want it stopped. If the people of a community want it stopped, then they will elect officers who will stop it.

I know that I can find out within twenty-four hours the names of everybody in Richmond County who is making liquor and nearly every one of those who are peddling moonshine. If I had the job, I believe that within another twenty-four hours we could reach every one of them or at least destroy their distilleries.

This same thing can be done in every county in Georgia.

The thing that bothers me is that the people generally in these so-called "dry" counties aren't concerned about moonshine liquor and the great majority aren't concerned about the education of their people.

When Governor Griffin proposed to raise sixty-five million dollars in new taxes you heard a howl all over Georgia. Now, I know that taxes are heavy, but local taxes and state taxes are not heavy in Georgia. It is only the federal taxes that weight us down.

The biggest howl will come from some of these counties that have

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Old Dominion Jurist Denounces Racial Decision Of High Tribunal

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"Shall Hanover County contract a loan in the amount of $1,000,000 and issue bonds therefore in that amount for the purpose of providing funds to supplement state school construction funds for the construction of school improvements in said county for white and Negro school children, including the purchase of sites for school buildings for additions to school buildings, the construction of school buildings, or additions to or alternations of existing school buildings, and the furnishing and euipping of school buildings, for additions to school buildings?"

The order calling the election was entered 27 June, 1953, by this court and the date fixed for said election was 14 July, 1953.

The above question submitted was voted in the affirmative at said election and 20 October, 1953, the order was entered by this court pursuant to Code Section 22-172.

Constitution Cited

At the time when the election was held, Section 140 of the Constitution of Virginia was in full force and effect. This section provided "white and colored children shall not be taught in the same school."

This section is part of Article IX of the Constitution and it is inconceivable that any part of that article would have been adopted without the incorporation of Section 140 therein.

At the beginning of the Public School System of Virginia, 1869-70, and continuing through all subsequent codes of Virginia to the present code * * * the declared law of Virginia has been that white and colored children were to be educated in separate schools.

Fourteenth Amendment

The Supreme Court of the United States, when its membership consisted of great judges who were educated in constitutional law and who respected the Constitution of the United States and the high office which they held, had occasion to construe the XIV Amendment of the Constitution of the United States in Plessy v. Ferguson * * *.

In construing the XIV Amendment in that case, Mr. Justice Brown, speaking for the court, said: "The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinction based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting and even requiring their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other and have been generally if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of the police powers. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts or states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced."

Court Disagrees

This court does not agree with the opinion in Brown v. Board of Education, supra that what was said in Plessy v. Ferguson about schools was dictum. It is true that case arose under a statute separating the races in railway coaches but the court was construing the XIV Amendment and what it said with reference to schools was directly in point because if the amendment prohibited segregation in the one case it prohibited it in the other.

In any event Plessy v. Ferguson was decided by one of the greatest bodies of judges who ever sat on the Supreme Court of the United States; and this decision was reaffirmed when the direct issue of the separation of races in schools came before the court in Lum v. Rice * * * 1927. In an able opinion written by Mr. Chief Justice Taft, who was one of the greatest judges ever produced in America, probably second only to Marshall as a judge, said:

"The question here is whether a Chinese citizen of the United States is denied equal protection of the law when he is classified among colored races and furnished facilities for education equal that offered to all, whether white, brown, yellow or black. Were this a new question it would call for every full argument and consideration, but we think that it is the same question which has many times been decided to be within the constitutional powers of the state Legislature to settle without intervention of the Federal courts under the Federal Constitution."

Twice Decided by Court

The Constitution of the United States is a written document. A particular section cannot mean one thing at one time and another and different thing at another time * * *

Such was the law on 14 July 1953. It was twice decided by the Supreme Court of the United States that the separation of the races in the public schools was within the police powers of the states unaffected by the XIV Amendment. The same view had been taken by the courts of Massachusetts, Ohio, New York, California, Kansas, North Carolina, Indiana, Missouri, Arizona, Nevada and the inferior Federal courts.

If the voters had sought the best legal advice prior to 14 July it must have been that segregated public schools were legal. In fact, no other public school was permitted in Virginia. * * *

Presumption of Law

The law presumes that every man knows the law. * * *

It must be conclusively presumed that when they voted for the bond issue on 14 July, 1953, that they knew of Section 140 of the Constitution and its contents and Section 22-221 of the code and its contents. At that time it was a matter of common knowledge that only segregated public schools could be operated in Virginia.

Indeed the very ballot that they voted specified that the bond issue that they voted was for white and Negro schools. Indeed at that time no other issue could have been submitted to them. Section 140 of the Constitution of Virginia and 22-221 of the code were in full force and on 14 July, 1953 no integrated public school could have been lawfully operated in Virginia.

Segregated Schools

The bond issue was therefore voted for such schools as could have been lawfully erected on 14 July 1953, that it segregated schools, the white schools for white children and the Negro schools for Negro children. No other proposition could have been or was contemplated by the voters * * *.

In Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka et al, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States in a purely political opinion based on certain psychology books overruled Plessy v. Ferguson supra and Lum v. Rice supra and we are for the first time in American judicial history presented with an opinion which overruled well considered and rightly considered opinions by some of the greatest American judges, on the authority of the unestablished opinions of certain psychologists.

Taft Is Praised

Mr. Chief Justice Taft was a much greater and abler judge than any member of the present court. Wherever lawyers are assembled, his opinions are treated with the greatest respect. The same may be said for Mr. Justice Brown. He was a great judge and lawyers respect and admire his opinions. But their successors on the court which they once honored see fit to overrule their opinions on the authority of the opinions of certain psychologists who have no training in the legal field or knowledge of constitutional law. * * *

Unfortunately, the present court has the power—not the right—to reconstrue the Fourteenth Amendment, and having done so, however erroneous and worthless its opinion may be, the several states are bound by it.

Whereas on 14 July, 1953, only segregated schools were authorized in Virginia, today if the state remains in the public school business it can in the future operate on non-segregated schools. The inferior Federal courts are bound to enforce whatever decree the Supreme Court may enter in Brown v. Board of Education supra and the people of Virginia are helpless.

No Nonsegregation

It may require further litigation with persons not parties to the litigation of Brown v. Board of Education supra before the nonsegregated system can be put into effect. But that is a mere quibble. If the state continues the public school system, it is inevitable that its public schools must be operated on a nonsegregated basis.

Therefore, the school buildings to be constructed out of the proceeds of the bond issue here will have to be operated as nonsegregated schools.

It follows that the bonds were voted for the building of segregated schools both white and Negro. If the money is spent now the schools that will be built with it must be integrated or nonsegregated schools. Is this such a change as will invalidate such bond issue. * * *

Town Care Is Cited

In Norsen v. Town of Port Washington

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Law Governing Force Of Treaties In U. S. Needs Revising

Georgia Jurist Advocates Bricker Amendment At Meet Of State Bar Group

No other nation in the world makes a treaty the supreme law of their land except the United States, says Justice Carlton Mobley of the Supreme Court of Georgia.

In a speech to the Georgia Bar Association meeting at the Bon Air Hotel in Augusta, on May 28 he called for the correction of this defect in American law by the adoption of the so-called Bricker Amendment to the Constitution.

As it stands today we enter into a treaty with England and the terms of that treaty binds the individual citizen of the United States, but does not bind the individual of Great Britain.

Outlines Position

In defense of his position, Justice Mobley said:

"Should the constitution be amended to provide that, first: 'A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with this constitution, or which is not made in pursuance thereof, shall not be the supreme law of the land nor be of any force or effect.' And secondly: 'A treaty or other international agreement shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation valid in the absence of international agreement.' That is what the Bricker amendment as it is now pending in the Senate provides. The American Bar Association is strongly urging its adoption.

"Section 2 simply provides that a treaty or other international agreement shall not become effective as internal law in the United States until implemented by legislation of Congress, which act of Congress is or would be constitutional without relying upon the traty or agreement. This would eliminate self-executing treaties and agreements, which in and of themselves impose obligations upon the United States, which our courts are required to apply. Then all would be non-self-executing, which would leave them binding upon the United States and other nations to the treaty, but would not be binding upon the individual citizens of the United States, until Congress said so. This is already the law in every nation in the world except the United States, Cuba, Philippine Islands, and two or three other small countries.

British Way Different

"The difference in a British treaty, for instance, and ours is that a British treaty when ratified does not of itself have the force of law. It overrides no existing British domestic law, and while binding upon the government it is not binding on the British courts or people until Parliament enacts legislation making it so. In the United States, a treaty, or executive agreement, which the Supreme Court holds is the same as a treaty, is the 'supreme law of the land,' superior to the constitution and the laws of the states. The framers of our constitution never dreamed that a treaty could be used to make domestic law in the 48 states, but the Supreme Court of the United States does not always interpret the Constitution as it was intended, when written. Could there possibly be any valid objection to putting the United States in the same position as the other nations of the world by making treaties binding as domestic law, only after Congress passes an act so providing, which act must not violate the constitution? I cannot see how there could be any valid objection to putting us on an equality with other nations, nor how merely putting us on equality with nations we are dealing with could unduly interfere with our ability to negotiate treaties.

"Those opposing the amendment give as their principal objection to the first provision, that a treaty or agreement shall be of no force and effect if in conflict with the constitution, that it is not necessary because the Supreme Court will so hold. That is not facing reality in view of what has come from the Court in recent years upon the question.

Hamilton's Views

"To say that the amendment is not necessary because the power to make a treaty, which violates the constitution, was not expressly delegated to the federal government, therefore, it does not exist, reminds us of the objection Alexander Hamilton made to the Bill of Rights. He said: 'For why declare that things shall not be done for which there is no power to do?' How many rights would still be preserved to the American people had not they been nailed down in the constitution?

"One of my friends, an able and distinguished jurist, is not enthusiastic about the amendment. He says that the Supreme Court should decide the question, and that what is needed is for the Senate of the United States to perform its constitutional duty and concur in appointments to the Supreme Court, only where the appointee is a qualified lawyer and will recognize judicial restraint. That would be good, but in the meantime the door is open, and the court seems on its way through, why not close the door? Why let the matter come to decision when it can so easily be prevented?

"Secretary Dulles now says that he has tried unsuccessfully to put into words an amendment which would accomplish the desired result without hindering the President in dealing with foreign governments at this critical time in the world's history. I submit that world leadership and national security are worthy objectives, not incompatible with the preservation of liberty at home. Secretary Dulles further says that the American Bar Association, Senator Bricker, and other alert citizens, who became concerned over efforts to use the treaty-power as a way to effectuate reforms, particularly social reforms which were alien to our traditional concepts, have aroused the American public, and that this has served as a correction of the evil; 'That there has been a reversal of the trend toward trying to use the treaty-making power to effect internal social changes. This administration is committed to the exercise of the treaty-making power only within traditional limits.'

Officials Are Reluctant

"Office holders are reluctant to voluntarily release any of the power of their office. As a rule they strive for more. The Secretary feels that so long as he is exercising the power on this question the country is safe. I do not question his sincerity. However his position supports a government of men rather than one of laws.

"Assuming that the President could be trusted not to make a treaty or agreement that conflicted with the constitution, that the Senate would not ratify such a treaty and that the Supreme Court would not uphold such, we are relying upon men and not laws to protect us. The very purpose of the constitution was to put beyond the power of man to destroy the rights of the people and to leave in the hands of the people the governing of themselves. Let us heed the advice of Thomas Jefferson when he said: 'In questions of power let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the constitution.'"

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the poorest educational systems and make the most liquor. It will come from people who are not really interested in building of legitimate businesses in Georgia and the building of a more enlightened and a more skilled people.

We are in the fix we are today because our most intelligent and so-called leading people have failed to take a realistic view of the problems that confront us.

It would be much better to have legal liquor sold in Georgia than to have all of these thousands of racketeers distributing moonshine liquor all over the state.

We have failed to take a realistic position on the liquor question. It is still true of a lot of people what Will Rogers once said about Southern people generally. He said, "They will vote dry as long as they can stagger to the polls."

Likewise, we haven't taken a realistic attitude on the subject of education. A realistic attitude means that we recognize that an adequate system of education costs money and we can't have it without money.

We can't have the money unless all of us are willing to pay and to contribute.

Now, the time has come when we should take a realistic attitude towards the subject of education.

If we are realistic, we know that a better trained and a more skilled people will pay big dividends. We will get back more in the long run than it costs to operate the schools. As a matter of fact, we will get back fifty times as much as it costs.

I can't see how any intelligent person would relish the idea of being the nation's leading moonshine state and at the same time having a per capita income five hundred dollars less than the national average.

We can't expect to increase this per capita income with a bunch of ignoramuses. We can't do it with an untrained and an unskilled people. To increase this per capita income as it should be is going to take a greater degree of knowledge among our people than we now have and a greater degree of skills.

While we have had a poor school system we have also had one of the poorest road systems in the nation. Our roads in Georgia are no great compliment to our intelligence.

We will have a better road system when we take a realistic attitude on that subject and realize that instead of costing us money that a better road system will pay great dividends. A better road system will save you and I money in the operation of our automobiles and the operation of our trucks. The business of this state is now done on wheels and will be done on wheels in the future. If we expect to expand our business and have a more prosperous state, then we must provide for the rolling of the wheels over the highways and with a greater degree of safety than we have had in the past.

We have had a poor system of roads and a poor system of schools because we weren't willing to pay the price to have them.

Unfortunately, most of us have lived in an atmosphere where we hoped to get something for nothing. We want the roads and we want the schools, but we want them for nothing.

People in Georgia have wanted free roads and free schools. There isn't any such animal. There is no such thing as a free school or a free road. Somebody must pay the price and most of us have been engaged in a struggle to force the other fellow to pay.

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Old Dominion Jurist Denounces Racial Decision Of High Tribunal

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et al, 1875, the town subscribed to the stock of a railroad company with a definite route fixed for the construction of the road at the time. Subsequent to that date the railroad made a change in its route which the courts held was a mercurial change. It then held that the taxpayers of the town could maintain a suit to enjoin the issue of bonds in payment of stock subscription for which the town was no longer bound. * * *

(Five additional precedents were cited in support of the opinion here which continued:)

It is true that in Board of Public Construction v. State (Fla.) (1954) the court held that where a bond issue for schools was voted prior to the decision in Brown v. Board of Education supra that the validity of the bond issue was not affected by that decision. This court has read the main opinion by Terrell, Justice, the concurring opinion of Matthews, Justice, and it is not impressed with either the reasoning or the correctness of the opinion and concurring opinion, and does not feel bound to follow such case, even though it may be a school bond case, in the face of the overwhelming weight of authority to the contrary on the issue here involved.

Illegal Expenditure

As was so clearly pointed out by Matthews, Justice, in his dissenting opinion in that case. . .

"The proposed bond issue as submitted to the freeholders was for the purpose of building and improving separate schools for Negro and white children and, as has been noted, is in direct conflict with the United States Constitution, as Now construed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown case. Therefore, the purpose for which the money is to be expended is illegal. The purpose being illegal it follows that the bonds are illegal. The purpose for which said bonds were to be issued cannot now be changed to build an improved school where Negro and white children may be permitted or enforced to attend the same schools. Such purpose would be in direct conflict with the Constitution of the State of Florida and violation of the contractual obligations with the freeholders."

Basic Position

The underlying position of the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education supra is something more than mere nonsegregated education. It goes further than this. From what was said in McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents (1950) object is so far as that court can coerce the state to compel complete socialization of the races. In a graduate school it was held that a signing of a special seat at a table in the classroom and library and a specific table in the cafeteria to a Negro student violated the XIV Amendment. Under this decision no regulation can be imposed as to where the respective children will sit in the classroom and the library and what party they will play on the athletic field and no restraint can be placed by the school authorities as to how they will be served in the cafeteria or where they shall sit after being served; nor can the school authorities prevent or prohibit the "intellectual comingling of the students."

That is the real underlying purpose of the political opinion rendered by the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education supra and that is the real objective of the psychologists whose opinions the present Supreme Court regards more highly than the ablest and soundest opinions of its great predecessors.

Injunction Granted

It is such a change from the situation that existed when the bonds were voted as rendered the expenditure of the proceeds thereof for nonsegregated school buildings invalid?

From an examination of the law which has heretofore been cited the court is of the opinion that the change wrought by the Supreme Court since 14 July 1953 makes any expenditures from the proceeds of the bond issue for nonsegregated schools illegal.

An injunction will therefore be issued restraining the school board from issuing said bonds or using them for any school purpose.

If the people are interested in building nonsegregated schools another election may be readily held to determine this issue.

Stricter Control Tax-Free Foundations Seen By Congress

Ford Endowment Given SRC To Fight Racial Segregation In Southern States

Although stricter control of tax-exempt foundations by the Congress is anticipated, Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, says that foundations will never shy away from controversial matters, neither will they be intimidated by political criticism, such as that of Representative B. Carroll Reece, Republican of Tennessee, then head of a House Committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations.

Increasing abuses of tax exempt foundations were discussed by lawyers at a conference attended by more than 200 persons at New York University, May 19th through May 21st.

It was charged that the abuses had risen as the number of charitable foundations soared from a handful to 30,000: most of the growth has been in the last fifteen years.

Stricter Control Seen

"Because a few persons have been unscrupulous in manipulation of foundations for personal gains, stricter control may be legislated soon by Congress," Donald C. Alexander, member of the Cincinnatti law firm of Taft, Stettinius & Hollister, said. The abuses, in the opinion of Alexander, had made foundations appear to be "too juicy a deal."

It was pointed out by George D. Webster, Jr., Washington attorney, that tax-exempt foundations come into conflict with the Internal Revenue Code when they accumulate income unreasonably. He cited ownership of separate "feeded' corporations for profit as an example.

Restrictions Listed

Jay O. Kramer, lecturer at New York University's Institute of Federal Taxation, and former special attorney with the chief counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, listed key restrictions on foundations holding tax-exempt status as:

1. No earnings may go to benefit a private individual.
2. No substantial part of earnings may be used to influence legislation.
3. No money may be contributed to a political candidate.

New foundations usually do not get tax exempt status for a year, Kramer said. During that time they are required to show active intention to work toward the charitable purpose for which it was organized or created.

Subversion Changed

The Bureau of Internal Revenue would be prompt to revoke tax exempt status for charities failing to carry out stated purposes or engaging in prohibted transactions, Harry F. Weyher, a New York attorney and lecturer at New York University's School of Law, said.

If the Commissioner of Internal Revenue removed the exemption, the punished foundation would have to pay taxes for at least a year, Maurice C. Greenbaum of the New York firm of Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, declared. The foundation could then apply, Greenbaum said, for reinstatement under what he described as the "naughty, naughty" provision of the tax code, promising "never to sin again."

Congressman Reece's report, based on findings of his committee, and which was referred to by Rusk, head of the Rockefeller foundation, charged that some of the larger foundations had supported subversion and financed promotion of socialist and collectivist ideas. The Reece report was signed by the three Republicans on the committee.

Explosive Issues

"I have confidence that in the next few years," Rusk predicted, "foundations will have a pleasing list of controversial items for the consideration of such critics as Reece."

Entry of foundations into explosive issues will not only continue but will grow, F. Emerson Andrews, director of studies for philanthropy for the Russel Sage Foundation, declared.

General research foundations such as those named for Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie are likely to support more undertakings in the controversial area of the social science field, Andrews said.

Future Growth Seen

Foundations will continue to grow in number and service to mankind, Andrews declared. But, he urged foundations to start self-regulation at once. A good place to start, he suggested, would be with annual voluntary public reports on foundation activities and aims. Of the seventy-seven general research foundations in the United States, he said, only twenty-six now issue such reports.

Rusk says he sees a need for a centralized agency to help keep foundations up to date on what each are doing and on what needs to be done.

Approval of Rusk's idea, was given by Leonard W. Mayo, director of the Association for the aid of Crippled Children. Mayo said representations of thirty foundations in New York City now meet informally once a month to discuss mutual interests. He invited other foundations represented at the conference to attend the meetings. A network of foundations rubbing shoulders in a cooperative way in New York could close gaps and prevent overlapping of projects.

Bank Official Speaks

Don K. Price, associate director of the Ford Foundation, and Rector K. Fox, vice president on the Hanover Bank of New York, were among the speakers.

Speaking editorially about the statement of Rusk and Andrews, The New York Times, said in part, May 22, 1955:

"It is refreshing to be told that, in spite of Representative B. Carroll Reece's jitters about such matters, American foundations are going to deal increasingly with "controversial" issues—especially when this opinion is expressed by those who know most about foundation activities. Both Dean Rusk, President of the Rockefeller Foundation and F. Emerson Andrews, author of authoritative studies in this field, said as much at the conference on the problems of the charitable foundation held at New York University last week.

Objective Study

"In our opinion controversy is not only an index of the importance of a subject but also of the need for its objective study by competent people beholding to none of the interests involved. By and large American foundations are uniquely fitted to meet these requirements—as they have impressively proved in the past."

The Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, was subsidized by the Ford Foundation with a grant of $247,000.00, several months ago.

The Southern Regional Council is a haven for Communists and Red fronters; it is the successor of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

Officers of SRC

Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council, are practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Among other things promoted by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was destruction of racial lines by eliminating segregation in the hotels, restaurants, on trains and in buses, social quality and intermarriage between white people and Negroes. When that organization was revealed by a congressional committee as a communist front organization, it folded up and came to life again under the name and style of the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, as was the case with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Georgia Incorporators

Revelations about the communistic inspired Southern Conference for Human Welfare, forced it to go out of business under that corporate name. It was succeeded by another corporation under the name of the Southern Regional Council. The records of the Superior Court in Fulton County, Georgia, show that incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are:

Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina.

The charter incorporating the Southern Regional Council was granted for thirty-five years. Attorneys for applicants for the charter were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons & Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member.

Ford Fights Segregation

Activities supplementing the grant by the Ford Foundation of nearly a quarter of a million dollars, to the Southern Regional Council, for the purpose of breaking down racial segregation and for other political activities, a grant of $75,000.00 was made to the Southern Education Reporting Service. That was to help keep a tab on sentiment and other things having to do with the plan to destroy segregation. Joe Parham of the Macon Newspapers, was appointed Georgia correspondent of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Education Reporting Service is an off-shoot of the Southern Regional Council. The Ford Foundation made the $75,000.00 grant to the Southern Educational Reporting Service.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

There is only one way that we can have adequate roads and adequate schools and that is by all the people in Georgia making up their minds that each is willing to pay in accordance with his own ability.

There aren't enough big corporations and rich people if we should saddles all of it on them. Yet, we have been trying to do that throughout our history in order to keep the average fellow from paying. It simply can't be done.

The Governor's request for these taxes has met with a lot of opposition. That's natural. We are still looking for something for nothing and hoping to make the other fellow carry the full burden.

But the Governor deserves credit. It took courage for him to take the stand which he took. It took nerve for him to ask for these taxes escpecially in view of the fact that he ran on a platform pledging no new taxes.

When he got in office he found out that it was either new taxes or the state would go backwards. Consequently, he was frank enough to admit his mistake and to ask the people to admit theirs.

Now there isn't but one answer to this tax problem. We have got to raise our own money and finance our own institutions and activities. We have been looking to Uncle Sam too long.

Now, here's the answer. If Uncle Sam will just quit giving away all our money in an effort to buy friends all over the world then the federal government can reduce its taxes and allow the states to have something to tax. If the federal government would only reduce its taxes ten percent, then the state could raise the sixty-five million dollars which the governor wants and the people of Georgia would still save money.

The federal government took out of Georgia last year seven hundred and five million dollars in taxes. A ten percent reduction would be more than seventy million dollars. So, if the Congress would only do what it ought to do, Governor Griffin could get his sixty-five million dollars and the people of Georgia would save five million dollars in the deal.

It is time to quit cussing the local people for trying to do something for our folks. It is time to start cussing the bunch who vote appropriations to give away billions of dollars every year to people away off some place.

It's time that we do something for our folks.

Industrial Capital Will Go Elsewhere If Georgia Refuses To Go Forward

(Continued from Page 1)

to the blind and dependent children, it is absolutely necessary that the state put up more money.

Hospital Needs Money

It is also essential that the Governor allocate money to open and operate the Talmadge Memorial Hospital in Augusta and the State Hospital at Milledgeville, the tubercular hospital at Rome and the other state institutions in order to take care of the unfortunates who are in these institutions.

This being true, necessarily the amount to go to the Highway Department must be calculated first and the amounts to be spent for health and welfare must come next and the schools necessarily will be last.

So, any deficit in the sixty-five million dollars sought means that the greater portion will come out of the funds which would be available for the public schools should the full amount be raised.

Would Damage Schools

Of course, the Highway funds are subject to budgetary control and the Governor can by executive order take some of the money away from the Highway Department to be used by the schools as Governor Talmadge did in order to keep the schools going during the last year.

It is safe to assume that a failure to raise the full amount will hurt the school program worse than anything else even though the Governor might see fit to exercise his budgetary control over the allocations of the Highway Department and take part of the highway money to be used to operate the schools.

It is also safe to assume that in the event the present legislature fails to raise the full amount of the taxes sought that there will be a continuing crisis in the state school system and that it will be necessary for the legislature as the next session in January, or the session following in January, 1957, to complete the job.

Money Is Needed

It cannot be disputed that the money is needed and if the state is to continue to make progress that the money must be forthcoming.

Even those who are fighting the tax program in the legislature the hardest admit this to be true. There is no argument over the need for the money.

The arguments used by opposing members of the legislature is that they fear to vote the taxes on account of the sentiment of the people back home and on account of the fear of being defeated at the polls next summer.

What Others Say

Others say they would be willing to incur the displeasure of the people, but they do not trust the Griffin administration to handle the money.

Still others say that the Griffin administration has not yet eliminated the waste and the mismanagement out of state affairs and that should come before the levying of taxes.

Yet, all of them admit that even if after waste and extravagance have been eliminated that more money would be needed and that the amounts sought by the Griffin administration is about the minimum with which the state can operate an adequate program of services to its people.

At the time of this writing it appears that the increase in the tax on insurance premiums, tax on wine, liquor and beer, cigarettes, cigars, automobile tag taxes and the increases in the income tax have an excellent chance to pass.

The extension of the sales tax on services has a rocky road to travel.

THE COURIER GOES INTO HOMES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JUNE 27, 1955, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 412

Children, Young People In Georgia Continue As State's Cheapest Asset

* *

Income Of More Than Eight Million Persons In South Less Than $500 Annually, Federal Government Reveals

Curse Of Ignorance, Poverty Continues To Haunt People Of Southern States

More than 8,000,000 persons in the South still receive incomes less than $500 a year, the Atlanta field office of the U. S. Department of Commerce reported.

The large negro population and the low income on the farms is the cause of this condition.

The report was based on a current Bureau of the Census release on incomes of persons over the United States in the year 1953.

An analysis of the survey showed that 24.4 per cent of the South's population 14 years old and over had the lowest incomes, $1 to $499, and another 15.4 per cent, or more than 5,000,000, received from $500 to $999 in that year.

The Census Bureau report, which contained a breakdown for males and females in the income-earning category, listed 15.1 per cent of the region's males as in the $1 to $499 income class and 33.5 per cent of the females.

The study of the survey results, made by Merrill C. Lofton, manager of the Commerce Department field office here, was based upon the 1950 census of population which contained the most recent regional figures on males and females of labor force age. In this instance, the South covered the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia. The 1950 Census listed 16,558,049 such males and 17,110,074 females.

The survey and analysis showed that only one tenth of one per cent of the males, or an estimated 16,558 men, received $25,000 and over. There were no women in this class.

It was also shown that males in the region received a median or nearly average income in 1953 of $2,317 and females, $900, which compared with $3,223 and $1,168, respectively in the United States as a whole.

Other income brackets reflected in the survey and study based upon the 1950 Census in the South were:

Nine and eight-tenths per cent, 3,291,750 persons, $1,000 to $1,499.

Nine per cent, 3,030,683, from $1,500 to $1,999.

Nine and two-tenths per cent, 3,098,571, from $2,000 to $2,499.

Six and eight-tenths per cent, 2,299,918, from $2,500 to $2,999.

Six and six-tenths per cent, 2,229,822, from $3,000 to $3,499.

Four and four-tenths per cent, 1,485,259, from $3,500 to $3,999.

Three and seven-tenths per cent, 1,231,368, from $4,000 to $4,499.

Two and two-tenths per cent, 731,314,

(Continued on Page 3)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

My hat's off to Governor Griffin.

It took courage to call an extra session of the Legislature and to recommend to the members of the Legislature that they levy an additional sixty-five million dollars in taxes on the people of this state.

Taxes are never popular and they are more unpopular right at this time than ever before in the history of the state.

Governor Griffin and his committee knew that taxes would be unpopular and they knew that it would be difficult to get the Legislature to vote them.

They knew that people generally who are unable to comprehend the importance of an adequate school system, adequate health and welfare services, and an adequate road system would be against any additional taxes.

They had to know that human nature is selfish and that all of us would like to put the tax burden on the other fellow.

As evidence of that fact, there is always a hue and a cry to soak the rich. But, unfortunately there are not enough rich to go around and there are not enough rich people left to support the state.

They say soak the big corporations, but most of the big corporations are corporations from other states and even though they are foreign corporations there are not enough of them to go around. There are not enough of them to support the state.

Then, if there were enough corporations we would destroy the goose that lays the golden egg if we destroy them.

This attitude of soaking the big corporations is entirely wrong. To answer that question we only need to ask who constitutes the big corporations. The big corporations are owned by thousands of little people who have invested their life's savings and earnings into the stocks of these corporations. One of the reasons most of the corporations operating in Georgia are so-called foreign corporations is due to the fact that Georgia people have been poor and we haven't invested our money in the stocks. It is good business for us to save and work and buy all of the stocks in these corporations that we can so that they will belong to the people of Georgia.

Due to the fact that we have not been properly educated and trained in the past we have bought up too few of these stocks, we own too few of these stocks and we own too small an interest in these machines which do the big business of the nation.

Instead of trying to destroy them, we ought to be doing everything we can to own as big a stake in them as we can possibly own. Certainly our ownership in these corporations ought to be bigger than it is today.

But that's somewhat beside the point. Let's get back to Governor Griffin and the members of the Legislature who helped him vote these taxes.

Governor Griffin and every member of the Legislature who voted with him risked their political necks and put their political heads on the chopping block when they came out for these taxes.

If you read the newspapers and the letter columns in the daily press, you found that every one of them were unpopular and that the people generally were opposed to them.

If you get out and ride the state you will find that the people of Georgia today are grumbling and criticizing the Governor and the Legislature and that Governor Griffin today is the most unpopular governor we have

(Continued on page 2)

Concrete Highways Bring Quicker Money To Contractors Than Schools And Colleges

The school teachers, like the cow's tail, came out last at the recent session of the Legislature.

Next to the school teachers were the schools themselves. Governor Griffin's study committee stated that the schools would need between forty and fifty million dollars more with which to operate in the next few years and they are now winding up with twenty-two million.

Everybody else got what the study committee recommended except the schools.

The reduction from sixty-five million to less than forty million came out of the school system.

The recommendation of the study committee for the expenditure of the sixty-five million dollars provided that eleven million would go to the Highway Department, seven million to health, welfare and public institutions and the balance should go to the school systems.

Out of the special session, the Highway Department got twelve million, health, welfare and institutions got its seven million and the schools were reduced from forty-seven million to twenty-two, a total reduction of twenty-five million dollars.

Instead of the highways getting twelve million, they will actually get eighteen million more because Governor Talmadge took six million dollars of the highway money with which to operate the schools during the last year.

Under the recommendations of the legislature, this six million dollars will probably be restored and the schools will once again be flapping around like an old cow's tail. The children and the schools come last.

This is the age-old story under the set-up in Georgia and the method of financing the state.

Under the present set-up, this is the way appropriations are made:

1. Under the State constitution, the proceeds of all gasoline and tag taxes are allocated to the State Highway Department.

2. When the Highway Department is taken care of, then money is set aside to pay old age pensions, pensions for state employees, for the Health Department and to operate the State Hospital and institutions.

3. Then, whatever is left is divided between the public schools and the University System.

To make matters worse, the revenue bills passed at the recent session of the Legislature will not raise forty million dollars during the first year and possibly not during the second year.

If the bills raise as much as thirty-five million dollars for each of the first 2 years,

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TO BE FULLY INFORMED ABOUT STATE AFFAIRS READ THE COURIER

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:

One year $4.00

THE SUPREME COURT

"The myth of judicial infallibility is exploded by a reference to the case of Gong Lum v. Rice (275 U. S. 78) decided by the United States Supreme Court in a unanimous opinion handed down 28 years ago by Chief Justice Taft. That Court, composed of men of great judicial stature, such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Brandeis, and others, stated in an opinion directly contrary to the opinion of May 1954: 'The right and power of the State to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear. * * * The education of the people in schools maintained by State taxation is a matter belonging to the respective States, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land. * * * The same question * * * has been many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the State legislature to settle without intervention of the Federal courts under the Federal Constitution. * * * (citation of 15 earlier opinions). * * * The decision is within the discretion of the State in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14th Amendment.'

"In its opinion of May 17, 1954, in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (347 U. S. 483) the Supreme Court brushed aside all of the reason and logic embodied in the foregoing well-settled principles in one sentence and in referring to the Gong Lum case twice erroneously referred to the child involved as a boy when in fact it was a Chinese girl named Martha Lum whose father, Gong Lum, instituted the suit in her behalf. This circumstance raises a serious question whether the Court even read the earlier opinion in the Gong Lum case.

"It remains to be seen whether or not the opinion of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, arrived at solely by a reference to the writings of certain psychologists, and in considering as it did only the alleged effects of segregation on the colored child without any discussion of or thought given to the effect of enforced integration on the mental, moral, and health standards of the white child, will be able to stand the test of time and the assault of logic and legal reasoning that may be expected henceforth to challenge its validity."

—From a speech made by Paul Lee Sweeny, Attorney for Fairfax County, at Annandale High School (Virginia) on April 30, 1955.

The Commies' Program For Youth

The Communist Party has gotten out a booklet entitled "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century."

We quote the following excerpt from this pamphlet:

"We must realize that the Party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party. The terms colonialism and imperialism must be featured in our propaganda.

"In America we will aim for a subtle victory. While influencing the negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the negro. (And what a success that has been!)

"We will aid the negro to rise to prominence in every walk of life, in the professions, and the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige the negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

This has been the aim of the Communist Party since the days of the 20's. A lot of good unthinking people have had instilled in them the guilt complex which the Communists seek. A lot of good Christian people have been duped.

And, in addition, a lot of politicians have lost their nerve and their courage to fight such an ungodly purpose.

Now, what are you and I going to do about it?

Concrete Highways Bring Quicker Money To Contractors Than Schools And Colleges

(Continued from page 1)

they will do better than can be reasonably expected.

So, instead of the legislature raising forty million dollars, it will be thirty-five million.

And out of the thirty-five million, the Highway Department will get its twelve, the Health, Welfare and institutions must have their seven million and, consequently, nineteen million will be gone immediately.

That leaves sixteen million to be divided between the University System and the public schools.

Then, if you take the six million off of this sixteen to replace the amount the Highway Department has been contributing to the general treasury, that will leave ten million dollars to be divided between the University System and the public school system.

Unless Governor Griffin exercises his budgetary authority and takes some of the Highway money, the public schools and the University System will wind up with between ten and fifteen million dollars to operate between them.

Now, suppose all of this ten or fifteen million dollars is given to the public schools and the University System is left out completely. What do you think will happen?

In the first place, the state will need in September eleven hundred more school teachers to furnish the required number of teachers to teach the children who will enroll. If these teachers are paid an average of twenty-five hundred dollars a year each, that will amount to two million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Additional money will be required to transport all of these thirty thousand new pupils that will come in in September and additional money will be needed to maintain the buildings and to provide new buildings to house them.

So, after we get through hiring the new teachers, hauling the children to school, buying fuel and furnishing lights and janitor service and putting up money with which to pay off the bonds being used for building the new classrooms, the teachers will have the privilege of dividing what's left.

When we get down to the amount that that will be left, it is going to be very small and it is going to be a little cow's tail left for the school teachers.

The school teachers will get cow-tail soup and that's all. It won't even be a fat ox-tail soup. It will be soup made from a poor tail of a half-starved piney woods cow.

So, this session called principally to help the schools is going to take care of everybody but the schools and the schools will be given just a little taste.

Yet, the school teachers and the school people all over the state were used to build up the crisis which produced the session and produced the taxes that we will get.

The psychology in the state which produced this situation is nothing new or unusual.

This psychology which pervades the State of Georgia is due entirely to the lack of education in the past and as a result of the fact that our people have not been properly educated in the past.

Had we had the people of Georgia better educated and more skilled, they would recognize the absolute need and the urgency of an adequate school system in this state.

So, it can be said that even though the Legislature has met in extra session and passed these tax bills, that we will not have an adequate system of education in this state.

In a few months it will appear that the Legislature has done a good job everywhere else, but they have only done a piece-meal job on the schools.

The school people will soon find out that they came out of the session at the bottom of the list and once again it will be necessary to start a campaign in the state for an adequate system of public education.

All the other things are important and every one of the other state activities should have been properly cared for, but so long as Georgia puts education on its list as the least important of state activities, then we are going to be a poor people and we are going to have a low per capita income as in the past.

Georgia will make real progress when she puts education at the top of the list in importance and when she builds up a foundation where it can fix a salary schedule which will attract into the teaching profession the brightest minds among our people.

Until this is done we will have the school problem on us and there will be a demand for more taxes and more money.

So, every dollar the Legislature failed to raise as recommended by Governor Griffin means that that dollar comes out of the school funds.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

had in a long, long time.

Governor Griffin and the members of the Legislature knew this when they took their stand.

Yet, every one of them had to put the interest of the state above his own personal interests. It took courage to do it and every one of them, instead of being blamed, deserves a great deal of credit.

While I am disappointed in the fact that the schools will get little benefit from the session, it is some and we should be thankful for that. You and I were not required to stick our necks out.

You and I are not candidates for any political office and there is nothing that anybody can do to us. These men who did stick their necks out for the progress and development of Georgia have incurred the criticism and the wrath of their neighbors and their friends and they are now required to go back home and take the criticism and the snubs that will come as a result.

Time will prove that they have been right and that they have done a good job. They will each have had the satisfaction of knowing that he has served the best interests of his state and that he has kept the ball of progress in Georgia rolling.

Each will have the satisfaction of knowing that he has helped to break down to some extent the old apathy which has existed in the South and the spirit that has caused us to be satisfied with little or nothing.

Time will cure a lot of the hurt on account of these taxes. The people of the state will soon learn that these taxes were necessary and that it was necessary for the Governor and the Legislature to meet the crisis which faces the people of this state.

The session of the Legislature came at an unfortunate time. It came at a time when people were sick of federal taxes. It came at a time when the people were disgusted with the way the federal government wastes and gives away their money. It came at a time when the people felt helpless to remedy the situation with respect to the federal government and at a time when it looked as if our representatives in Washington would do nothing to relieve the fearsome tax burden which the federal government puts on the backs of the people.

The session came at a time when business is leveling off in Georgia and at a time when business itself is slowing down and the average person is behind with his installment payments.

The session came at a time when the state was hit with a severe drought last summer and again with a freeze last spring which financially crippled the agricultural areas of the state. In addition, great portions of the

(Continued on page 3)

Equal Justice Under Law Now Only A Figure Of Speech

U. S. Senator Ervin Tells Of His Disgust Of Members Making Up High Tribunal

There is no such thing as equal justice under the law so long as we have the present Supreme Court of the United States, according to Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina.

He drove this point home in a speech which he made at the annual dinner of the Harvard Law School Association of New York City on April 28, 1955.

Senator Ervin is a former member of the Supreme Court of the State of North Carolina and is now serving his first term in the United States Senate.

According to his remarks, he is disgusted with the Supreme Court and the members who constitute it.

"I was taught in my youth to repose an absolute confidence in the Supreme Court by my father," said Senator Ervin.

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court have caused the Senator to lose confidence and he now has no respect for the legal ability of the members of the Court or their intellectual honesty.

In this connection the Senator said:

"The States accepted as valid Alexander Hamilton's positive assurance that men chosen to serve on the Supreme Court of the United States would subject themselves to the restraint inherent in the judicial process, and were thereby induced to ratify the Constitution notwithstanding the omission from that instrument of any express provision protecting the other branches of the Federal Government, the States, or the people against the arbitrary exercise of its judicial power by the Supreme Court.

"For several generations next succeeding its utterance, the people of America had no reason to doubt the accuracy of Alexander Hamilton's assurance. With rare exceptions, the Presidents selected for membership upon the Supreme Court of the United States men who had long and laboriously participated in the administration of justice either as practicing lawyers or as judges of State Courts or as judges of the Federal Courts inferior to the Supreme Court. As a consequence, the overwhelming majority of the men called to service upon the Supreme Court were able and willing to subject themselves to the restraint inherent in the judicial process and to perform their tasks in the light of the principle that it is the duty of the judge to interpret the law, not to make it.

"I was taught in my youth to repose an absolute confidence in the Supreme Court by my father, an active practitioner of law in North Carolina for 65 years, who was accustomed to refer to the Supreme Court with reverential awe. He used to say that this tribunal would administer justice according to law even though the heavens fell.

"I regret to say, however, that the course of the Supreme Court of the United States in recent years has been such as to cause me to ponder the question whether fidelity to fact ought not to compel us to remove from the portal of the building which houses it the majestic words, 'Equal Justice Under Law,' and to substitute for them the superscription, 'Not justice under law, but justice according to the personal notions of the temporary occupants of this building.' In making this statement, I reveal my acceptance of this observation made by the late Justice Robert H. Jackson in BROWN v ALLEN: 'But I know of no way that we can have equal justice under the law except we have some law.'

"Candor compels the confession that on many occasions during recent years the Supreme Court has to all intents and purposes usurped the power of the Congress and the States to amend the Constitution. This abuse of power was made manifest even before the decision in BROWN v BOARD OF EDUCATION, which repudiates solely upon the basis of psychology and sociology the interpretation placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment in respect to racial segregation by Federal and State Courts, the Congress itself, and the Executive branches of the Federal and State Governments throughout the preceding 86 years. Time does not permit me to cite all the cases supporting my present contention. I mention only one, namely WILLIAMS v NORTH CAROLINA, where the majority of the Court altered the meaning of the full faith and credit clause of the Constitution by over-ruling the holding of HADDOCK v HADDOCK to the effect that a State Court even of the plaintiff's domicile, could not render a judgment of divorce that would be entitled to Federal enforcement in other States against a non-resident who did not appear and was not personally served with process. In so doing, the majority of the Court held, as the late Justice Jackson asserted in his dissenting opinion, that 'settled family relationships may be destroyed by a procedure that we would not recognize if the suit were one to collect a grocery bill.'

"Recent decisions make it manifest that the Supreme Court has usurped the power to nullify acts of Congress. Perhaps the most glaring of these decisions is GIROUARD v UNITED STATES, where the Court overruled three previous decisions and a subsequent confirming act of Congress simply because a majority of its members did not believe that Congress had exercised its legislative power wisely in denying the privilege of citizenship to aliens who were unwilling to bear arms in defense of this country. To be sure, the majority of the Court did not say that it thought that Congress had legislated unwisely. But a statement to this effect would have been a far better reason for its decision than any of those it gave.

"In addition to is revolutionary decisions on constitutional and statutory subjects, the Supreme Court of the United States has substantially impaired the doctrine of stare decisis and the stability of the law of the land which this doctrine formerly insured by overruling, repudiating, or ignoring its established precedents of earlier years. Former Justice Owen J. Roberts, a recent member of the Court, made this comment in this connection in his dissenting opinion in SMITH v ALLWRIGHT: 'The reason for my concern is that the instant decision, overruling that announced about 9 years ago, tends to bring adjudications of this Tribunal into the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, good for this day and train only'."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from page 2)

state have suffered two dry years.

As a result of the freeze and the drought, the agricultural areas of the state are hard up and the people who live in those areas are having a difficult time in trying to recover their losses and to stay in business.

It was necessary to hold the session at this time of the year and before Governor Griffin's administration had had an opportunity to sell the people of the state upon the absolute necessity of the new taxes. It was unfortunate for the administration that it had to be done now, but that couldn't be helped.

Consequently, the proper build-up and the proper campaign to create sentiment for the session had not been made.

The Griffin administration didn't have an opportunity to properly present it to the people in advance.

Then there are two other things which entered into the picture and were very unfavorable to the success of the tax session.

1. During the last campaign some of the candidates for governor told the people that we would face a crisis in our finances at this time of the year. Governor Griffin made the mistake of vehemently denying this fact. He said there would be no crisis and that there would be plenty of money to finance the state. In his enthusiasm and his anxiety to be elected, he went too far in his statements. Unfortunately, the human mind, being as it is, every one of those statements are remembered by the people today and are held against the Governor.

I am willing to give the Governor the benefit of the doubt and to say that he was not properly informed as to the actual financial condition of the state. Yet, he could have been properly informed by merely talking to the State Auditor and upon consulting with the school people of this state.

2. The people of the state do not have confidence in the state administration. Griffin was elected with about thirty-five percent of the votes and with a majority of the people against him.

During last summer's campaign the people were not enthusiastic about any one of the candidates and they milled around for a long time before they made up their minds. The campaign came at a time when the people were confused in their own minds about state issues and the personalities who were engaged in the race.

Griffin hasn't had time yet to build confidence in his administration. I believe that confidence is growing in Griffin himself.

Yet, confidence is not growing in the Griffin administration. I believe confidence is lessening in the key men in the Griffin administration.

I spent three days in Atlanta during the session. A day and a half was taken up entirely with a Board of Regents meeting and the other day and a half was spent mixing with the members of the Legislature and the people who hung around the hotels and the Capitol.

Numerous men who were strong last summer for Griffin approached me and asked the question: how long will it be before this administration blows up? And then they would immediately say, "I'm running for cover."

Upon being asked why they felt as they did, they would start criticizing one after another of the key men in the Griffin administration. Each one spoke very kindly of the Governor, but each one was very critical of at least one or two of the men upon whom Griffin must depend.

This seems to be a state-wide sentiment and unless Griffin can build confidence in himself and his key men, he's in for rough sledding during the remainder of his term.

One of Griffin's key men told me that in his opinion the only chance Griffin had of making a success was a complete reorganization of his key personnel.

This I cannot say at this time. But I do say this: that unless Griffin can quickly build confidence in his ringleaders at the Capitol it will be necessary for him to have a complete reorganization in order to build any great degree of confidence among the people of the state.

Ugly rumors are flying. They are not just being talked by Griffin's enemies. They are being talked by men who were his close friends last summer.

Even some of his appointees and state officials are moving with fear and trembling. They are scared to death and they are scared as they say that the administration is going to blow up.

Now, I didn't support Griffin last time. I frankly didn't want to get mixed up with some of the group who are now causing this kind of sentiment in Georgia.

Personally, Marvin Griffin has always been very kind and friendly to me. I have nothing against him personally.

Since the Legislature has given him this additional money I wish for his administration the best of luck. The future of Georgia depends upon what he and his associates do and I am jealous of my state and I am anxious to see my state make progress and assume its rightful position among the more prosperous states of the nation.

I am anxious to see segregation kept in Georgia and I know that we must depend upon Marvin Griffin and his colleagues to keep segregation for the balance of his four-year term.

We are dependent upon him for our progress and our development during this time.

If his administration were to blow up it would set this state back

(Continued on page 4)

Poverty Continues To Haunt People Of Southern States Curse Of Ignorance

(Continued from Page 1)

from $4,500 to $4,999.

Three and eight tenths per cent, 1,280,490, from $5,000 to $5,999.

One and four-tenths per cent, 481,287, from $6,000 to $6,999.

One and five-tenths per cent, 497,845, from $7,000 to $9,999.

Five-tenths of one per cent, 182,681, from $10,000 to $14,999.

Two-tenths of one per cent, 83,333, from $15,000 to $24,999.

As for the South compared with other regions in the United States, the analysis pointed out that incomes of southern residents were lower than those in the rest of the country, because, it was explained, a larger proportion of the South's population lives in rural areas and on farms. Also, it was added, the South has a larger percentage of nonwhites whose earnings are relatively low.

"When the analysis is restricted to urban residents," it was stated, "the income difference between the South and other regions is relatively small for whites. Among urban whites, the median income of men in the South was only about 10 per cent below that received by the corresponding group in the West and Northeast, and the median for women was not significantly different from that in other parts of the country. Among urban nonwhites, however, the incomes of both men and women in the South were far below those received in other regions."

Government Must Be Kept Close To People—Talmadge

ALTANTA. — Deploring the development in this country of the philosophy that the federal government is best qualified to determine what is in the best interest of all citizens, former Gov. Herman Talmadge told a recent meeting of the Georgia County Officers Assn. in Atlanta that this trend has developed to such an extent it "no longer is possible to peddle peanuts on the streets without federal regulations."

Talmadge said the same school which would concentrate all states' powers in Washington also would hand all the powers of the cities, counties and local political subdivisions to state governments, and warned the county officials to be on guard and resist such usurpation. Said he:

"The closer we keep government to the people, the better that government is . . . under their watchful eyes and in their custody."

University Of Georgia Is In Dire Financial Straits

System Operating On 6 Per Cent Less Money Now Than In Years 1951-52

The University System of Georgia is in dire straits for new money with which to educate Georgia's young people, according to Harmon Caldwell, Chancellor of the University System.

In a statement recently issued pointing up the dire needs, Caldwell said:

"During the current fiscal year the State of Georgia is providing for the operation of its publicly supported colleges and universities approximately $11,500,000, or $519.00 for each full time student enrolled. The per student appropriation in Georgia is lower than in any other Southern State.

"The institutions of the University System are now operating on 6% less money than they received in 1951-52, although the number of students today is 5,000 greater than it was in 1951-52.

"In view of the foregoing facts and others that I could mention, several institutions of the University System—both large and small—are encountering grave difficulties in their efforts to comply with the accreditation standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Unless funds are provided for the employment of additional teachers, a number of our institutions cannot meet the standard regarding the minimum teacher-student ratio.

"We are losing the services of some of our most able teachers because of an inadequate salary scale. Although some increases have been made in teachers' salaries, our salary scale has never risen to the level that prevails in many of the stronger institutions of the South. During the past four years, when substantial salary increases were being made in other States, the relative position of our own University System salary scale has dropped considerably. A state university in an adjoining state is now paying salaries that are from 15 percent to 20 percent higher than salaries for comparable positions in our institutions and is requesting funds for further substantial increases for 1955-56.

"In considering the adequacy of the appropriation to the University System, it should be borne in mind that during the past four years the System and its institutions have been called upon to provide many new services for the people of the State. Among these new services are a program for the training of teachers for handicapped or exceptional children, programs of nursing education to provide nurses for the new hospitals throughout the State, new programs of teaching and research work at the doctoral levels, a program of continuing education for adult citizens, expanded teaching, research, and extension programs in animal husbandry, poulty husbandry, and forestry.

"The cost of providing scholarships for negroes taking graduate and professional work in institutions outside the University System has increased enormously and expenditures for this purpose will continue to climb.

"In the light of repeated requests from agriculture and industry for more comprehensive research and extension programs, the Board of Regents believes that the research programs of the agricultural experiment stations and of the engineering experiment station should be expanded and that greater efforts should be made to disseminate the results of this research work.

"We have made many statements regarding the miserable inadequacies of our physical plants and regarding the absolute necessity for erecting new buildings if we expect to maintain first rate colleges and universities in Georgia. We have also pointed out the wretched condition into which many of our buildings have fallen as a result of the lack of money for repairs and maintenance.

"It was with these faces in mind that on June 8, 1955 adopted the following resolution:

" 'The members of the Board of Regents congratulate the Study Commission on the excellence of its recent study and express to the Study Commission their thanks and appreciation for the painstaking and thorough examination which they made of the affairs and needs of the University System of Georgia. The increase in appropriation recommended by the Study Commission will enable the Board of Regents to make some progress in the management of the institutions of the University System. We are hopeful though that means will be found to enable the Board of Regents to have the entire amount of the appropriation requested in order that higher education in Georgia may rank with that in its sister states in the South.'

"It is the hope of the Board of Regents that the members of the General Assembly will give careful and sympathetic study to the various requests that the Board has made, for, unless these requests can be met, there will necesarily be a serious curtailment in the scope and quality of the services that the University System undertakes to provide for the people of Georgia. The Board solicits the aid of all citizens in its efforts to provide them with the services they want and to maintain the standards of these services at levels comparable to those existing in other leading states.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

many years and it would take years to overcome the handicap.

So my interest and your interest and the opportunity of my child and your child is dependent upon the success of his administration.

I am convinced that it is going to take stronger and better men than he has at the head of at least two or three of his departments for him to have a successful administration. It isn't necessary for me to name them at this time because he knows who they are as well as I do.

He can't help but hear some of these ugly rumors. He can't help but hear some of the criticism.

The criticism is too loud and too persistent and my advice to the Governor is that from among his friends he pick the most capable and the most experienced and the most intelligent and the most honorable of his friends to do these jobs.

I am convinced that he must make some changes.

Griffin has a fine idea for a road program. It isn't well organized and it isn't properly functioning.

But with a little effort and a few changes it could be properly organized on an efficient and an intelligent basis.

But if he depends upon these county contracts to put over his rural roadbuilding he is going to wind up with the worst scandal that has ever been in Georgia. These county contracts which are immediately transferred to some contractor has been a shame all the time. Former administrations have gone along with them in bowing to the clamor from the county commissioners.

They are nothing but negotiated contracts in the name of the county and turned over to some favored contractor. They have resulted in more cheap and shoddy roads than anything else in Georgia.

Then, it has been true always that some handful of contractors have had too much favoritism from the Highway Department. As a result, we have been building cheap and shoddy roads in Georgia. Some times we have seen one end of the road wear out and blow away before the other end was completed.

Now, I live on the banks of the Savannah River and I am in the State of South Carolina practically every month in the year. These kind of things simply don't happen in South Carolina.

When South Carolina builds a road, they build a good road. When South Carolina builds a road, it stays put. They have the best road system in the nation today for a state of its size and its wealth.

Georgia can have the same kind of a road system if we put business in our Highway Department and if we build roads like we should.

Now, every administration I have known for a great many years has been guilty of the same thing in Georgia. We have built too many cheap political roads.

That's the reason the Highway Department fares better than the schools. There are hundreds of contractors, machinery dealers and materialism over the state who are trying to get their finger in the pie. There is no pie in spending money on schools. These people who are trying to make money out of the state haven't been able to use the schools for this purpose. Their only chance to make big money out of the state is building highways and getting concessions through county contracts and otherwise.

It is time for this kind of roadbuilding to stop and it is time for us to have a business-like administration handling the Highway Department.

There are other changes that ought to be made. I call attention to this condition in the Highway Department because it is not peculiar to the Griffin administration alone.

It has been true in Georgia since the Highway Department was created. The Highway Department ever since 1920 has been a political machine and some few people have been able to use it for their own personal advantage. Some have used it for political purposes and others have used it to make money for themselves.

Personally, I want to commend the Governor for the courageous stand that he took in trying to meet the problems of Georgia and I certainly hope that he will work out his administrative problems with the same degree of courage that he exercised in calling the extra session of the Legislature and asking them to levy sixty-five million dollars in taxes on the people of this state. If he will act with the same courage in his administrative problems that he has acted during this session of the Legislature, he will be able to overcome the criticism that he has suffered to date and he will be able to lead this state through four years of progressive administration and help build here a better place in which to live and a more prosperous and greater state than he found it when he took office.

Marvin Griffin has a great opportunity. It will take courage to take advantage of that opportunity and here's hoping that he brings to the administration of state affairs the same degree of courage that he brought to the running of the recent session of the Legislature.

Progress Parade Keeps Rolling On Throughout State

ATLANTA—There just doesn't appear to be any signs that the wheels of progress are slowing down in Georgia. On the contrary, Georgia's Parade of Progress keeps rolling along all over the state—in small towns, in big cities, in crossroad communities.

At least, that's the latest appraisal of this state's economic picture by Scott Candler, secretary of the Georgia Department of Commerce, the state's No. 1 agency for promoting a more profitable commonwelath.

In reporting continued progress in business and commerce channels, Candler pointed to Georgia communities of all sizes which recently have disclosed industrial expansions of one kind or another or other activities tending to improve the state's over-all economy through progressiveness at the local level.

Among those communities cited in the Commerce Department's latest Newsletters were:

Albany, Americus, Athens, Atlanta, Bainbridge, Barnesville, Brunswick, Buford, Calhoun, Carrollton, Cartersville, Chamblee, Clayton, Cleveland, Colquitt, Columbus, Conyers, Cordele, Cumming, Dahlonega, Dalton, Dawson, Dawsonville, Donalsonville, Douglas, Dublin.

Eatonton, Elberton, Fitzgerald, Fort Oglethorpe, Gainesville, Gray, Griffin, Hawkinsville, Jefferson, Kingsland, LaGrange, Louisville, Manchester, Macon, Milledgeville, Millen, Monroe, Monticello, Moultrie, Patterson, Pelham.

Roberta, Rochelle, Rome, Rossville, Sandersville, Savannah, Shannon, Swainsboro, Thomaston, Thomasville, Thomson, Toccoa, Trion, Tybee, Valdosta, Vienna, Wadley, Waycross, Waynesboro, Whitehall, Winder and Wrens.

Teen-Age Traffic Safety Conference Wants Delegates

ATLANTA — Plans are moving right along for the third annual Governor's Teen-Age Traffic Safety Conference, to be held August 7-13 at Camp Safety Patrol on Lake Blackshear, near Cordele.

But the Georgia Citizens Council sponsors of the event in co-operation with the Georgia Teen-Age Traffic Safety Assn., would like to hear from more high school principals regarding names of the teen-age delegates. (Delegates are selected from seniors and juniors in high schools all over Georgia.)

"We want to hear from more school principals," Council Director John W. Maloof said. "At this stage we need to have the names of high school boys and girls who are planning to attend, as well as the names of their alternates."

The sponsors are shooting for a registration goal of 300 delegates, with each of Georgia's counties being represented by one or more of its outstanding students. Room and board for each delegate is only $12.50 for the entire week of the conference. The only other expense is the cost of round-trip transportation.

"This is not a large expense," Maloff said. "It is usually borne by some adult civic or service organization in the delegate's home town. Where that is not possible, we would like to know about it and in the case of a deserving youngster who wants to attend the conference we try to make financial arrangements from our office.

"The important thing is to get interested teen-agers to the conference. By having delegates from every county, these young people not only get acquainted with each other but they get an insight into the various traffic problems that exist in diffrent parts of the state. The conference is manned by teen-agers. They preside at all sessions, receiving a minimum of adult guidance. There's plenty of recreation for them, too. It's educational and it's fun for them."

THE COURIER GOES INTO HOMES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, NOVEMBER 7, 1955, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 431

Hammer, Ex-Head Red-Front SCHW On Staff Ford Foundation, SRC Says

Ford Foundation Money Used In Treasonable Activities Known Communists, Traitors Are Praised, Awarded Funds

15 Million Dollars Given Fund For The Republic, Doled Out To Enemies Of U. S.

The Ford Foundation money is being used in near treasonable activities.

The Fund for the Republic, a fifteen million-dollar fund created by the Ford Foundation, has been awarding known communists and traitors with praise and checks out of tax-exempt money.

Mary Knowles is librarian at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania.

She is a known communist and when she appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee she refused to answer the question as to whether she was a communist because the answer would tend to make a criminal out of her.

The library's trustees refused to fire her and then Robert Hutchins, the head of the Fund for the Republic, sent a representative to make a speech praising Mary Knowles and gave the library a check for five thousand dollars to reward them for defending and upholding a known communist.

These facts were very glowingly portrayed in a speech recently made in the House of Representatives by Congressman B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee.

In this speech, Congressman Reece said:

"On May 8, 1953, Mr. Herbert Philbrick, of White Plains, New York, appeared before the Internal Security Committee of the Senate and swore that Mary Knowles was a member of the Communist Party, 'in fact a member of my own progroup underground cell.'

"Mr. Philbrick further identified Mary Knowles as Harrison Harley's secretary. Harrison Harley was the director of the Communist Samuel Adams School for Social Studies in Boston, which was disbanded and went underground for security reasons in 1948. Mr. Philbrick testified that the Samuel Adams School was run completely and controlled entirely by the Communist Party as its biggest educational project.

"The school's own literature, introduced into evidence identified Mary Knowles as secretary, her authority exceeded only by the director and associate director.

"Mr. Philbrick was an undercover agent for the FBI in the Communist Party for over 9 years in the Boston area and his testimony helped convict the 11 first-string Communist Party leaders in New York Federal court of violation of the Smith Act. Mr. Philbrick was subsequently hired by the New York Herald Tribune and I do not know of any attacks on his integrity or testimony.

"On May 21, 1953, Mary Knowles of Norwood, Mass., appeared before the same Senate committee, with counsel, and when asked if she was a member of the

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

I don't like what I think I see.

I have thought for some time that I saw a conspiracy in Washington between the leaders in the Democratic Party and the leaders in the Republican Party and between the outstanding members from the South and the outstanding members from elsewhere, regardless of party lines, to remove the question of the integration of the races from the forum of the Congress across the street to the so-called "Temple of Justice" — the Supreme Court building.

You will remember that we were continually fighting about the so-called "civil rights" legislation in Congress. You will recall that there was always an anti-poll tax, an FEPC bill or some kind of an anti-South bill that we were fighting. A majority of the Congress was committed to vote for all of these fool bills and only by a filibuster in the Senate by Southern Senators were we able to head them off.

There were campaigns being run to do away with the right to filibuster so that they could be passed.

Then all at once everything went quiet on Capitol Hill. You heard nothing from either Democratic or Republican leaders or from Northern or Southern leaders about this so-called "legislation."

On this question it was so quiet on Capitol Hill until you could hear a pin drop at any time and all through the Houses of Congress there was not even a mouse stirring on this question.

Then, when Capitol Hill became quiet, the whole effort was moved across the way to the Supreme Court building.

The quiet that existed among even our Southern leaders made me sit up and take notice at the time. I thought something had happened. I didn't know what.

Southern leaders in both the House and the Senate began to tell me that the thing was inevitable. They began to tell me that it was only a question of time until it was coming. This was strange language coming from Southerners and I couldn't understand it.

It looked then as if there had been a quiet agreement to move the fighting ground across the street. It looked to me then as if leaders of all sections and of all parties breathed a sigh of relief and were delighted to see the battleground shifted even though there had been no definite agreement.

It could be that the leaders on the other side saw an opportunity to shift the scene of conflict, knowing that Southern leaders would breathe a sigh of relief and they would go quiet and say nothing further.

Regardless of whether the conspiracy was an open and an avowed conspiracy, regardless of whether it was a conspiracy evidenced by undercover agreement or whether it was a conspiracy that was never put into words, but quietly acquiesced in, the conspiracy was certainly there.

When the forum of the fight was moved to the Supreme Court building, our Southern leaders went quiet and said nothing. That is true of the Southern representatives in Congress who were in a position of leadership. There were a few Senators and Congressman who did not occupy such favored positions who spoke out.

There were only two from Georgia. They were Congressman Jim Davis and Congressman "Tick" Forrester. There were a few other stragglers from the Southern States. These few stragglers were like a voice crying in the wilderness and not even did the Southern leadership give heed to their crying voices.

During the consideration of the segregation cases in the Supreme

(Continued on Page 3)

Wife Is High Official In Georgia League Of Women Voters, Edits Publication

Two former high officials of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare hold key positions in the Southern Regional Council which is spending a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to destroy segregation in the South.

PHILIP HAMMER, former president of the Communist-front SCHW in Washington, D. C., has been listed by the Southern Regional Council as being on the central staff of the Ford Foundation project personnel. He is also Executive Officer of the Committee of the South, a vague sort of organization which has no definite announced program and whose source of funds cannot be determined.

DR. RUFUS CLEMENT, President of Atlanta University and an organizer of The Southern Regional Council, was listed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report branding SCHW a Communist-front, as being a member of the top level Executive Board of that organization.

Look Southward Angel

An undated leaflet of the SCHW titled "Look Southward Angel" listed Hammer as president of SCHW. This organization was cited as a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

No one could have held such a high office in Washington SCHW organization unless he could be fully trusted to carry out instructions.

It was also learned by the COURIER that records subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities from the Washington Bookshop in 1941 showed that Philip G. Hammer was a member of the same. This organization was cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and later by Attorney General Tom Clark, as a Communist front.

Dodged World War II

This same Hammer was born in Philadelphia, Pa. He studied under Frank Graham at the University of North Carolina and at Harvard. Upon coming to Washington, he was employed in the office of Bob LaFollette, liberal Senator from Wisconsin. From there he went with the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture under Henry Wallace. He later was included in the mass transfer of "liberals" to the State Department for work in the Foreign Economic Administration and the United Nation's Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In spite of the fact that Hammer held responsible government positions all dur-

(Continued on Page 2)

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company, 1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:

One year $4.00

'It Cannot Be Repeated Too Many Times'

(From The Richmond News-Leader)

Roy Wilkins' speech in Charlottesville on Friday was pretty much what one would expect from the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Anyone who resists compulsory integration is, in his view, making war upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Mississippi is a terrible place, and Viriginia, "she of the proud tradition and the aristocratic manner, is pronouncing in rounded phrases what Mississippi says in whoops and hollers." Those who oppose the NAACP are "shameful as well as shameless," and the NAACP "will win because we are right."

As a peptalk to the State NAACP convention, the speech probably went off just fine, but the talk actually was addressed, of course, to the larger public. And there was this paragraph in it worth quoting:

"You know, my friends, all through this debate and procedure, white people have been depending upon what they think they know about what Negroes think. It cannot be repeated too many times that Negroes do not tell white people what they think. Even the Uncle Toms do not tell whites the truth. We tell them only what is necessary to keep the peace and get along in the little worlds that we both inhabit."

It seems to us that in this passage, the NAACP's executive secretary spoke volumes of the gulf that divides. Here he is complacently boasting of a racial characteristic—of duplicity, concealment, evasion, secretiveness. He says that it cannot be repeated too many times that Negroes do not tell whites the truth. As a result, white people do not know what Negroes really think.

That is a remarkable approach toward justifying the rightness and soundness of mixed public schools. "We are the sort of people who will not tell you the truth," the NAACP spokesman is saying, "but we demand that you admit us to the intimate relationship of your elementary and high school classrooms. We may tell you we are concerned only with education, but actually you will not know what we are thinking of."

Wilkins is mistaken (as he is mistaken in a good many things) if he imagines that white persons, especially in the South, are not prefectly aware of this quality of concealment, this less-than-the-truthness he would have everyone understand. The late W. A. Percy, certainly no enemy of the Southern Negro, once termed it a condition like a plate of glass—something you could not see, but could feel. It is a part of the private world of the Negro race, a part of the mores and customs that have preserved in the South two separate societies, together but apart, and apart but together.

"It cannot be repeated too many times that Negroes do not tell white people what they think . . . " True, true. And sometimes we wonder if they tell the NAACP exactly what they are thinking, too.

LAND OF ONE RACE

(From the Washington Afro-American Newspaper, June 7, 1955)

"In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plaited in pigtails, white babies at the breast of colored mothers, colored babies at the breast of white mothers and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel and banana.

A mixture of this sort has made any attempt at racial segregation out of the question in Brazil—because no one could possibly tell where white begins and black ends.

Brazil has long since passed the rest of the world in its race relations. The so-called race problem simply doesn't exist in Brazil."

FACTORY

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Wife Is High Official In Georgia League Of Women Voters, Edits Publication

(Continued from page 1)

ing World War II, even though he was of military service age, he terminated his employment abruptly in late 1945. He is reported to have come to Atlanta in 1946 in an effort to get a magazine started which he hoped to edit, but could not make financial arrangements and left, only to return in 1947 as a business analyst for the Atlanta firm of Joseph K. Heyman.

"Slashed" Fulton County

He resigned from this position in March 1950 to become Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission and as such was author of the **"Plan of Improvement"** legislation which took most of the effective governmental powers away from Fulton County and vested them in the Mayor of Atlanta who has twice been elected to office not by a vote of white people but by the bloc vote.

Our investigation shows that Mr. Hammer, in addition to his Communist-front affiliations, was named as a member of the National Executive Council of United World Federalists in early 1949. This is an organization which proposes the surrender of our national sovereignty to a super world government which would have police powers and could arrest individual citizens of member nations.

Alger Hiss, the convicted Communist traitor, who is now serving a five-year sentence in the Federal penitentiary for perjury, made several speeches in furtherance of the United World Federalists organization, according to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Ford Foundation Pet

During the summer of 1953, Hammer took a three months' leave from his job as Director of the Committee of the South to direct an intensive study for the Ford Foundation Education Fund. Main purpose of the study was to convince the Supreme Court that a ruling by it outlawing segregation could be implemented and enforced. This work was known as the **"Ashmore Project"** under which school segregation in the Southern states was studied with a view towards devising ways and means to eliminate it.

The record shows that Hammer has been extremely critical of efforts on the part of the Talmadge administration to preserve segregation in the public schools of Georgia. He has said any so-called "plans" to circumvent the court ruling **"won't last as long as the White Primaries."**

He has urged that whites and negroes meet together and make immediate plans for de-segregation of public schools in the South.

Guest of "Hungry Club"

According to news items which appeared in the **ATLANTA DAILY WORLD**, a negro newspaper published in that city, Hammer has been a frequent guest at the **"Hungry Club"**, a negro luncheon group before which he has made political addresses from time to time, and at the same time dined with its members in an atmosphere of mixed frivolity at the Butler Street **YMCA.**

A recent picture appeared in the **DAILY WORLD** showing **Mr. Hammer** at a panel meeting at the Atlanta University, where he reviewed the report of the **Ashmore Project** relative to ending segregation in the schools in the South. The study was made by **Dr. Harry S. Ashmore,** Hammer and others for the purpose of **"easing the transition from separate white and negro schools to mixed schools."**

The Courier last year ran a series of articles exposing the communist-front Southern Regional Council which is financed by the Ford Foundation.

We are now re-producing these articles and this is the fifth of the series and appeared under date of August 9, 1954.

Hammer's wife, Jane, is First Vice President of the Georgia League of Women Voters and is Editor of "Georgia Voter" a bi-monthly publication of the organization, in which its policy is enunciated. The announcement bulletin of Spelman College for 1952-53 lists Mrs. Hammer as a teacher of Philosophy there. Both the Hammers have been very active in directing the fight against the county unit system in Georgia.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement

The National Advisory Board of United World Federalists lists besides Hammer such names as Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University and the first negro ever to be elected to the Atlanta City Board of Education. Records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and documentary evidence possessed by it show that he has been active in at least 12 Communist-front groups and movements.

The public records, files and publications of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities contain the following citation concerning Dr. Rufus E. Clement, who was organizer and is now a member of the Board of Directors of SRC:

"The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom issued a petition which was signed by Rufus E. Clement as shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of that organization, dated January 17, 1940.

"He was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as reported in the 'Daily Worker' of October 28, 1940 (page 3); Program, Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 29-30, 1941; Leaflet, 'Sixth National Conference', Cleveland, Ohio, May 9 and 10, 1942 (page 4); an undated letterhead summarizing the 1946 work of the organization; and a Program and Call for Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947.

"It is noted on a bulletin, Spot News, (page 1) that Rufus E. Clement was one of the sponsors of the American Committee to Save Rufugees, which was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee (Report, March 29, 1944, pages 49, 112, 129, 138, and 180).

Letter to President

"Rufus E. Clement was 'among the 363 outstanding Americans who signed the Open Letter to the President of the United States sponsored originally by the American Council on Soviet Relations, urging a declaration of war on the Finnish government in the interests of speedy victory by the United Nations over Nazi Germany and its Fascist allies' as shown in an official folder of that organization.

"The Civil Rights Congress was the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947, which listed Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, as one of the sponsors of the group.

"The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties released a statement hailing War Department order on Commissions for Communists. It was reported that Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, was one of those who signed the statement.

Policy In China

"Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, was named as a sponsor of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy). (See Conference Call, January 23-25, 1948, New York City).

"An article which appeared in the 'Daily Worker' of February 21, 1949 (p. 2) stated that Dr. Rufus Clement was one of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace. The Conference 'Call' and Program (p. 12) also disclosed this information.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was made the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 16, 1947, in which Rufus E. Clement was listed as a member of the Executive Board, a Consultant, and a Member at Large on an official report of the organization.

SYNC Advisory Board

"Dr. Rufus E. Clement was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress as shown on a page from a leaflet published by the organization; a letterhead, dated June 12, 1947; and another dated August 11, 1947.

"One Rufus E. Clement was an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as shown in the 'Daily Worker' of December 24, 1944 (page 14) and a letterhead dated November 26, 1946, of that group.

"See pages 104 and 108 in the Committee's Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive for further references to Rufus E. Clement; also page 12 of the same report for reference to Rufus E. Clement."

Progress Parade Marching Onward Through Georgia

ATLANTA, — Onward, ever onward, Georgia's Progress Parade keeps moving ahead in Georgia—through small towns, big cities and medium-size communities.

At least, that's what reports from all over the state indicate. They are reports received by the Georgia Department of Commerce, whose job it is to keep a finger on the state's economic pulse. And the over-all picture continues to look bright, according to Commerce Secretary Scott Candler.

To prove his point, Candler cites Georgia communities of all sizes which recently have announced industrial expansions of one kind or another or other activities tending to improve Georgia's economy through progressiveness at the local level.

Among the latest communities cited for these reasons by the Commerce Department's Newsletter were:

Adairsville, Albany, Americus, Athens, Atlanta, Augusta, Austell, Bainbridge, Blairsville, Brunswick, Buena Vista, Byron, Cairo, Calhoun, Camilla, Carrollton, Cartersville, Cedartown, Chatsworth, Cleveland, Columbus, Commerce, Cordele, Covington.

Dacula, Dahlonega, Dalton, Dawson, East Point, Gainesville, Hartwell, Hazlehurst, Helen, Jackson, Jesup, Lithonia, Louisville, Lula, Macon, Manchester, Marietta, Milledgeville, Millen, Moultrie.

Newnan, Richland, Ringgold, Rome, Savannah, Stone Mountain, Toccoa, Valdosta, Waycross, West Point, Woodbury, Wrens.

Melton Insists Colleges In Ga. Stay Segregated

ATLANTA,—Quimby Melton, Jr., who, among other things, is editor of the Griffin Daily News, president of the Georgia Press Assn., and a member of the University System's Board of Regents and the State Democratic Executive Committee, was a featured speaker at the recent United Daughters of the Confederacy convention held in Albany.

And, according to the reports, what he said made good sense on several scores. For example, on the question of segregation in the institutions of higher learning, he declared:

"I intend to work for the betterment of all the colleges in Georgia, colored as well as white. But I shall insist that they remain separate. Segregation has proven the wisest course for Georgia and as far as I am concerned we will continue to operate separate white and negro colleges. That is all there is to it as far as I'm concerned."

Since becoming head of the GPA last summer, Melton says he has traveled more than 5,000 miles in every part of the state, "and I have found every mile of it marked with progress—new schools, new homes, new hospitals and health centers, new businesses and industries and better farming . . . Now we rapidly are regaining our place in the sun . . . Georgia is the greatest state in the nation; its past is illustrious, its present progressive and its future unlimited."

Ga. Commerce Dept. Issues Directory Of Manufacturers

ATLANTA, — "It's the most complete guide of its kind ever issued in Georgia," is the way Scott Candler, secretary of the Georgia Department of Commerce, describes the 1955 directory of Georgia Manufacturers, compiled and just released by his department. Writing the foreword, he said:

"Georgia's change from an agricultural domain to leadership in the Modern Industrial South has been rapid. To fulfill demands for listings of our huge teeming factories and bustling smaller shops, together with their employment and their myriad products, the Georgia Department of Commerce has prepared this directory.

"To obtain the information contained in this book, representatives of the Department of Commerce visited every one of the state's 159 counties and made hundreds of calls upon Chambers of Commerce, municipal officials, industrialists, bankers and newspapers."

The 132-page directory is in two parts. The first part lists the counties in alphabetical order, listing the firms by name, the city, the kind of products and the approximate number of employees. The second part, also in alphabetical order, groups the products in general classification and then lists the firm name, the city, the specific product and the approximate number of employees.

Business leaders who are interested in obtaining a copy of the new directory may write Scott Candler, Secretary, Georgia Department of Commerce, 100 State Capitol, Atlanta 3, Ga.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Court, Southerners on the Court joined the other members in a unanimous decision overthrowing all the decisions of all the courts of the land for more than one hundred years and substituted the writings of a socialist Swedish psychologist in place of the law of the land.

Now, the members of the Supreme Court would not have been bold enough to overrule and overthrow all of the law of this land as declared by the Supreme Court of the United States, all of the Federal courts and all of the state courts unless they had been led to believe that Southern leadership would accept the decision and that Southern leadership would welcome and embrace the decision.

Even the Supreme Court of the United States, as now constituted, would not have been crazy enough to hand down that decision had they not believed that such a conspiracy existed in the Congress.

And when they handed down the decision, what happened?

Not a single Southern Congressman or Senator in the top echelon of leadership opened his mouth. Not a single one had a word to say.

The one Senator who spoke out, who came nearer to occupying a position of leadership in the Congress, was Senator Russell and his statement was very mild at the time. He stood as a lone voice. Senator Eastland of Mississippi has spoken in no uncertain terms. He has paid his full disrespects to the Court and the members thereof. He has tried to expose the conspiracy which existed to overthrow the law of the land. He has exposed the nature of the authority which the Supreme Court relied upon.

But Senator Eastland is not among the top echelon of leadership and neither is Senator Russell because of his views.

If Senator Russell were to forget his views on the question of mixing and mingling the white and Negro races, he would be readily accepted among the top echelon of leadership.

Not a single Southern leader in the top echelon joined the movement to set aside the Supreme Court decision or to take away from the Supreme Court authority to pass on questions involving our state schools. Such a bill was introduced in Congress and got no support from the top echelon of Southern leadership.

When Eisenhower appointed Judge John Marshall Harlan of New York to the Supreme Court bench and it was known that his grandfather started the nonsense of throwing away all of our law and forcing the mixing of the races by his dissenting vote in the otherwise unanimous pro-segregation decision in the case of Plessy versus Ferguson, every Southern Senator in the top echelon of leadership either voted for the confirmation of his appointment or did not vote at all.

Now, new evidence of this conspiracy is coming to light.

The top Democratic leadership of the Nation favored Adlai Stevenson in 1952 as the Democratic candidate for President. They still favor him.

It is true that they are afraid of his ability to win against first-class opposition. Nevertheless, they favor him because he turned his campaign over to the Americans for Democratic Action and the CIO in 1952. He ran on a straight-out anti-South ticket favoring the integration and the mixing of the races.

Now Stevenson's agents and representatives have been in Georgia and all of the other Southern states telling our leaders that since the Supreme Court ruled and took over the question of mixing the races that neither the President nor the Congress will have anything to do with it and that it will not be necessary at the next convention to even mention the question of integration in the platform.

Therefore, they argue that since this be the case and that the Courts have taken over the question of integration of the races and eliminated it from the field of politics, that we should go along and support Adlai Stevenson for President.

A lot of our Southern leaders are falling into this rotten trap. They can't see through the whole picture. They are all too concerned with getting a little honor or a little power for themselves.

Now, this conspiracy is not confined to the Democratic Party. The Republicans are likewise a part of it.

Eisenhower, in 1952, led a lot of Southern leaders to believe that he was with us on this question of mixing up the races. They knew that when he was Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies in Europe that he opposed integration of the races.

As soon as he was elected, he turned on these Southern leaders with a fury and went all out to mix up the races.

By executive order, he integrated the races in the Armed Forces. By executive order, he forced soldiers living on military posts to send their children to mixed schools while he, at the same time, saw to it that his own grandchildren attended private schools and didn't have to mix with the Negroes.

Now, the Republican leadership is telling Southern people that the question of integration has already been settled and they can afford to go along and support the Republican ticket.

What the Republicans and the Democrats are both proposing to the South is that we close our mouths, that we go deathly quiet, that we sit still and do nothing and there won't be any issue raised in the platform.

What both sides propose is what the Negro proposed to the catfish. The Negro told the catfish: "Be still, little catfish, I ain't gwine do nothing to you but skin you and gut you."

That's what they propose to do to the people of the South today and a lot of our Senators and Congressmen and our Governors and others in positions of leadership are willingly walking into this trap and they are going to cause us to be like the Negro's little catfish.

(Continued on page 4)

Northerners Told By Jesuit Editor To Eliminate Own Racial Prejudices

NEW YORK, N. Y., OCT. 29 — Northerners were warned yesterday to eliminate their own race prejudice before becoming critical of segregation in the Southern states.

The straight-from-the-shoulder advice was given by the Rev. John LaFarge, associate editor of the Roman Catholic magazine, AMERICA, in an address by him to the Interracial Council of Fordham University.

(The magazine AMERICA, is one of the outstanding intellectual publications in the United States. It is edited by the order of the Society of Jesus, a religious order in the Roman Catholic Church, which was founded by Ignatius Loyalo in 1534. Members of that order are known as Jesuits and are the intellectuals of the church.)

Father LaFarge cited a Catholic organization as an example of prejudice in the North. "There are hardly any councils of the Knights of Columbus," he said, "which admit Negroes."

One of the first councils of the Knights of Columbus to admit Negroes, he said, is the one in San Antonio, Texas.

The Jesuit editor pointed out that merely eliminating segregation would not be sufficient. "We must work out a sound policy of co-existence of the races," he declared.

The Reverend Father said the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the vast majority of Catholic clergy are not prejudiced.

(The Vatican called on all Roman Catholic Americans, recently, to join in the fight against "inhuman racial prejudice." The end of racial discrimination has been ordered in the Archdiocese of New Orleans by Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel: it is applicable to all Catholic churches and will apply to Catholic schools next year.)

The Letter Column

October 22, 1955

The Augusta Courier
Augusta, Georgia

Just how far does the Ford and other like-minded TAX-FREE Foundation-Funds dare to go in their attempt to rebuild America into their own image?

Their recent backing up, to the tune of $1,400,000.00,—a group of UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO professors to secretly wire-tap and record the supposedly SECRET DELIBERATIONS of JURORS in a Wichita jury room, and the foreknowledge and approval of the Federal District Judge,—just about takes the cake! And did you read the most strange-sounding names of these meddlesome-mattie University of Chicago professors who thought, and still think, it is a public service to EAVESDROP JURIES, — record their remarks to each other on a planted RECORDER in Wichita, and then play it back to an audience in DENVER?

While the magazines who broke the story and thereby queered the plans of the panty-waist wiretappers didn't dwell on it overmuch, — we noted that it was the original plan to wire-tap FIVE HUNDRED (500) jury deliberations. WHO DOUBTS FOR A MOMENT THAT **SOUTHERN STATES** JURIES **MOSTLY,** WERE TO BE SPIED UPON, to appease and to amuse the MONKEY-MEN and MONKEY-WOMEN who hate everything and everyone in what they term the "degraded and ignorant South"?

The slick magazines have so long insulted the WHITE South that fewer Southerners are subscribing to them, or picking them up at drugstores and newsstands; so the news of this jury-spying episode, and who gleefully FINANCED IT will be slow getting around. The Atlanta Newspapers are always reluctant to let us know about devilment the folks in the cold country carry on against us, —such as the fact that the **Dad** of the boy who caused the Mississippi trouble was NOT the "fallen WAR HERO" which LIFE magazine, painted him; "dying for the principle that all are equal", — BUT, died at the end of a hempen rope, applied by the U. S. ARMY, in Italy, for thinking he could MURDER ONE ITALIAN WHITE WOMAN AND RAPE TWO OTHER ITALIAN WHITE WOMEN and go free. It wasn't an ATLANTA paper, nor a **Yankee** paper that dug the facts out of Washington; but, the Jackson (MISSISSIPPI) Daily News. Ralph McGill and his Mix-Races Societies are far too busy to give us the News.

Sincerely yours,
A Reader

Macon Lawyer Defends Mississippi Letter To Paper

Anti-Southern Policy Of Many Newspapers In South Scored By Prominent Georgian

Charles J. Bloch, a member of the Board of Regents and a prominent lawyer of Macon, in a letter to The Macon Telegraph, blisters the newspapers and the slick press for condemning the people of Mississippi on account of the killing of Emmett Till.

In this letter he clearly pictures the different way in which the newspapers played up the Till case and the way they played the gruesome gang murders that are taking place in New York and Chicago.

In the Till case, the newspapers condemned the people of the whole State of Mississippi. They did not condemn the people of Illinois and the people of New York for more gruesome crimes committed there.

Bloch's letter follows:

October 21, 1955

Editor
The Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia
Dear Sir:

About forty years ago (before you were born, I guess), a celebrated criminal case was tried in the courts of Georgia. The conduct of the trial did not suit the Northern Press. The Editor of the Telegraph at that time was not a Southerner by birth. He was a Canadian—George Long. But he could dip his pen in vitroil, and write in letters of fire when he thought his adopted State was being unfairly treated. The result was an editorial, especially directed to the State of Massachusetts, the title of which was: "To H— with Massachusetts." I hope you can find it in the files of your paper.

We need one like George Long today —one who isn't seeking Pulitzer prizes, or the accolade of the Northern Press.

What I am particularly referring to are the tirades of the slick paper magazines and the press against the State of Mississppi, on account of the Emmett Till case, and most particularly an editorial which appeared in Life Magazine a week or so ago entitled, "Emmett Till will be avenged." And the New York Times of October 18, 1955 (pages 1 and 33) referred to the Vatican newspaper as follows: "The newspaper noted that racial prejudice in the United States had 'unfortunately caused many crimes.' It cited specifically the 'wolf whistle' trial at Sumner, Mississippi, deploring that 'a crime against an adolescent victim remained unpunished.'"

No right thinking person condones the slaying of any human being, white or colored, adult or adolescent — but what has the State of Mississippi done wrong? What is it that the State or her people should do they have not done? A colored boy was alleged to have been brutally murdered. Promptly the charge was investigated. His alleged murderers were arrested, and indicted. A special prosecutor was appointed. They were tried according to law—the trial was presided over by a jurist of learning and dignity. The trial was orderly. The prosecution was vigorous. The defense equally so. The defendants were acquitted. Still the Northern press — and now the Vatican press— continues to harp on the affair. What is it that they want? Do they want the people of Mississippi to take the law into their own hands, and punish the alleged offenders? That would be "lynch law." Or can it be that they are harping on Mississippi in order to divert the eyes of the world from barbarities in their own midst.

Your newspaper of this morning (October 21) contains another newstory of the "heartless slaying of three young boys" in Chicago last Thursday, and tells of the theory that "the boys fell prey to a gang of teenage toughs." If that be true, these would be three others in the long list of those horrible crimes committed in Chicago which are there called "gang-murders." If they had been committed in Georgia or Mississippi, they would be "lynchings."

And your same newspaper contains a United Press story under a New York date line captioned with the headline, "Hoodlums Mutilate Body Held in Funeral Home." The gruesome details commence with this paragraph: "Teen-age Brooklyn hoodlums broke into a funeral home after three of their fellow gang members had been charged with murder, dumped the 15-year-old victim from the casket and 'cut the body to ribbons' with knives, it was revealed today."

Can a more horrible, more grisly crime be imagined? It didn't happen yesterday. It happened "last year" but not one word had the New York press said about it, until Judge Samuel Leibowitz trying the case "disclosed the story of teen-age hatred that did not stop with death . . ."

If such a thing had happened in the South, how we would have been portrayed through the length and breadth of the land as uncivilized barbarians.

Why is the State of Mississippi condemned on account of the Till case, and no word of condemnation uttered against the State of Illinois or the State of New York for crimes even more horrible?

I wonder if it is possible that politics are involved—that the Northern press is not nearly so concerned about the Till child as it is the colored vote?

But, above all, what is demonstrated is that if ever a group of people needed a spokesman and a leader, that group is the white people of the South.

You may publish this letter if you want to, but on one condition, that you publish **all of it—every single word.**

Sincerely,
Charles J. Bloch

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

We can only get a skinning and a gutting out of it.

Since 1952 we have said there was no difference between the Democratic and the Republican Parties so far as this issue is concerned. Eisenhower and his group were under the control of Tom Dewey and his crowd and they have been just as bad as Adlai Stevenson would have been had he been elected President.

There is one difference, however, between the Republican and the Democratic Party.

The Republicans didn't owe the South anything. We have voted Democratic most of the time and Georgia has never gone Republican.

But the Democrats did owe the South something. The South kept the Democratic Party alive for years and when the Democratic Party did stay with the South, we would give them a solid vote clear across the area every time. The Democrats were supposed to be our friends. Yet, they stabbed us in the back.

Now, when we look forward to 1956 we are in a devil of a fix. On the Democratic side, it looks as if we must choose between Stevenson, Harriman and Kefauver.

Harry Truman is a sweet-smelling geranium compared to this mess of rotten wildcats. Stevenson, Harriman and Kefauver all three think the way to be elected is to be for mixing the races and being sweet on the communists and the wildcat labor unions. It is difficult to tell which is the worst. If there is one entitled to the championship, it is Kefauver because he is wilder than Stevenson and Harriman. Kefauver is for anything that is anti-Southern although he represents a Southern state. His voting record is more nearly in line with the communist line than New York's, Marcantonio. His voting record and the position of the communist Daily Worker are almost identical.

Stevenson isn't much better and Harriman is even worse.

Harriman and Stevenson were both born with a silver spoon in their mouths and they seem to have acquired a distaste for the very system of government and economy which put the silver spoon in their mouths.

They are now vying with one another to see which one can be more anti-South and which one can love the socialists and the communists more.

If the people of the South go to the convention and vote for either Stevenson, Kefauver or Harriman, they will automatically confess to be the biggest dern fools that ever lived.

The Republicans won't have anything better to offer. It will either be Nixon or Warren or some other wildcat like that and at the bottom of the list, I would put Warren.

Any man as Chief Justice of the United States who will so stultify his conscience and so betray his people as to throw out the window all the law of the land and follow a Swedish socialist in re-making the law, deserves no consideration whatsoever.

As a matter of fact, I think he ought to be impeached as Chief Justice.

So, I don't like what I think I see about the candidates for President.

The above prognostications are based on the assumption that Eisenhower won't run. Even if he does run and even if he is elected, he won't be any better for the South than even Kefauver, Harriman or Stevenson.

Now, I am getting to the point.

We are not going to get anywhere in the South until our leaders are willing to stand up and let the world know that we are willing to fight.

We are in the position of the Negro's catfish today because we haven't had the type of leadership in the South with the intelligence and the courage to stand up and fight. They have laid down and took it like the little catfish and now the Supreme Court and the leaders in the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are of the opinion that the people of the South haven't the courage to fight.

Whether we should fight through the machinery of the Democratic Party or whether we should start out on our own, nobody is smart enough to say right now.

But, I am in favor of starting a fight and starting it now. Let's start it in the Democratic Party and if we don't get some relief there, let's start it somewhere else.

As things stand now, I repeat my former statement: I am a mighty poor Democrat and no Republican at all.

15 Million Dollars Given Fund For The Republic, Doled Out To Enemies Of U. S.

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Party now, she dived behind the fifth amendment and refused to answer the question—Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, Hearings Senate Committee on Internal Security, parts 9 and 10, pages 944-1002.

"The Samuel Adams School of Boston is on the Attorney General's list as subversive and Communist.

"Mrs. Mary Knowles, following her plea of the fifth amendment before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, subsequently submitted her resignation as branch librarian to the trustees of the Norwood, Mass., library, and it was accepted.

"Mrs. Knowles had been employed by the Norwood library for some time while she was also serving as secretary of the Communist Samuel Adams School.

"Then Mrs. Mary Knowles took a similar position with the library of the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of Friends, a Quaker group at Plymouth Meeting, a village near Philadelphia.

"When Mrs. Mary Knowles went to the town of Plymouth meeting, veterans' organizations and others asked her to take a loyalty oath. She refused. Thereafter, the Plymouth Township School Board, the governing authorities of Plymouth and Whitemarsh Townships, and the Conshohocken Community Chest withdrew financial support of the library. This amounted to about $1,500 annually.

"Now, it is clearly shown that Mrs. Mary Knowles has had no civil rights violated in any manner. She, to the contrary, appears to have utilized her rights to the fullest, including refusal to take a loyalty oath, and refuge behind the fifth amendment.

"Some of the Quakers, aroused at the adverse publicity the community was receiving, and wanting no truck with a fifth-amendment Communist, got up a petition to the meeting to have Mary Knowles discharged. This got voted down in a maneuver, though it appears a majority favored it, whereupon Dr. Hutchins, of the Ford Fund for tht Republic, dashes Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, one of his directors, and wife of Dr. William E. Stevenson, president of Oberlin College, to the scene with a $5,000 check which she presented to John Archibald, clerk of the town of Plymouth Meeting, with the amazing statement that she wanted to make it very clear that whatever Mrs. Knowles' past associations may or may not have been, she is a loyal American and a highly qualified librarian.

"Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Ford Fund for the Republic, announced in New York that the gift of $5,000 was for 'courageous and effective defense of democratic principles.'

"Mr. Speaker, these statements by two directors of the Ford Foundation Fund for the Republic are disgraceful. They are incredible.

"What is going on in this country when we cite and award known Communists and traitors with praise and checks for $5,000, of tax-exempt money. When the former chancellor of the University of Chicago and the wife of another college president make public statements glorifying Reds who hide behind the fifth amendment and bestow on them $5,000 in cash, we had better stop, take stock, and see where we are headed.

"Is the Ford Fund for the Republic going in the same direction as the American Fund for Public Service — the Garland Fund—which was exhausted years ago by the Communist Party and its fronts or the Robert Marshall Foundation which has been drained of its resources of over a million dollars by organizations on the Attorney General's list as subversive and as a fund for the payment of attorney fees of $20,000 to Joe Rauh of ADA in the case of Soviet spy, William Walter Remington, as pointed out by the gentlemen from Illinois (Mr. Velde) on October 17, 1951, at page 13664 of the RECORD?"

THE COURIER GOES INTO HOMES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

hand for Fem

April 25, 1956

TO: GSM
FROM: HCF HCF
RE: Harris charges

Here is a stab at cataloging Roy Harris' lies about SRC. I dare say it would be possible, by tediously plowing through more issues, to turn up some further nonsensical items. But the ones treated here represent the substance of Harris' mythology about us, and I should think any reasonable person would see how he works from this much analysis.

Let me know whether this is the kind of thing you had in mind and how close this comes to meeting the need as you see it.

OK as corrected
GM.

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER: AN ANALYSIS

(Issue of May 3, 1954, the Augusta Courier, published by Roy V. Harris.)

1. "SRC, of Atlanta, had been granted one quarter of a million dollars by the Ford Foundation."

The grant referred to was not made by the Ford Foundation, but by the Fund for the Republic.

2. "[Ralph] McGill was recently appointed a member of the executive committee of the Ford Foundation."

McGill has never been so appointed. He is a member of the Board of the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

3. "This SRC picked up one of the platforms of the Communist Party in America and that was the destruction of the pattern of segregation in the South."

Anybody who is even slightly familiar with the Communist party platform knows this is false. The official Communist doctrine as formulated decades ago calls for the establishment of an independent Negro republic ~~comprising~~ encompassing the so-called black belt of the Southern U.S. This objective, which has never been repudiated by the Communist Party, is about as far as you can get from the program of the SRC. The SRC, like its predecessor, the Committee on Interracial Cooperation, has always worked soberly and quietly; the Communists have carried on noisy campaigns designed to exploit injustices ~~to~~ Negroes for their own purposes. The SRC was established during World War II (1943 and 1944) at a time when the Communists professed no concern for the status of the Negro in the South, since they wanted to see all national energies devoted to assisting Soviet Russia by opening a second front against Germany. Statements by the Soviet press as well as analyses by American experts on international affairs make it clear that the Communists are exploiting ~~national desegregation and~~ discrimination and segregation in this country among colored peoples elsewhere in the world. It is the pro-segregation extremists in the South who aid their purpose, not responsible southerners like those in SRC who seek harmonious progress.

4. "The object and purpose of the SRC is to divide the people of the South and to create chaos, confusion and violence."

SRC's purpose demonstrably is, and always has been, to unite the people of the south and to avoid chaos, confusion and violence. This is borne out by everything the Council has ever said or done, and Harris, of course, produces no evidence to the contrary.

June 28, 1954.

1. "SRC is the successor of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Committee investigating un-American activities."

This constantly repeated falsehood by Harris is refuted by a whole army of facts. SRC is the official successor to the ~~Committee~~ Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919. SRC was organized in 1943 and chartered in 1944, at a time when the SCHW had been in existence since 1938 and was still going strong; they were generally regarded as rival organizations. Most of the principal founders of SRC had never had any connection with SCHW. The approach and program of SRC is markedly different from that of the old SCHW. The SCHW has a clear and acknowledged successor in the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Attempts to label SRC as a second, unacknowledged successor are obviously absurd. Evidence on this point in SRC's files include official records of its organization and ~~list some~~ letters from such founders as Msgr. T. J. McNamara, Goodrich C. White, J. McDowell Richards and Howard W. Odum.

2. "Two top members of the SRC's Board of Directors, who are also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as Communists in testimony before Congressional Committees by former associates in the party."

This frequently repeated charge by Harris is amplified elsewhere as a reference to Aubrey Williams and Clark Foreman. It is false on two counts. First, neither of these men was a member of the SRC Board at the time they were accused

before Congressional Committees. The accusations against them were made by Louis Budenz and Paul Crouch in 1953. Clark Foreman, who moved out of the South, was dropped from the SRC Board in 1949, and Aubrey Williams resigned, also in 1949 - ironically because he did not feel that SRC went far enough in opposition to segregation. Secondly, neither Foreman nor Williams could conceivably be described as "top members" of SRC's Board even during their terms of membership. Neither held any office or served at any time on the Executive Committee, and neither at any time played any significant part in formulating SRC's policy. Since the charge of Communist affiliation was made against these two men long after they ceased to serve on SRC's Board, it is not the business of this organization either to defend or denounce them. But it should be noted that both Williams and Foreman, under oath before Congressional Committees, branded their accusers as liars, and no charge of perjury was brought against either Williams or Foreman. Of course, Harris, with his usual lack of regard for accuracy and the reputations of others, makes no mention of these facts.

3. "At least 38 officers and members of the executive staff or directors of the SRC's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as Communist fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee investigating un-American activities.

a) A culling of names from this issue turns up the following as persons referred to in this charge:

George S. Mitchell *	Ira Reid	Carter Wesley *
Howard Odum	Benjamin Mays *	Gordon Hancock *
Charles Johnson *	William Cole	J. M. Ellison
Rufus Clement *	Donald Comer	Florence Sytz *
Marion A. Wright *	David Jones	W. W. Alexander
A. W. Dent *	Aubrey Williams	Harry Stanley Brav
P. B. Young Sr.	Clark Foreman	R. B. Atwood *
Guy Johnson *	Bishop E. A. Penick *	Grace Hamilton *
F. D. Patterson	Glenn Rainey	Luther Jackson
Paul Christopher *	Mrs. M. E. Tilly *	D. V. Jemison
Josephine Wilkins *	Virginius Dabney	Z. A. Looby *
Louis Burnham	F. B. Washington	G. D. Rogers
Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Bishop R. R. Wright Jr.	Jacob Reddix

This totals 39, unaccountably. Out of 130 current and past board members of SRC at the time of Roy Harris' writing, he has singled out 37 plus Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. Tilly of the staff. Of the 37, 21 were not even on the board at the time of Harris' charges. This failure to distinguish between present and past board members is part of Harris' deception in trying to ~~provide a specious basis for~~ inflate his fraudulent charges. (Moreover, one of the names, Harry Stanley Brav, refers to no one who has served on SRC's board; Rabbi Stanley R. Brav is a former member, but could not conceivably be accused of un-Americanism.)

~~Leaving aside Williams and Foreman, already discussed,~~ Most of the persons named by Harris are outstanding southerners whose position in public life would alone testify to their good character.

Harris' method has been to brand as "facts" material taken from the raw files of the House un-American Activities Committee. The Committee itself points out that it does not vouch for the accuracy or the significance of this raw material. The Committee calls it "unevaluated data." No attempt is made to ascertain whether this casually gathered material is accurate or inaccurate, whether an individual was associated with an organization before or after it was accused of pro-Communist leanings, what the nature and circumstances of the alleged association were. Obviously, loosely gathered and loosely handled material of this kind can be used "to prove" almost anything about anybody. (It has been so used for example, against such noted Americans as Dwight D. Eisenhower, General George C. Marshall and many others.) One of the past SRC board members attacked by Harris was, at the time of writing, an avowed Dixiecrat!

4. "Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the SRC was listed as a top official of the SCHW in the report citing it as a communist-front. His

name has also been linked to other red fronts according to records and reports of congressional committees."

Dr. Mitchell was a "top official" of the SCHW only in the sense that he was a member of its board, from which he resigned in 1947. To suggest, as Harris does, that this makes Dr. Mitchell a Communist sympathizer or that it proves an organic link between SCHW and SRC is ridiculous. As Ralph McGill and others have pointed out, SCHW attracted many distinguished and loyal persons to its membership. Only in the last stage of its existence did the SCHW come to be recognized as having an active pro-communist minority within its membership, and by that time non-communist liberals of the sort that compose SRC had almost entirely left the SCHW. ~~Disillusionment with~~ Distaste for the makeup and methods of the SCHW was one of the reasons why some of these persons were attracted to the responsible program of the SRC ~~in the mid 40's~~ at SRC's beginning. The other associations alleged against Dr. Mitchell in general here, and in detail elsewhere, are of the same order of innuendo and smear as those discussed above and have been answered in detail by Dr. Mitchell. Certainly no one who has known Dr. Mitchell throughout his career of public service would give any credence to charges of this kind. The high esteem in which he is held was testified to by his selection for the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South in 1953.

5. "The SRC, though claiming to be dedicated to 'promote national harmony and reduce tensions' to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort has been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist party line as laid down for the south."

Harris produces not a shred of evidence to support the charge made here. The Council, from its beginning has been scrupulously non-political, and nowhere in its literature of its activities can the slightest evidence to the contrary be found. If there were any such evidence, Harris and his associates would long since have been successful in getting SRC's tax exemption revoked. Similarly with the charge about the Communist Party line. Notoriously the Communist line, in race relations as in everything else, has zigzagged all over the map. SRC's policy has ~~neither zigged nor zagged~~ been constantly to work for understanding and cooperation.

? ~~Further refutation of this point is given above.~~

6. Harris summarizes George Mitchell's education. A small point, but typical, that he leaves out Mitchell's several years of study at the University of Richmond.

7. "Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Howard W. Odum, applied for the SRC charter to Fulton County Superior Court January 6, 1944."

On the numerous occasions when Harris makes this statement, it is clear that his source is the official records of Fulton County. Yet he falsely includes Dr. Mitchell as an incorporator, although Dr. Mitchell was not even in Georgia or connected with SRC at the time of its incorporation. Similarly he omits the name of one of the actual incorporators who is listed in the official records and in everything that has ever been printed or said about SRC's incorporation. That person is Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church. This repeated falsification by Harris is indicative of ~~the~~ his manipulation of the facts for purposes of petty misrepresentation.

8. "We are informed by a reliable source, who has knowledge of the inner workings of the SRC, that a group of project personnel has been named to spend the $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. This list includes the names of Morris B. Abram... and Phillip G. Hammer...."

This is about as much misinformation as can be packed into a few lines. It has already been pointed out that the grant to SRC was not made by the Ford Foundation but by the Fund for the Republic. No special group of project personnel "to spend the grant" ever existed. ~~or was thought of, and Mr. Hammer and Mr. Abram were never anything but regularly constituted members of SRC's policy board.~~

8. Harris quotes SRC staff member Fleming ~~as saying that the Supreme Court decision~~ and comments that Fleming's statement "reinforces what we have said all along - that this Ford Foundation money will be used to force an end of segregation upon us and for political action to elect candidates in office who are in sympathy with the Council's pro-communist, anti-

southern aims and ideals."

The statement by Fleming, as quoted by Harris himself, is as follows: "The Supreme Court decision was wholesome and healthy since it gives responsible southern leadership a chance to work this thing out in a climate that can be relatively free of dissension and dispute as to what is the law of the land."

It is hard for a sane human being to understand how Mr. Harris can draw the inferences that he does from this statement. Another example of Harris' peculiar view of reality.

9. "The House Committee investigating un-American activities in a report to a Committee of the U.S. Senate, furnished documentary evidence showing [Dr. Channing] Tobias to be linked with nine organizations cited as communist fronts by the Committee."

Although Dr. Tobias has never been officially connected with SRC in any way, Harris first manufactures a spurious connection and then makes the above statement about Tobias. As one more measure of Harris' abuse of the truth, it is noteworthy that he does not point out the sequel to the charges against Tobias. Following its hearing, the Committee unanimously exonerated Dr. Tobias of all charges of left-wing sympathy, and Dr. Tobias's appointment by the President to a U.S. Commission was speedily approved.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, MAY 7, 1962, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 764

Southern Regional Council Financed By Ford Exposed As Haven For Commies

Atlanta Constitution's Ralph McGill One Of Incorporators Of Bi-Racial Group

(Editor's Note: In view of the activities of the Southern Regional Council, COPE and the NAACP to spend several million dollars in an effort to register Negroes and control the politics in the Southern States, we are reproducing this article which appeared in THE AUGUSTA COURIER under date of June 28, 1954. This article, as it appeared in June, 1954, has been circulated all over the country and no one has denied the charges made. It will be very interesting to read this article again.)

The Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial organization and recipient of a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, is a haven for known communist fronters and could well become the Communist Party apparatus in the South.

That conclusion was reached by this newspaper only after a thorough and searching study of the council's history and activities since it was chartered and headquartered in Atlanta, January 6, 1944.

Our investigation has established the following concerning the organization:

1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

PHILIP G. HAMMER

Branded as Communists

2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as Communists in testimony before congressional committees by former associates in the party.

3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as Communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human

(Continued on page 2)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL leaders shown at anti-segregation session, from left to right, A. T. Walden, Negro lawyer of Atlanta, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Ralph McGill, editor of THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION; Rufus E. Clement and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

During the last few years we have had a lot of requests for information on the Southern Regional Council.

All copies of past issues of THE AUGUSTA COURIER containing stories on the Council have long been exhausted and we have been unable to furnish the information.

In view of the fact that the Southern Regional Council has secured a grant from the Ford Foundation in the amount of $325,000 and has joined up with the NAACP and the Committee On Political Education of the AFL-CIO in a campaign to register and vote the Negroes in the South, we thought it would be wise to reproduce elsewhere in this issue an article that we carried in 1954 on the Southern Regional Council.

While the Southern Regional Council starts off with only $325,000, the NAACP and COPE have $750,000 to go with it in this joint undertaking.

It is predicted by informed sources that this is just the beginning and that during the summer of 1962 these organizations will probably spend five or six million dollars in the South in an effort to control the politics of the various states.

There will be an election for Governor in most of the deep South States this year and practically all of them will be electing at least one United States Senator.

In addition, all Congressmen and members of the legislature are running.

Even though this is what we call an "off" year in politics, it will be a very important year in determining who will control the state governments.

In Georgia, for instance, this crowd has gone into the federal courts and obtained an order outlawing the County Unit System of voting in the Democratic primaries.

They are hoping to elect a candidate for Governor on a popular vote basis and are basing their hopes on the fact that they can control the votes in the cities.

It is in the cities that this effort to register the Negroes will be made.

They are spending this money because they know they can control the Negro bloc vote and they are hoping that the Negroes and the wildcat leftwingers will vote together in a bloc and that white people generally will split up and, consequently that these bloc votes will control the elections.

They are after power and they are trying to control state governments and the party machinery in the various States.

This presents a problem to Southern Democrats. How can we control the governments of the various Southern States and keep it out of the hands of the Negroes and the radicals?

There is only one answer and that is for the white people to organize and stick together and back a white man's candidate.

As George Washington once told his subordinates: "Put none but Americans on guard tonight", we need none but real white men on guard in the state capitols in the South today.

We need somebody who will stand up for the white people.

ARE YOU GOING TO SURRENDER TO THE LEFTWINGERS?

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

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Atlanta Constitution's Ralph McGill One Of Incorporators Of Bi-Racial Group

(Continued from Page 1)

Welfare in the report citing it as a Communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions" to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

These are serious charges but we have the uncontrovertible proof of them all.

Ford Foundation Funds

The Ford Foundation is, in effect, financing communization of the South and ultimate destruction of this country and her free enterprise system under which all of the Ford fortune was accumulated.

Taking our investigation of the Southern Regional Council up, chapter and verse, let us first start by considering Dr. George S. Mitchell, an incorporator of the Council, its director of veterans services during the period 1945-'47 and its executive director since that time.

Born in Richmond, Va., Mitchell studied at the University of Delaware, Johns Hopkins and at Oxford University in England. He is a Ph.D. and taught economics at Columbia 1929-'35. After that he went into federal government service.

It is interesting and indicative to note that his career from 1935 to 1944 closely parallels that of other "liberals" of the time who served in the Agriculture Department under Henry Wallace and later transferred, almost as a group, to the Foreign Economic Administration.

Incorporation of SRC

Mitchell jumped from government service in 1944 to the job as Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-Political Action Committee. He served for nearly two years in this job before taking a position on the executive staff of the Southern Regional Council which he now heads.

Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Howard W. Odum applied for the SRC charter to Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944. The Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member, were attorneys for the applicants for the charter. It was granted for a period of 35 years.

Records and reports of proceedings of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities reveal Dr. Mitchell as a member of the top-level "Board of Representatives" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Dr. Rufus E. Clement is listed as a member of the powerful executive board of the SCHW; Dr. Charles S. Johnson is named also as a member of the executive board of the SCHW and was extremely active in promoting the affairs of the conference, while the name of Dr. Howard W. Odum appeared on the list of sponsors for the second Southern Conference for Human Welfare held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, as contained in the call for the conference.

Group Switched Over

Ralph McGill, editor of THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, was an early member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare but wrote later after discovering communist infiltration into the group that "when this happened, I knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that the Southern Conference was finished even as it began."

Thus, it is apparent that when the heat of public inquiry was turned on the SCHW by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, its leading lights set up the SRC to catch the ball after the SCHW was exposed as a red-front and its usefulness was at an end. This will become more and more apparent as our story unfolds.

The real policymakers and directors of the old SCHW were Clark Howell Foreman, its president, and Aubrey Williams, ex-officio member of its board of representatives. Both these men have been listed on official publications of the SRC as members of its Board of Directors. Both of them have been branded as known communists in testimony before congressional committees.

Clark Foreman Named

Louis Budenz, former communist, testifying before the House Committee investigating tax-exempt foundations December 23, 1952, identified Clark Foreman "as a communist party member."

Aubrey Williams was nailed "as a secret communist" earlier this year at the New Orleans hearings held there by Sen. James O. Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Committee.

John Butler, Dallas nursery operator and a former red, testified: **"I heard his name mentioned time and time again as a communist member." Paul Crouch,** another former communist, testified that he knew Williams as a **"secret member of the Communist Party."**

Investigation discloses that others who held high office or took an especially active part in the Communist-front SCHW are now either officers, directors or executives of the SRC.

Listed In Daily Worker

Marion A. Wright, President of the SRC, was listed in the DAILY WORKER of May 20, 1947 (page 5) "as having signed a statement of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare," according to records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

Albert W. Dent, Vice-President of SRC, President Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La., identified "as a member of the Southern Council of the SCHW; sponsor 2nd SCHW and sponsor Southern Negro Youth Conference, a red-front."

P. B. Young, ex-vice-president SRC, Publisher, Norfolk, Va., JOURNAL and GUIDE, signed statement of SCHW, according to DAILY WORKER, May 20, 1947.

Guy B. Johnson, ex-vice-president, Southern Regional Council, Chapel Hill, N. C., Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, was a consultant on Panel IV – Citizenship and Civil Liberties of the SCHW as shown by official records of the group.

Directors of SRC

Directors of the SRC who also held important posts or were active in the SCHW include the following: **Dr. Howard W. Odum,** Univ. of N. C., Chapel N. C., **F. D. Patterson,** Pres., Tuskegee Inst., Tuskegee, Ala.; **Paul Christopher,** Regional Director, CIO-PAC, Knoxville, Tenn.; **Miss Josephine Wilkins,** Atlanta, Ga.; **Aubrey Williams,** Montgomery, Ala.; **Clark H. Foreman,** New York, N. Y.; **Dr. Rufus E. Clement,** Pres., Atl. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **Louis E. Burnham,** Birmingham, Ala.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Pres., Palmer Inst. Sedalia, N. C.; **Dr. Ira De Reid,** professor, Atl. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **Dr. C. S. Johnson,** Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn.; **Dr. Benjamin E. Mays,** Pres., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.; **Guy B. Johnson,** University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., **William E. Cole,** Knoxville, Tenn.; **Donald Comer,** industrialist, Birmingham, Ala.; **David D. Jones,** president, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; **Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick,** Bishop, Diocese of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.; and **Glenn W. Rainey,** professor, Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta.

The above lists prove beyond the shadow of any doubt that the SRC is the successor group to the exposed communist-front SCHW. The same people who organized and operated the latter group are now manipulating political action on the part of the SRC.

Carefully Camouflaged

The House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities concluded following its investigation of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as follows:

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is perhaps the most deviously-camouflaged communist-front organization. When put to the following acid test it reveals its true charter:

"1. It shows unswerving loyalty to the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy.

"2. It has consistently refused to take sharp issue with the activities and policies of either the Communist Party, USA, or the Soviet Union.

"3. It has maintained in decisive posts persons who have the confidence of the communist press.

American bias and pro-Soviet bias, despite professions, in generalities, for love of America.

"In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are associated with organizations or campaigns for the defense of the Communist Party or individual Communists, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies – issues which have nothing to do with the South– one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Names of SRC Officers

Names of SRC officers, who have been linked with one or more communist-fronts other than the SCHW in the official records, reports and proceedings of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities include the following:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Dir., SRC, Atlanta; **Albert W. Dent,** V.P., SRC, New Orleans, La.; **Virginius Dabney,** Editor TIMES-DISPATCH, Richmond, Va.; **Forrester B. Washington,** Atlanta, Ga.; **Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.,** Atlanta, Ga.; **Dr. Charles S. Johnson,** Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn.; **Aubrey Williams, Ed.,** So. Farm and Home, Montgomery, Ala.; **Clark Howell Foreman,** New York, N. Y.; **Dr. Howard W. Odum,** Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill, N. C.; **Carter Wesley,** publisher, Houston INFORMER, Houston, Tex.; **Gordon B. Hancock,** professor emeritus, Va. Union Univ., Richmond, Va.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Va. Union Univ., Richmond, Va.; **F. D. Patterson,** Pres., Tuskegee Inst., Tuskegee, Ala.; **Florence Sytz,** Dir. Tulane Sch. Social Work, New Orleans, La.; **Paul Christopher,** Reg. Dir. CIO-PAC, Knoxville, Tenn.; **Will W. Alexander,** Chapel Hill, N. C.; **Rufus E. Clement,** Pres., Atlanta Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **Mrs. M. E. Tilly,** Field Secretary (Women's Division) SRC, Atlanta, Ga.; **Dr. Benjamin E. Mays,** Pres., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.; **Louis E. Burnham,** Birmingham, Ala.; **Charlotte Hawkins Brown,** Pres., Palmer Inst., Sedalia, N. C.; **Harry Stanley Brav,** Vicksburg, Miss.; **Dr. Ira De A. Reid,** prof., Atl. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.; **R. B. Atwood,** professor, Kentucky State College, Frankfurt, Ky.; **Mrs. Grace Towne Hamilton,** Atlanta; **Dr. Luther P. Jackson,** president, Virginia Voters League, Petersburg, Va.; **Rev. D. V. Jemison,** president, National Baptist Convention, Selma, Ala.; **Dr. David D. Jones,** president, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; **Z. A. Looby,** attorney, Nashville, Tenn.; **G. D. Rogers,** president, Central Life Insurance Co.; Tampa, Fla.; and **Dr. Jacob L. Reddix,** president, Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.

Two Known Commies

THE AUGUSTA COURIER had anticipated, when beginning its investigation of the Southern Regional Council, that it would find a handful of people in it with Communist-front associations. But the COURIER was, to say the least, amazed to find two known Communists on its Board of Directors and 38 others who have associations with Communist-fronts in varying numbers and degrees. It would be impossible to congregate this many people with such backgrounds and affiliations except by design.

(Continued on Page 3)

Atlanta Constitution's Ralph McGill One Of Incorporators Of Bi-Racial Group

(Continued from Page 2)

When the U. S. Supreme Court announced its ruling declaring segregation unconstitutional in the public schools of the South SRC chief, Dr. Mitchell, was quoted in the press as hailing the decision. He said integration would "give every child equal opportunity . . . and would enrich this and every other Southern community."

Besides Dr. Mitchell's top policy job in the SCHW, his name has also cropped up in connection with other communist-front organizations such as the old Civil Rights Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Communist-infiltrated Brookwood College and others, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

We are informed by a reliable source, who has knowledge of the inner-workings of the Southern Regional Council, that a group of project personnel has been named to spend the $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

Morris B. Abram

This list includes the names of Morris B. Abram, Atlanta attorney, and newly-named Director of SRC, as a worker on the field staff of the Ford project, and Philip G. Hammer, Executive Officer, Committee of the South, also of Atlanta, presumably as a paid employee of the central staff of SRC's project personnel which will work to mix the races in the classrooms of Southern public schools.

Hammer was a speaker at a recent meeting of the Association of County Commissioners of Georgia. Apparently officials of this group did not know about Hammer's record of association with communist fronts.

Hammer was president of the Washington, D. C., Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and was also listed as a member of the Washington Bookshop, another subversive communist front. No one could have held such a high office in the Washington SCHW organization unless he could be fully trusted to carry out instructions.

This same Hammer was born in Philadelphia, Pa. He studied under Dr. Frank Graham at the University of North Carolina and at Harvard. Upon coming to Washington, he was employed in the office of Bob LaFollette, liberal Senator from Wisconsin. From there he went with the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture under Henry Wallace. He later was included in the mass transfer of "liberals" to the State Department for work in the Foreign Economic Administration and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In spite of the fact that Hammer held responsible government positions all during World War II, even though he was of military service age, he terminated his employment abruptly in late 1945. He is reported to have come to Atlanta in 1946 in an effort to get a magazine started which he hoped to edit, but could not make financial arrangements and left, only to return in 1947 as a business analyst for the Atlanta firm of Joseph K. Heyman.

He resigned from this position in March 1950 to become Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission and as such was author of the "Plan of Improvement" legislation which took most of the effective governmental powers away from Fulton County and vested them in the Mayor of Atlanta who twice has been elected to office not by a vote of white people but by the bloc vote.

Hammer's Activities

Our investigation shows that Mr. Hammer, in addition to his Communist-front affiliations, was named as a member of the National Executive Council of United World Federalists in early 1949. This is an organization which proposes the surrender of our national sovereignty to a super world government which would have police powers and could arrest individual citizens of member nations.

During the summer of 1953, Hammer took a three months' leave from his job as Director of the Committee of the South to direct an intensive study for the Ford Foundation Educational Fund. Main purpose of the study was to convince the Supreme Court that a ruling by it outlawing segregation could be implemented and enforced. This work was known as the "Ashmore Project" under which school segregation in the Southern States was studied with a view towards devising ways and means to eliminate it.

Hammer has been a frequent guest at the "Hungry Club", a Negro luncheon group, where he has dined with its members. He told delegates to the recent Southern Interstate Conference of the National Council of Jewish Women that plans to preserve separate schools in Georgia "won't last as long as the white primaries."

Voters League Official

His wife Jane is First Vice President of the Georgia League of Women Voters and is Editor of GEORGIA VOTER, a bi-monthly publication of the organization, in which its policy is enunciated. The announcement bulletin of Spelman College for 1952-53 lists Mrs. Hammer as a teacher of Philosophy there. Both the Hammers have been very active in directing the fight against the county unit system in Georgia.

Another so-called "liberal" who will help SRC spend the Ford grant is Morris B. Abram. While Abram has never been associated with any organization which has been branded as a communist-front, he was a member of the National Executive Council of the United World Federalists.

UWF, according to an article printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, **"was created by communists, fellow-travelers and communist sympathizers whose whole purpose is to so weaken us as a nation that we become impotent."**

Abram's other activities include lectures at Negro colleges, attendance at Negro banquets, inflammatory addresses before NAACP groups, legal representation of publishers and producers of questionable books, magazines and motion pictures seeking to destroy the morals of our youth and segregation in the South. He now is a candidate for Congress in the Fifth District of Georgia on a platform recommending abolition of the county unit system.

A member of President Truman's notorious Civil Rights Commission is field secretary of the Women's Division of the Southern Regional Council. She is well-known to Georgians as Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta.

Methodist Federation

Records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities show that Mrs. Tilly was an active member of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a communist-front. In the report on that group branding it as such, Mrs. Tilly's name appears throughout the context.

Other communist-front activities with which she has been connected according to House Committee records include the following:

"A facsimile of the signature of Mrs. Dorothy Tilly (Mrs. M. E. Tilly) is found on a Jan. 19, 1951, letterhead of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, on this letterhead, another dated May 25, 1951, and in the Daily Worker of Dec. 27, 1950 (page 9), her name appears as an initator of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; the Daily Worker referred to identified her with the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

"In the Statement of Policy, issued by the National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives in December 1950, Mrs. M. E. Tilly was named as a member of the Executive Board of that Committee. The Daily Worker of July 28, 1950 (page 8), reported that she signed a statement of the same committee, regarding Korea. A letterhead of the National Committee . . . dated Sept. 16, 1950, also named Mrs. Tilly as a member of the organization's Executive Board (from the Committee's Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive which was released on April 25, 1951, (page 56). Identified as being associated with the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Mrs. Tilly was named as one of the sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in Chicago, May 29-30, 1950 (from the Conference Program printed in the 'Peace' Offensive Report, (pages 143-151).

Aid To Communists

"The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives . . . was formed to further the cause of 'Communists in the United States' doing 'their part in the Moscow campaign' (report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive referred to above.) The Mid-Century Conference for Peace (May 29-30, 1950), was cited as having been 'aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding-board for Communist propaganda' (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 1, 1951)."

Harold C. Fleming, director of information and a spokesman for the Southern Regional Council, was quoted recently as terming the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing school segregation as "wholesome and healthy since it gives responsible Southern leadership a chance to work this thing out in a climate that can be relatively free of dissension and dispute as to what is the law of the land."

Mr. Fleming's statement reinforces what we have said all along—that this Ford Foundation money will be used to force an end to segregation upon us and for political action to elect candidates for office who are in sympathy with the Council's pro-communist, anti-Southern aims and ideals.

Grant of $75,000

Further along this line the Ford Foundation has made a more recent grant of $75,000 to Editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch for an information agency to "condition the minds of Southern people" that nothing can be done to prevent the destruction of segregation.

"News" releases extolling methods used by various Southern States to end segregation in schools will be ground out by this organization known as the "Southern Educational Reporting Service." It will be staffed by liberal "newsmen" with headquarters in Nashville, Tenn. Its real purpose is to coordinate the activities of various groups and organizations which seek an end to public school segregation.

It also is revealing to note that Constitution Editor McGill, an incorporator and leading apologist for the SRC, has been appointed by the Ford Foundation to a membership on the Board of Directors of the subsidiary Fund for the Advancement of Education. The Fund was established by the Ford Foundation in 1951 to support **"new and experimental programs in formal education."**

The SRC has been anticipating a ruling adverse to segregation and received the Ford grant for the purpose of conditioning the minds of Southern people to the idea of mixing the races in the classrooms of the South.

Commie Party Platform

Stripped of all its window-dressing, the aims, purposes and platform of the Communist Party, the defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and now the Southern Regional Council are one and the same. They are identical on all points.

"The Southern People's Common Program for Democracy, Progress and Peace" as contained in the Communist Party Daily Worker lists in detail the platform of the party and its program of political action in the South.

Its main goal is to dilute the influence of responsible people and concentrate all governmental power in the South in the hands of bloc voters and minority elements. It would do this through abolition of white party primaries, county unit voting system and the checks and balances provided by our system of constitutional government. It would overthrow segregation in all phases of Southern life, socialize industry and divide up the property of the people.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as Mr. McGill admits, was dominated by those who advocated and fought for such a program.

SRC's Policy Statement

The Southern Regional Council has picked up the ball and is now working to destroy us. It seeks the defeat of officials like Byrnes and Talmadge and every conservative senator and congressman in the South. It seeks the election in their stead of left-wingers "who will go along" with their communistic programs. In other words, it is an effort to destroy us from within.

The SRC's avowed statement of policy calls for the destruction of the South as we have known it. It says:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied, for it is nothing else than the American ideal."

Plant News Stories

The main purpose of the Southern Regional Council during the period immediately preceding the Supreme Court decision was to convince the Court through statements from sympathetic agencies, planted news stories and other activity that the people of the South would bow down and accept a decision abolishing segregation.

During the years since its establishment, the Southern Regional Council has centered its fire on white primaries, poll taxes, election laws and other projects designed to pave the way for the election outlawing segregation itself.

(Continued on Page 4)

SRC Given Large Sum Of Money To Get Negroes Registered; Election Of 5 Negro Congressmen From South Is 1962 Goal

New Alliance Of COPE-NAACP Would Control Vote In All Big Cities

The new alliance of COPE-NAACP is determined to secure a stranglehold on the vote of every big city in America.

COPE is the Committee On Political Education of the AFL-CIO and, of course, NAACP is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

They realize that it was the bloc votes of the big cities which gave President Kennedy his razor-thin majority in 1960.

So, they are out to work with the regular Democratic organizations over the nation to solidify their forces so that the margins of victory in the future will not be so narrow as Kennedy's was in 1960.

Three-Way Coalition

All three organizations will be able to put in the field from now on disciplined shock troops and they hope that this three-way coalition will be in position to dominate the political scene in America for the next few generations.

This three-way coalition will be well-financed. COPE and the NAACP have been able, in the past, to raise unlimited campaign funds on any occasion and the Democratic organizations will use every means at their command to force contributions.

And then, at least for the next few years, this three-way coalition will have the backing of the Kennedy millions.

Drive For Negroes

Right now, they are busy pushing a drive to register Negroes in the South.

A Ford Foundation has made a grant to the Southern Regional Council of $325,000 to be used for the purpose of getting the Negroes registered to vote.

Of course, the Southern Regional Council is calling this program the Voter Education Project.

Nevertheless, it will be aimed directly at getting the names of Negroes on the registration rolls.

They say that this $325,000 is the initial grant to get the work underway.

More will be forthcoming in the future.

5 Negro Congressmen

Victor Riesel, the man who writes the syndicated column entitled, "Inside Labor", recently wrote:

"Turbulent political winds are sweeping in from Mississippi. Above the uproar is the voice of Rev. Martin Luther King—soon to be joined by others—campaigning to send "as many as five Negro congressmen" to Washington from the Deep South.

"At meeting after meeting, Reverend King is telling his people that 'if we make a determined push in voter registration . . . we can change the entire political structure of the State of Mississippi.'

"It is yet quiet. But the storm will come. The Negro drive to pile up ballots has just begun. Most active and most dramatic for the moment is the work of Reverend King. He has been campaigning like a professional politico. He has walked and talked and shaken the hands of thousands on plantations, cotton gins, schools and crossroad stores.

"For the moment he is out of Mississippi. But he will return — with manpower and money. Some funds will come from the $750,000 the AFL-CIO has alloted to its own Committee on Political Education. This was arranged for in Miami, back in December during the national labor convention."

Ample Funds

So, according to Riesel, Martin Luther will have $750,000 to add to the initial grant of $325,000.

Now, this makes more than a million dollars and this is just a beginning.

You can look for from five to ten million dollars to be spent in the next two years for the sole purpose of getting the Negroes registered.

Riesel says that they have set up a pilot project down in Sumter, South Carolina.

South Carolina

Here's what he says about it:

"There is, for example, a pilot center being operated in the small South Carolina city of Sumter. There the Congress of Racial Equality has set up a voter registration clinic. First, Negroes are picked up at their homes and driven to the official registration centers. If they fail to pass the literacy test they are driven back to the clinic. There they are taught what is necessary for qualification. . . ."

The effort will not be confined to South Carolina and Mississippi. Here is something else Riesel says:

"But there also are drives for Negro registration over in Georgia and in Alabama and Louisiana.

"There are more than clinics. There are field secretaries, lawyers—and students. In one community 20 students, picking up the labor technique, rang door bells, distributed leaflets, and contacted 1,380 homes on just one Sunday."

The Governor's Race

But all the money will not spent on just registering Negro voters.

COPE and the NAACP will be in the midst of every Governor's race in every one of these Southern States.

They will be in the Governor's race in Georgia and they will have a candidate and this candidate — whoever he may be—will not be without funds from COPE and the NAACP.

It is time for the people of the South to begin to use their intelligence.

Watch these candidates for Governor and the United States Senate who are running with the support of, and on the money furnished by, COPE and the NAACP.

Atlanta Constitution's Ralph McGill One Of Incorporators Of Bi-Racial Group

(Continued from Page 3)

Principal financial support for SRC during its early years prior to 1948 came from the Rosenwald Fund Foundation. This Fund was dedicated to "the creation of social equality" among the races in the South, according to Dr. Lessing T. Rosenwald of Philadelphia, chairman of its Board of Trustees. It provided SRC with an annual grant of $25,000 for its operations.

With the demise of the Rosenwald Fund a hasty mobilization of communist fronters sought other means to continue financing SRC's anti-segregation activities.

Tennessee CIO Director

Among those attending these fund-raising drive meetings was Paul Christopher, Tennessee CIO director. From his presence and the continuing interest of CIO-PAC officials in posts of key responsibility in SRC, it is evident that the group has received financial support as well as active cooperation from the powerful labor political organization.

Records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities show that Paul R. Christopher was a vice president for 1947-48 for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and was also listed as a member of that organization's National Committee. Other documentary evidence shows that Christopher's name appeared in a list of individuals who signed the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The National Federation has been cited as an organization "by which communists attempted to create sympathizers and supporters of their programs and as subversives and communists." A Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "one of the most viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."

Another notorious communist fronter who has been particularly active in fund-raising for the SRC, a collaborator in its administration, is Dr. Channing H. Tobias, formerly of Augusta and Atlanta and now president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York City.

Communist Fronts

A digest of Dr. Tobias' record of affilations with communist fronts, as contained in records of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, takes up nearly four single-spaced typewritten pages.

He was a member of the Executive Board and held other high functionary positions in SCHW.

The House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in a report to a Committee of the U. S. Senate, furnished documentary evidence showing Tobias to be linked with nine organizations cited as communist fronts by the Committee.

The Southern Regional Council also has worked closely with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in all of its activities. A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro attorney and counsel for the NAACP in Georgia, has been notably active in helping raise funds for SRC's anti-segregation activities.

Civil Rights Group

While it is not known whether Walden was a member of SCHW, the Daily Worker of Oct. 7, 1952 (page 3) reported that he would lead a workshop discussion on civil rights at a meeting in New York City of the National Lawyers' Guild. The Guild has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist front and the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party in the United States.

MORRIS B. ABRAM

This same Walden also signed a letter addressed to the U. S. House of Representatives opposing the Mundt Anti-Communist Bill as shown on the mimeographed letter, which includes a list of individuals who signed the same dated May 12, 1948.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University and the first Negro ever to be elected to Atlanta's City Board of Education, has been extremely active in SRC's operations since it was founded by him and others in 1944. He is generally regarded as a protege of Atlanta Constitution Editor Ralph McGill.

Clement ran for his Education Board post against a white man and with every support possible in the news columns of the Atlanta papers and the Hartsfield-Walden organization won the election. He did this even in spite of the fact that records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and documentary evidence possessed by it show that he has been active in at least 12 communist-front groups and movements.

Source of Ford's Money

No one knows exactly how many active, paying members SRC has on its rolls. It claims "around 3,000 or 4,000." However, some observers are doubtful whether its real membership extends much further than its so-called "Board of Directors" and "project personnel" who will spend the Ford Foundation's grant.

It would be interesting indeed to see a list of members of the Southern Regional Council compared with a membership list of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Certainly, if the officers of both groups are practically identical, one could conclude with assurance that the same is true for the membership.

Many Southern taxpapers have raised the point that SRC's pro-communist, anti-segregation activities are financed by money good law-abiding Americans pay in federal taxes. They say this because donations to SRC are exempt from taxation due to its classification as a "charitable organization."

This is also true in regard to the grant from the Ford Foundation. Profits made by the Ford Motor Company on the sale of Ford automobiles and tractors go tax free to the Ford Foundation as dividends on common, non-voting stock held by the Foundation.

So, in reality, taxpayers of the United States and purchasers of Ford products are financing this activity to destroy Southern institutions.

Research - Southern Regional
5 Forsyth; N. W. Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia Inc.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, AUGUST 20, 1962, AUGUSTA, GA. No. 779

McGill's Constitution Endorses Sanders For Governor Of Georgia

* *

Senator Talmadge Charges Racial Disturbances At Albany Caused By Groups Who Are Serving The Cause Of Communism

Martin Luther King, Leader Of Mob, Has A Record Of Red Front Affiliation

Senator Herman Talmadge says that the racial disturbances in Albany are caused by groups who are serving the cause of the Communists.

He says these disturbances are caused by outside agitators engaged in a "cold, calculated effort" to damage this country's foreign relations by "pitting race against race throughout the Nation."

He says the chief group sponsoring this movement is the Congress Of Racial Equality and that CORE has nine members on its advisory committee who have records of affiliation or identification with subversive groups and activities.

Must Stamp Out Mobs

The Senator says that such mob action, as has taken place in Albany, must be eliminated if constitutional government is to be preserved.

On stamping out such mobs there can be no compromise, he says. Unless we stamp out such mobs, anarchy will result.

The Senator's comments are very apt because Martin Luther King leads the mob and he himself has a record of Communist affiliation.

King attended a 1957 Labor Day Week-End Communist Training School at Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee.

A Communist Agency

The Georgia Education Commission, which was set up by Governor Talmadge and continued by Governor Marvin Griffin, got out a bulletin on this training school and carried pictures of Martin Luther King addressing it.

The Highlander Folk School has been run out of the State of Tennessee as a Communist agency.

The Georgia Education Commission charged that at one time Bayard Rustin was Secretary to Martin Luther King

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

Carl Sanders is posing as being a little saint and trying to accuse everybody who is opposed to him of being a grafter, a goon, a hoodlum or a cutthroat.

In view of his attitude, we think it is about time to unfrock little Carl and examine his "sainthood".

His record cannot be overcome by the pretty lips and the dimples that the artist who designed his posters emphasized.

Now, this is something the newspapers didn't tell you about Carl Sanders.

Carl Sanders and his associates own a corporation known as American Shell Homes, Inc. Carl is chairman of the board of this company.

A group of people in and around Augusta last week filed a suit against Carl's American Shell Homes corporation, and some of his associates, for "fraud and deceit practiced upon the plaintiffs for the deliberate purpose of inducing each of the plaintiffs and all others similarly situated to extend credit to the Old South Manufacturing Company, Inc., to the injury, damage and loss" of the plaintiffs. Old South Manufacturing Company was a dummy corporation set up by American Shell.

In addition to being chairman of the board of American Shell Homes, Carl Sanders is their attorney and he and his law firm had to have knowledge of all the situations which are referred to as constituting "fraud and deceit".

This is not a flimsy suit.

Here are the names of the law firms signed to this suit:

Fulcher, Fulcher, Hagler & Harper
Boller & Yow
Hull, Willingham, Towill & Norman
Harris, Chance, McCracken & Harrison
Charles G. Houston, Jr.

These law firms have an outstanding record and top standing in Augusta, Georgia.

These law firms would not have filed a scurrilous suit just for political purposes.

This suit says:

"That Old South Manufacturing Company, Inc., was organized and operated for the purpose of permitting American Shell Homes, Inc., to acquire a manufacturing plant and inventory to construct shell homes, and so as to merge it with American Shell Homes, Inc., in order to form a series of interlocking companies to manufacture, sell and finance shell homes; that all the acts and omissions herein described were in furtherance of this plan and were done to accomplish this result without any risk or liability upon the individuals or American Shell Homes, Inc., in the event of adverse financial developments."

Then the suit says that the American Shell Homes, Inc., and the other defendants conspired with one another, or acted upon orders from their superiors, who conspired with others, for the purpose of obtaining credit from the plaintiffs in the suit and to deceive and defraud the plaintiffs and other creditors.

American Shell set up a dummy corporation known as Old South Manufacturing Company, Inc. The incorporators were P. E. Thomas

(Continued on Page 2)

Ralph Is Decorated By NAACP For His Contribution To Racial Integration

Ralph McGill's ATLANTA CONSTITUTION has now officially endorsed Carl Sanders for Governor.

Ralph McGill was cited by the 1959 Youth March for Integrated Schools for being the leading contributor to the cause of integration in America. He was cited along with Daisy Bates, of Little Rock, the leader of the Little Rock's NAACP integration movement, and Martin Luther King, Jr., of Atlanta.

Washington Newspaper

THE EVENING STAR, of Washington, D. C., in its issue of Wednesday, April 15, 1959, on Page B-7, carried the following article:

"Fifteen Thousand To March To Promote Laws for Integration

"More than 15,000 white and colored persons will meet here Saturday on behalf of school integration and civil rights legislation.

"The group has scheduled a march from Seventh Street and Madison Drive on the Mall to the Washington Monument and then south to the Sylvan Theater. The march is to begin at 2 p.m. Saturday and the mass meeting at the

(Continued on Page 2)

MARVIN GRIFFIN

Georgia's next Governor.
He will keep our State decent.

ARE YOU GOING TO SURRENDER TO THE LEFTWINGERS?

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

Second-Class Postage Paid at Augusta, Georgia

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:
Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company,

Year $4.00

SCHOOL BUILDING FUNDS

During Governor Griffin's administration, the State of Georgia made more progress in the field of education than any other comparable period of time. Many of these improvements were started during Herman Talmadge's administration. This was when the sales tax was enacted and funds were first made available. The school building program was actually started under Talmadge's administration, but most of the buildings were erected during Griffin's administration. The School Building Authority originated soon after the Foundation Program was enacted. Local school systems are able to borrow funds through the Authority to construct school houses and pay for them on the installment basis. Governor Griffin proposed an amendment to the Authority that should be passed by the General Assembly at its next session. He suggested that the School Building Authority Act be amended so it can operate like the Bridge Building Authority and the University Building Authority. When the Bridge Authority pays off a lump of its bonded debt, it is possible to issue new bonds and build more bridges.

To date, more than half of the bonds for school houses have been paid off. The Authority Act should be amended so that new bonds can be issued after old ones have been paid off. There is no reason why these additional state funds cannot be made available to the growing school systems to provide standard classrooms for our children. A great many of the school plants do not yet have physical education facilities and assembly rooms. It seems that this could be a source of help for completing the school building program in the state.

AGITATING RACE TROUBLE

The News & Courier, Charleston, S. C., August 7, 1962

Hitler used ration cards to starve citizens into obedience. Two New York State congressmen propose to use government contracts to discipline whole communities with the threat of economic starvation.

The sinister suggestion was made by Rep. Samuel S. Stratton and Sen. Kenneth B. Keating with respect to Albany, Ga., the victim of intense racial pressure against the city government. Mr. Stratton mentioned an air base and defense plants which could be made the targets of federal displeasure.

Another New York member of Congress—Sen. Jacob K. Javits—has urged the Dept. of Justice to move in on Albany. We agree that Albany deserves protection from invasion by outside agitators. But that is not what Sen. Javits has in mind. He wants the federal government to oppose — and we assume disarm — the local police force in its attempt to keep order.

A Negro agitator has threatened to give the Albany treatment to Englewood, N.J. He has invited Malcolm X, the New York leader of the Black Muslims, to attend a rally there August 18.

The Muslims are a terrorist group, not interested in integrating with white people. The Mayor of Englewood, in replying to Paul Zuber's threat to organize boycotts and pickets on the ground of racial discrimination, pleads that Englewood's schools are already integrated. Thus it is apparent that even surrender to Negro demands is no guaranty of peace.

Tampering with racial passions for political purposes is dangerous in the North as well as in the South. The federal government itself is agitating an explosive situation.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

and two secretaries in Carl Sanders' office. These two secretaries were Mrs. Katheryn W. Frierson and Mrs. Doris W. Van Huss.

The dummy corporation was not to begin business until one hundred thousand dollars' capital stock had been paid in.

This capital stock was never paid in, but officials of American Shell Homes filed a financial statement with Dun & Bradstreet for Old South Manufacturing Company, Inc.

The financial statement showed that Old South Manufacturing Company, Inc., had:

Capital Stock Paid In	$99,730.00
Fixtures and Equipment	40,325.00
Accounts Receivable	41,907.00
Notes Receivable	71,900.00

(Continued on Page 3)

Ralph Is Decorated By NAACP For His Contribution To Racial Integration

(Continued from Page 1)

theater is scheduled from 3:15 to 5 p.m.

"Citations for contributions to the cause of integration will be presented to Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Mrs. Daisy Bates, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jackie Robinson, Harry Golden, Harry Belafonte, Lillian Smith, Sidney Poitier, Roy Wilkins and the Rev. Gardner Taylor.

"The 1959 Youth March for Integrated Schools will bring petitions here, signed by citizens throughout the country, calling for 'speedy integration of schools throughout the United States.'

"The march was initiated at a meeting of more than 10,000 young people here last October 25. It was signal the beginning of a national campaign for immediate school integration and the passage of the Douglas civil rights bill."

Subversive Groups

Martin Luther King and Ralph McGill are both backed by the Congress On Racial Equality and Senator Herman Talmadge says that nine members of the advisory committee of this Congress have records of affiliation and identification with subversive groups and activities.

This is further evidence of the fact that Carl Sanders is being backed in his race for Governor by Ralph McGill and Martin Luther King.

CORE openly admits that it is backing Martin Luther King in the integration movement in the South and has been very active here on numerous occasions.

Those Hooked To Sanders

So, in Atlanta, we start off with Ralph McGill, Martin Luther King and the Atlanta newspapers in Carl Sanders' corner.

In Savannah, we find James E. Cay, Jr., and Mrs. Frank P. McIntire leading Sanders' campaign. Both of them agitated to integrate the lunch counters in Savannah and both of them appeared before the board of education of Chatham County on several occasions demanding that the schools of Chatham County be completely integrated.

Sanders is being backed in Augusta by the same group who tied the hands of the police in a recent mob action on the part of the Negroes which caused the death of one white boy and the wounding of another.

All of Them Smell Alike

This mob action was produced by a rabblerousing speech made by Martin Luther King, Jr.

In Macon, Columbus and everywhere else in the State, Carl Sanders is being supported by the organizations and the individuals who have been clamoring loudly for integration in the public schools in Georgia for many years.

Carl Sanders denied having the support of the Atlanta newspapers at the beginning of his campaign. He denied that Mills B. Lane was supporting him.

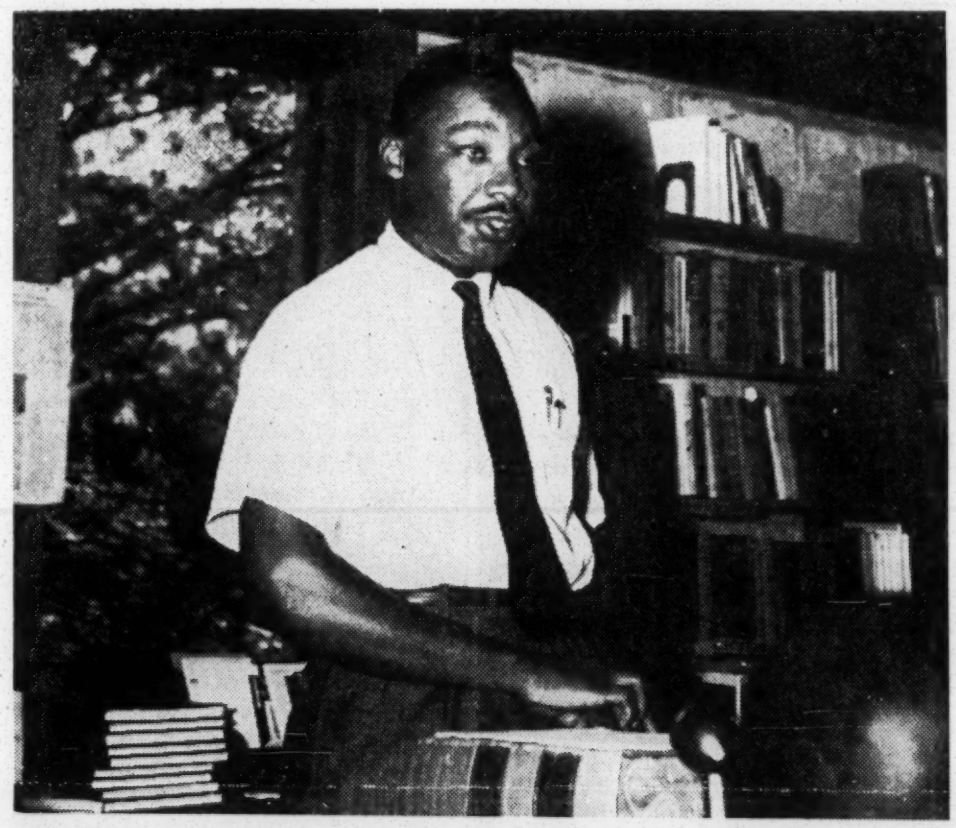
Mills Lane Admits It

Mills B. Lane has admitted in public print that he is supporting Sanders and now comes along and joins Lane, Ralph McGill and THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

When it was charged that Mills B. Lane, the Atlanta newspapers, Martin Luther King and the NAACP were supporting Sanders, he branded our charges as being "lies".

Now, Mills B. Lane and Ralph McGill and THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION have proved Sanders to be a liar on two different occasions.

He has been smoked out as having the support of Martin Luther King, CORE, the NAACP and other similar rabblerousing organizations.



The above is a picture of Martin Luther King, Jr., addressing the Labor Day Week-End Communist Training School, held at Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee in 1957. He first came to fame as the leader of the Montgomery boycott where he was associated in the Montgomery Improvement Association with Bayard Rustin. THE DAILY WORKER lists Bayard Rustin as a delegate to the 1957 convention of the Communist Party. THE DAILY WORKER also identified Rustin as secretary to Martin Luther King.

Now Is Time To Cut Taxes And Curb Spending, Thurmond Says

National Economy Dragging, Senator Declares In Letter To Carolinians

It is time to cut taxes and cut spending on the part of the United States Government, according to Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

In his letter to the people of South Carolina, on August 6th, Senator Thurmond stressed the fact that he was in favor of cutting taxes and he was also in favor of cutting gvernment spending.

"Any tax cut should be offset by reductions in government spending," said Senator Thurmond.

Heaviest Tax Burden

Here is his letter of August 6, 1962:

No people in the world are carrying a heavier national tax burden and national debt load than the people of the United States. In fact, at the present time our national debt of $300 billion surpasses that of **all** the rest of the world put together. And, this does not figure in all the future financial commitments of our government, which, when added together with the national debt, amount to the shocking figure of $1¼ trillion.

In recent weeks the question of whether the lagging national economy should be subjected to a quickie tax cut in an effort to spur the economy along, and also possibly to bring some favorable political results in November, has been much in the news. It now appears that the President is going to pass up the advice of some of his advisors whose primary thoughts center around a tightly controlled economy and deficit spending.

Tax Cut Proposed

The reasoning behind the drive for a quickie tax cut this year is based on three ideas, each of which is subject to strong challenge. First, most "liberals" feel that either a tax cut or massive doses of federal public works expenditures are necessary whenever the national economy is lagging, even a little. Second, these same "liberals" think it does not matter if a tax cut would cause a deficit of $10 billion, because deficit spending is good for the economy and the national debt is of no concern since we as a nation merely owe the money to ourselves. Third, some feel that a spur is needed to get the desired results in the congressional elections as well as in the national economy.

I favor tax relief, but I also favor a balanced budget. Any tax cut should be offset by reductions in government spending. The "modern" thinking by White House aides is that we should throw out the present method of national bookkeeping in favor of the capital budget system, whereby research and capital expenditures are to be separated from the budget, so surpluses will be reflected instead of deficits. This is nothing more than a clever way to increase government spending for more welfare state programs, without engendering national concern about deficit financing, which has occurred in 26 of the last 32 years. The capital budget system would make the budget deficits disappear, but the annual additions to the national debt would not be erased.

National Economy Large

There is evidence that the national economy is lagging. Even some "liberal" economists, however, do not feel that the economy is sick enough to justify a cut in taxes or increased government spending to try to right the economy. There is no law of economics which decrees that the national economy will be spurred in direct proportion to the amount of government spending or reduction in taxes. In a few cases where taxes were reduced, the economy sagged more, one being the depression of 1929. From the standpoint of practical results, however, there is a line of economic reasoning which has, in the past, placed the strength of our national economy head and shoulders above the rest of the world, particularly those countries with socialist or communist-controlled economies. This is the idea that the key to real economic growth, rather than mere government growth, lies in easing rather than increasing control of the economy in order to release the energies of a free people in a free market. Economic theorists have tried and tried to change the natural laws of economics, but they have yet to come up with a workable substitute for the most fundamental of economic principles, the law of supply and demand.

The fallacious idea which assumes that favorable political results could be bought with a quickie tax cut has been largely diminished by lack of congressional enthusiasm, and a recent Gallup Poll indicating that 7 of 10 people polled are more concerned with a balanced budget than a tax cut. This again demonstrates that the people are ahead of the President's advisors in the application of practical judgments to national problems. The people tend to rely on time-proven concepts which bring practical results rather than turning to unproved economic theories spawned in an ivory tower.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 2)

This statement showed also that ninety thousand more shares of stock were being sold for $1 per share.

Dun & Bradstreet reported these facts to suppliers of materials and equipment and the dummy corporation started doing business.

Dun & Bradstreet's statement was dated March 6, 1961.

On September 12, 1961, six months later, involuntary petition in bankruptcy was filed in the bankruptcy court and the Old South agreed to be adjudged a bankrupt.

This suit alleges that the statement filed with Dun & Bradstreet was absolutely false.

This suit shows that only sixteen thousand dollars of the capital stock was ever paid in and it was soon thereafter withdrawn; that the dummy corporation never had any fixtures or equipment and that it never had any notes receivable and that the ninety thousand additional shares of stock, at a dollar a share, were never subscribed to nor paid in.

As a matter of fact, this suit, in effect, says that the Old South was a dummy corporation and that the statement filed with Dun & Bradstreet for the purpose of obtaining credit was absolutely false and fraudulent and intended to deceive the people who sold them large quantities of supplies on credit.

Then, on June 21, 1961, American Shell Homes, Inc., from its office at 712 Reynolds Street, Augusta, Georgia, mailed out a notice to all of the creditors of the Old South Manufacturing Company, Inc., which recited:

"The Old South Manufacturing Company has been acquired by American Shell Homes, Inc., as a wholly owned subsidiary. Possibly you may experience some inconvenience during this transition period, but we will endeaver to hold any such inconvenience to a minimum and would appreciate your cooperation."

Then, about three months later, the Old South Manufacturing Company was declared a bankrupt, with the consent of its officers and directors, and the creditors were left holding the bag.

Carl Sanders' law firm set up this dummy corporation, they steered it through its activities and Sanders, as chairman of the board, was the head man in American Shell.

The effect of all this is that Old South Manufacturing Company was never legally organized. It was not legally organized because its capital stock was never paid in as provided in its charter.

It started business without any capital stock, or without any assets, and wound up with only liabilities.

Now, Old South Manufacturing Company was an operation carried on by American Shell Homes, which is Carl Sanders' company.

American Shell wound up with the assets and Old South wound up with the debts.

American Shell is still in good shape and Old South is in bankruptcy.

The people who sold lumber and other building supplies to the Old South, upon the strength of the reports made to them by Dun & Bradstreet, are now holding the bag to the tune of many thousands of dollars.

Certainly, this was a "shell game".

If you have ever seen the old "shell game" worked at a carnival, then you know what I am talking about. The operator puts a peanut under a shell and he has two other shells standing by. He bets you that

(Continued on Page 4)

OPPRESSION AT ALBANY

To the ordeal of Albany, Ga., long beset by racial agitators, now is added the oppressive hand of the United States government.

The Department of Justice (so-called) has intervened as a "friend of the court" in a bald attempt to deny a voice in court to elected municipal officers. Albany's local authorities, manfully striving to protect the lives and rights of citizens of both races, have petitioned a federal judge to protect them from the constant fomenting of public disorders. Department of Justice intervention on the side of the agitators shows that it is no friend of decency and tranquillity.

"It is no more than we expected," said Mayor Asa D. Kelley, Jr., in one of the saddest commentaries we have read on the federal government.

"This is an affront," he added, "to those of us in the South who are prepared to stand fast for law and order."

Indeed it is an affront, and a dangerous one. The federal action gives a cloak of legality to the use of organized mobs against a peaceful community. No locality in the United States is safe from the type of campaign being waged against Albany. Martin Luther King and his allies — the Kennedy administration among them — can concentrate anywhere they choose for the purpose of creating turmoil.

On the same day that this new outrage in the name of government was being perpetrated on Albany, a spokesman for the Kennedy administration on the other side of the world shamelessly stated the political reason behind such racist policy. John Kenneth Galbraith, U. S. ambassador to India, credited President Kennedy's election in 1960 to the Negro vote.

In an address to members of parliament and guests at the New Delhi Constitution club, Ambassador Galbraith frankly acknowledged that the Kennedy administration is in power today "because it enjoyed the overwhelming support of the 19 million Americans of African descent." He pictured the Negro vote also as a factor in the United States government's stand against colonialism in Africa, which he called "perhaps even more pressing than yours."

Accenting the consequences of the anti-colonial — which means anti-white man, anti-European and sometimes anti-Christian — attitude of the United States is the news from Africa. In Algeria, Frenchmen are fleeing from fresh outbreaks of Moslem terror. In British and Portuguese African territories, white settlers live in fear for their lives and scan the globe for refuge.

In the United States, a minority of barely more than 10 per cent of the population, representing the lowest element in economic and cultural development, has placed the majesty of the federal government on the side of oppression, disorder, degradation and death of a great Republic. All these things are behind the intervention in Albany.

—The News & Courier
Charleston, S. C.

Race Mixing In U. S. Results In Jungle Conditions; Congressman Williams Points Up The Evils Of Integration

Equalitarian Press Overlooks The Anti-Measures Of New African States

Race mixing in this country brings about jungle conditions wherever it is tried on a massive scale.

In Africa, the Negroes take a different attitude. The jungle conditions are there to begin with and as soon as they get a voice they cry black supremacy.

This is made very clear in a speech recently made to the Congress by Congressman John Bell Williams of the State of Mississippi.

Williams Says

Congressman Williams said in this connection:

The competition for the Negro vote here in the United States is fierce and keen. Demagogs in both major political parties clamor incessantly about alleged wrongs being committed against the Negro race by "heartless" southern white people. It is extremely difficult to talk and act sensibly in this kind of atmosphere, and reason and commonsense become obscured in the maelstrom of hysterical prointegration propaganda.

The public schools of the District of Columbia were desegregated in the fall of 1954, just a few months following the Supreme Court's infamous black Monday decision. If the bleeding-heart theorists had been correct, this would have solved the matter, and Washington would have become a utopia of racial intermixture. The practical result has been a mad and frantic exodus of white people away from the integrated District of Columbia into the segregated suburban areas, and the public schools of Washington have become virtually resegregated because of this flight of white people away from the District.

Crime In Washington

The crime rate in the District of Columbia is unusually high, and has been the subject of great concern to the responsible citizenry and to the Congress. A disproportionate share of these crimes are committed by Negroes; yet, by some curious process of reasoning, the pro-Negro equalitarian liberal press has absolved the Negro of his own derelictions and has managed to place all of the blame upon the white people. They claim that it cannot be the fault of the Negro, because they are victims of their past. This rationalization, unfortunately, does not contribute anything toward solving the crime situation in the Capital of our Nation, which continues to rise with alarming rapidity.

Most of our Negro leaders rail constantly against racism — racism in the United States, that is. In Africa, things are quite different.

There the Negro leaders air their racism blatantly. Do our American Negro leaders criticize them? The answer is a flat "No." Many of the African leaders are out-and-out racists who say they will put the whites in their place and keep them there. Have there been any complaints from our Negro leaders and our bleeding-heart liberals? I have not heard any.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

you can't tell which shell has the peanut under it. After he has maneuvered them around he throws the peanut away and then you lose.

American Shell used Old South and when they got through shifting the shells around, Old South had nothing left but debts.

Certainly, the numerous creditors of the Old South were defrauded of their lumber and other supplies furnished at the request of American Shell to the tune of about seventy-five thousand dollars.

Does this situation leave little Carl looking like a saint?

Pretty lips and dimples on the posters along the highways do not satisfy these creditors who have lost their money.

This isn't all of this shell game.

American Shell owned another corporation known as Universal Homes, Inc. It was a wholly-owned subsidiary of American Shell.

Universal Homes is now so broke until nobody will even put up the court costs to put it in bankruptcy.

Universal beat one of my clients out of $4450.

Universal entered into a contract with one of my clients and obligated itself for $5950. When they didn't ante, I was instructed by the manager of American Shell Homes to call Carl Sanders.

Carl told me that the directors of American Shell didn't know anything about the contract and that the manager of Universal Homes had no authority to make the contract. He also stated that he and the other directors of American Shell knew nothing about what their manager had done and also that Universal was broke.

Consequently, I had to accept a $1500 settlement from "Dimples" for my client.

Now, in the case of Universal, the big boss plead that he didn't know what his manager was doing and, therefore, that his company was not liable.

Now, does this "shell game" look like the handiwork of a saint?

Now, this suit was brought by reputable firms doing business in Augusta. Here are the names of the people who brought the suit:

Appalachian Oak Flooring and Hardware Company
Harison-Gulley Chevrolet Company
N. W. White and Company
Pratt-Dudley Builders Supply Company
Anderson-McGriff Company
Augusta Sash and Door Company
Howard Lumber Company
Standard Lumber Company
Coplan Pipe and Supply Company
Stuart Office Supply
A. W. Cordes, trading as Georgia-Carolina Manufacturing Company
Harry E. Lamb and William T. Lamb, doing business as Lamb Bros. Lumber Company

Now, how does "Dimples" explain this situation?

Does he admit his connection with this "shell game" or does he claim to be ignorant of the conduct of the employees of his company?

It is time to hear from "Dimples".

Finished In Kenga

Let us listen to Tom Mboya, Kenya leader, as quoted by Louis Lomax, well-known Negro journalist and writer. Mboya, prospective Prime Minister when Britain steps out of Kenya, is quoted as follows:

"The Europeans know they are finished in Kenya. Now all they want to know is if we're going to pay them for their land. The civil servants know they are done here. Now all they want to know is whether we are going to give them a pension. Every day they stop me on the streets and they ask me: 'Mr. Mboya, are you going to take our land? Are we going to be compensated? Are we going to get pensions?'

"I tell them, 'Don't ask me to pay you. Tell your troubles to Macleod (the British Colonial Secretary). Let him pay you. As far as we are concerned, the Europeans have lived off the fat of the land. They have had their compensations and their pensions.'

"Then the Europeans want to know if they can stay on in Kenya. I tell them: 'Sure.' But if they stay on they must get out of politics. We are going to have an all-black Parliament and an all-black Government. We are going to divide our land among our people. If the Europeans want to stay, they can stay on as squatters. If they want to work, they can work for us."

Liberal Papers Silent

This goes far beyond anything said on the race issue in this country by the most rabid segregationist leaders, including even the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

Is there an outcry against Mboya from Negro spokesmen and publications such as the Washington Post and the New York Times? Do not be ridiculous. The pseudoliberals and their spokesmen flair racism in America; in Africa it is an entirely different thing.

Our self-styled liberals attack colonialism constantly, white colonialism, that is. They couldn't care less about the rise of Negro racism and dictatorship in Africa. Apparently they have no concern about Negro colonialism which already exists and will spread as the strong countries among the new African nations begin to practice imperialism of their own.

Martin Luther King, Leader Of Mob, Has A Record Of Red Front Affiliation

(Continued from Page 1)

and that this same Rustin was a delegate to the 1957 convention of the Communist Party.

There was no doubt about this Highlander Folk School's being a Communist agency and there is no doubt about Martin Luther King's connection with it.

King and Communism

A proper investigation of Martin Luther King, and some of the sources of his money, would disclose that he himself is serving the Communist cause in this State.

Elsewhere in this edition we are carrying a picture of Martin Luther King as he spoke to this Labor Day Communist Training School at Monteagle, Tennessee in 1957.

Talmadge Is Right

The picture was taken by a photographer sent to the Labor Day Weekend by the Georgia Education Commission.

Martin Luther King is backed in his movement by the Congress Of Racial Equality.

Senator Herman Talmadge is eminently right. Unless we have a Governor in Georgia that will use the necessary force to break up such mob action as has taken place in Albany, Georgia, we will soon have anarchy in this State and this anarchy will be produced by Communist sympathizers.

AFTER YOU HAVE READ THIS ISSUE, MAIL IT TO SOMEONE

"Congress shall make no law. . . abridging the Freedom of speech or of the press . . ." —1st Amendment, Bill of Rights, U. S. Constitution.

DEDICATED TO A FREE AMERICA

BIRMINGHAM INDEPENDENT

INDEPENDENT • NON-PARTISAN • CONSERVATIVE

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 47 | PRICE: 10¢ PER COPY | BIRMINGHAM'S NEXT DAILY PAPER | WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1965

Keep folder a Criticisms — Bir. Independent

Left Wing Council Invades State

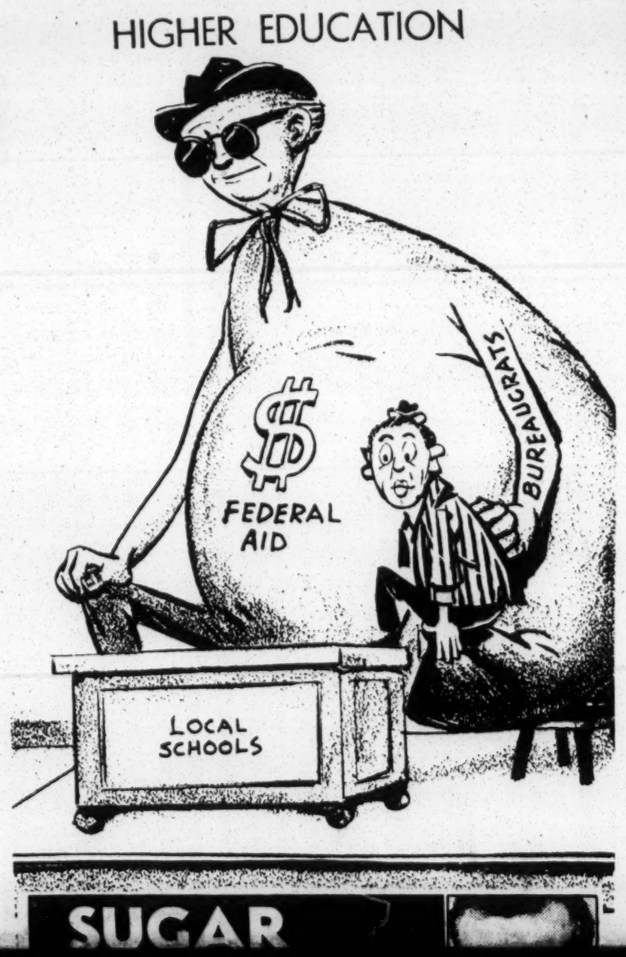
How A Republic Died

By Dr. Charles Poling, D.D.

Constitutional State rights no longer exist. Government is no longer from the state-house and the State legislative bodies; government is from Washington and the White House. Government is in partnership, maybe the captive, of labor unions; our free enterprise system is but a memory. Today, big government competes with the little businessman, regulates and restricts business.

Today the farmer is no longer free to manage his own farm, no longer free to decide what crops he will plant — this decision is handed down from Washington. As citizens, we have no way of knowning just what is happening in, or to, our Government — all of our news media is managed and we are told only what Washington wants us to know. Treason in high places of Government, Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, and Jenkins, are shielded; and too many others who have betrayed America, are protected by public servants who are sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution.

Men who fraternize and play patsy with our godless enemy are received as royalty in high places. Martin Luther King — known to as-



ACHR Goes about work Quietly; Carries Out Orders From Above

By Jimmy Jones

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is probably the most important single left wing organization in this state. It is also one of the most carefully camoflaged and least understood (by the general public) organs of the left.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations receives its financial support and organizational directives from the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations in order to "encourage the development of action groups at state level; recruit and develop state leadership and seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publicatons . . ."

Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission reveal that the past directors and presidents of the Southern Regional Council have held essentially the same offices in the Communist Southern Conference Educational Fund and/or the subversive Southern Conference on Human Welfare. (That is, they held the same offices in both organizations.)

All existing evidence indicates that the Southern Regional Council is controlled and directed by the Southern Conference Education Fund, an identified Communist front.

Directives laid down by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (with offices in New Orleans) are relayed through the Southern Regional Council to the Alabama Council on Human Relations where the appropriate action

"Protestant church religion came [illegible]ing to enhance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It defied (sic) the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world.

"The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds. It goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion. It defines, reclaims and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our Judaeo-Christian Heritage."

Rev. Williams was expelled from the Presbyterian church for heresy. According to a recent edition of The Worker, Rev. Williams was re-ordained as a minister in a Baptist church in Chicago. After the ceremony he returned to Helena.

Con't. Page 7

Councilman Seibles Asks Negro Policemen

Constitutional State rights no longer exist. Government is no longer from the state-house and the State legislative bodies; government is from Washington and the White House. Government is in partnership, maybe the captive, of labor unions; our free enterprise system is but a memory. Today, big government competes with the little businessman, regulates and restricts business.

Today the farmer is no longer free to manage his own farm, no longer free to decide what crops he will plant — this decision is handed down from Washington. As citizens, we have no way of knowning just what is happening in, or to, our Government — all of our news media is managed and we are told only what Washington wants us to know. Treason in high places of Government, Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, and Jenkins, are shielded; and too many others who have betrayed America, are protected by public servants who are sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution.

Men who fraternize and play patsy with our godless enemy are received as royalty in high places. Martin Luther King — known to associate with Communists, having as his chief lieutenants sex perverts and identified Communists — an ordained Baptist minister who openly denied in the National Observer the Baptist doctrines he said, when ordained, that he believed — he went on record as not believing the doctrines of the virgin birth, the deity of Jesus Christ, the substitutionary atonement of Christ, the literal resurrection of Christ and other basic doctrines he confessed before Almighty God to believe and accept.

While mouthing a doctrine of nonviolence, he organizes and leads (from a safe distance) demonstrations he knows will end in violence, perhaps death. What hypocrisy, and this egomaniac has become the spiritual Moses of a militant minority of his race and the socialist liberal clergy. He has whipped his disciples into a frenzy of lawlessness. The mood of his army is illustrated in a threat issue by one of his lieutenants in Americus, Ga.: "We'll tear this town down." Tyis is nonviolence? King is not a man of peace; he is not really an apostle of nonviolence; he can hold his position of rule only through riosts, subversion, and revolt. Probably he is not a Communist, but he is communism's chief ally, whether he realizes it or not.

His program of civil disobedience is a deadly pestilence, and if unchecked, will destory our republic through the ever-growing bloody revolts that are spreading with frightening speed from city to city in America. When human beings behave like jungle brutes, they can be controlled only by force, and their cry about "police brutality," is offensive and disgusting to decent, law-abiding citizens. My sympathy is not with the plundering, revolting, "barbarians," but with the police who are sorn to uphold our laws and preserve peace.

I am not about to forget that these hoodlums have seriously beaten, injured, and killed many of our police. Is it not significant that people who are obeying the law and respecting the rights of others never complain about "police brutality?" "The court and not the street is the place to seek justice" and redress from grieveance. Truly our land is cursed by "barbarians" and our highways and byways are red with violence.

Presently, organized crime is at an alltime high. Last year we had a 13-per cent increase in crimes reported, over 1963. There were 20,500 reported cases of forced rape; 112,000 reported robberies, and more than amillion cases of aggravated assault. Students riot on the campuses of our universities, destroy

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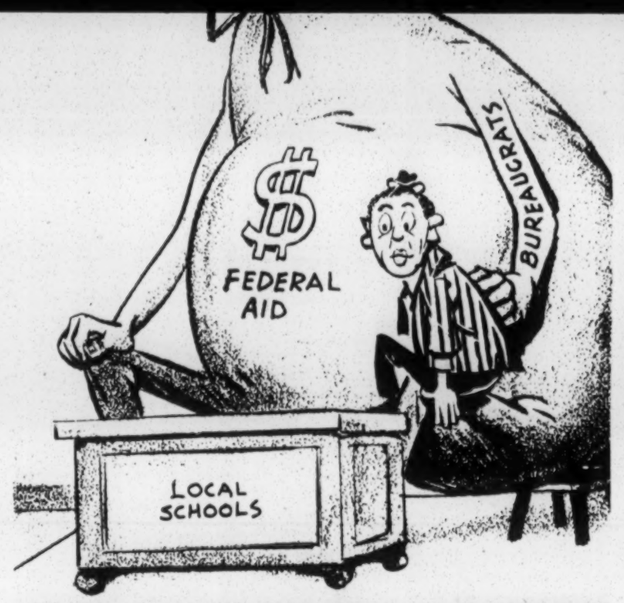

SUGAR AND SPICE

by Bill Smiley

Pity For The City Man

This is a time of year when my heart goes out to city-dwellers. It's a time when rural or smalltown living is immensely superior to that in the concrete canyons, the abominable apartments, the sad suburbs of metropolia.

In the city, day ends drearily in the fall. There's the long, wearying battle home through traffic, or the draughty, crushed, degrading scramble on public transportation.

The city man arrives home fit for nothing but slumping for the evening before the television set. And what greets him? The old lady, wound up like a steel spring because she hasn't seen a soul she knows all day, there's nothing to look at but that stupid house next door, exactly like their own, and the kids have been giving her hell.

He's stuck with it. For the whole evening. That's why so many city chaps have workshops in the basement. It's much simpler to go down cellar and whack off a couple of fingers in the power saw than listen to Mabel.

Life is quite different for the smalltown male. He is home from work in minutes. He surveys the ranch, says, "Must get those storm windows on one of these days," and goes in, to the good fall smells of cold drinks and hot food.

His wife saw him at breakfast, again at lunch, has had a good natter with the dame next door, and has been out for two hours, raking leaves with the kids. She doesn't need him.

Instead of drifting off to the basement, the small-town male announces that this is his bowling night, or he has to go to a meeting of the Conservation and Slaughter Club, and where's a clean shirt. And that's all there is to it.

While her city counterpart squats in front of TV, gnawing her nails and wondering why she didn't marry good old George, who has a big dairy farm now, the small-town gal collects the kids and goes out to burn leaves.

There is nothing more romantic than the back streets of a small-town in the dark of a fall evening. Piles of leaves spurt orange flame. White smoke eddies. Neighbors call out, lean on rakes. Women, kerchiefed like gypsies, heap the dry leaves high on the fire. Kids avoid the subject of bedtime, dash about the fire like nimble gnomes.

Or perhaps the whole family goes to a fowl supper. What, in city living, can compare to this finest of rural functions? A crisp fall evening, a drive to the church hall through a Hallowe'en landscape, an appetite like an alligator, and that first wild whiff of turkey and dressing that makes your knees buckle and the juices flow free in your cheeks,

But it's on weekends that my pity for the city-dweller runneth over. Not for him the shooting-match on a clear fall Saturday, with its good-humored competition, its easy friendliness. Not for him the quiet stroll down a rising like clouds of mosquitoes. sunny wood road, shotgun over arm, partridge and woodcock

It's not that he doesn't live right, or doesn't deserve these pleasures. It's just that it's physically impossible to get to them easily. If he wants to crouch in a duck-blind, at dawn, he has to drive half the night to get there.

Maybe on a Sunday or holiday, in the fall, the city family decides to head out and see some of that beautiful autumn foliage. They see it, after driving two hours. And with 50,000 other cars, they crawl home in late afternoon, bumper to bumper, the old man cursing, the kids getting hungrier, the mother growing owlier.

Smalltown people can drive for 15 minutes and hit scenery, at least around here, that leaves them breathless.

(by the general public) organs of the left.

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The Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was organized by an assorted group of left wingers in 1956.

Meetings have been held in various places including the Chamber of Commerce Building, Miles College, the Negro Y.M.C.A.; and more recently, the Center Street Congregational Chruch.

The Directors of the Birmingham Chapter of the ACHR were listed in the Birmingham News, January 17, 1957. They included Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson (a teacher at the University Medical Center), Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl McLasky, William Mitch (Mitch has quite a long Communist front record. He is active in the Jefferson County Mental Health Assn. and local labor groups), Rev. J. L. Ware, Rev. J. C. Wilson, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Peter Cowin, Justine Barker, Dr. Fredrick Kraus (Unitarian; teacher at the University Med Center, and active in mental health), Mrs. James Battle, Arthur Shores (long time Communist fronter), and others.

On February 14, 1957, the Alabama Council on Human Relations elected C. G. Gomillion vice chairman. Gomillion has been associated with at least 14 Communist organizations and enterprises. He is also a "graduate" of the infamous Highlander Folk School.

Another interesting member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in 1957 was Claude Williams, R. F. D. Helena, Ala.

Claude Williams, still a resident of Helena, was featured in an article written by the expert on communism, Dr. J. B. Matthews, in the February, 1954 issue of American Mercury magazine. Dr. Matthews said that "Reverand Claude Williams was a member of the Communist party under the name 'John Galey.'"

Rev. Williams was director of the now defunct Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, an organization cited by the Attorney General as Subversive and Communist, and identified in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as one of te most vicious Communist groups in the United States. This organization was formerly located at 4105 1/2 3rd Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama.

Williams' organization had as its objective the destruction of all legitimate religions. In a speech in New York on December 29, 1945 at the National Convention of the Institute, Rev. Williams said:

captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world.

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Councilman Seibles Asks Negro Policemen

City Councilman Seibles Jr. spoke to members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in Birmingham last week.

Seibels called on the group for an increased drive for Negro policemen and Negro school board members.

The Albama Council on Human Relations is an am of the Southern Regional council, which has been called a Red Front by the American Legion Publication, "The Firing Line." It also has connections with the Communist Southern Confernece Educational Fund.

The group expressed its appreciation to Seibels for the work done by the City Council in the hiring of Negroes to fill vacancies on the Library, Pensions and Security and Housing boards.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations has carried on an extensive campaign to bring to light cases of "polic brutality" to them, along with signed affidavits. Other state "Councils on Human Relations" have had the setting up of civilian policy review boards as their goals.

Seibels is director of Public Safety in charge of the Police Department for the city of Birmingham.

U.S. Moving From Principles - Mallick

Greenwood, S.C. - -The United States is moving away from the principles of personal and economic freedom and in the direction of a controlled economy, which has been a resounding failure time after time in thousands of years of human history.

That was the theme of remarks made today before the Greenwood Rotary Club by Earl W. Mallick, vice president-South for United State Steel Corporation.

Earlier, Mallick had made essentially the same speech before the faculty and students of Lander College.

"History records that nations have fallen or lost their positions as leaders in the world when they went farther and farther down the welfare state plan in the direction of complete socialism," Mallick said. "I don't know when that point was reached, but I do know that we are getting closer to it every day.

"Our nation is moving increasingly in the direction of more and bigger welfare measures - measures which forcibly take money from one group of citizens and give it to another group - measures which. . sap the vitality of any nation-measures which remove the incentive to produce little by little measures which, if the trend is allowed to continue, will some day result in the collaps of our economic system, and with it, our political system as well."

Mallick pointed out that the Russians had tried central economic planning and failed and are now trying to restore incentives to some degree. The Roman Empire couldn't make the welfare state work, he said and when, i n 301 A.D. the Emperor Diocletian tried to fix wages and prices, the results were disastrous including starvation and death.

The spiritual founders of America had a different, better idea of how best to provide for human welfare, Mallick said. That idea was freedom, which Mallick called "our most precious possession."

'The concept developed in 17 was as revolutionary as the war After people had been killing each other for centruies over what kind of authoritarian government there should be, our forefathers declared that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights among them the right to life and liberty.

"This is at once a spiritual political and economic concept. Mallick said, "spiritual in that ognizes that those rights are given to us by God; Political in that this is a denail that these rights are given to

Cont;d on page 6

Support Your Local Police

Con't From Page 1

Mrs. Clifford Durr (Virginia), of Montgomery was another of the founding members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Virginia Durr's Communist front affiliations include: Southern Conference for Human Welfare, vice president; Souther Conference Educational Fund, ember and vice chairman; National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, member of Committee; National Citizens Political Ation Committee and thers.

One of the goals of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is the smearing of local police forces. They spare no effort in the effort to ferrett out cases of "police brutality."

The "Rev." Elwanger, Rev. E. Herbert Oliver, and other members seek out persons in an effort to have them sign affidavits charging local police with acts of brutality. This past spring, members were given a number of these signed affidavits charging "police brutality" and asked to write letters to local papers, when possible, charging police with brutality.

The use of "front" organizations is an important part in the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. ACHR members devise cover names for their organization when pushing some particular political philosophy.

Former leader in the ACHR, Rev. Alfred Hobart, then pastor of the Unitarian Chruch, used such an operation in demanding that federal troops be sent to Birmingham. Hobart, and other ACHR members mailed signed telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, Mayor Boutwell, and Gov. George Wallace demanding that State Toopers (the ole meanies) be removed from Birmingham and replaced by the (more benovolent) U.S. Army.

The recent Selma march by a group of so called "Concerned White Citizens," ;ed by Elwanger, Kraus, and Ted Kilicke (the latter two men receive their salaries out of your pocekts) was another ACHR front operation. These gentlemen demonstrated support for King's invasion of our state by their march.

The January 7, 1965 Bulletin of the ACHR indicated that a strong membership drive was to be conducted this year.

The following persons were selected to head up the mebership drive: Peggy (mrs. John) Fuller, Birmingha; Father Brice Joyce and Phillip Huckaby, Florence; Dr. Ralph Lee, Huntsville; Rev. J. C. Wilson and Jerry Roden, Lee-Macon Counties; Mr. Gordon Decourdres, Talladega; Mrs. James Wood, Mobile; Mr. Moreland Smith and Mrs. A. W. West, Mont-

Persons unable to understand what Mizell really means are in need of mental therapy. Simply stated, Mizell's doubletalk means that these college chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will unite student revolutionaries and aid them in the overthrow of the exisiting social order.

The ACHR has already suceeded in establishing a student chapter at the University of Alabama. This operation posed no real problem with University President Frank Rose in the saddle. Ted Kilickie, a teacher in the art department is reported to be working with the University ACHR chapter. This is the same man who took part in the Selma march. Sources on the University Campus report that this group has "big plans" for the future.

The Alabama Committee to Preserve the Peace has in its files a large amount of information on the Alabama Council on Human Relations, including the membership list.

This information should be made available to the general public. The ACHR is a festering boil in the flesh of the State of Alabama. Only public exposure of the members, goals, and past actions of this outfit can remove this stigma. No state educator should be kept on the payroll if he is a member of this organization.

All parents should write the Alabama Committee to Preserve the Peace and ask for a membership list of the ACHR.

If your child's teacher is a member of this organization you have the right to demand his dismissal.

--Continued from P-4

Communist nations. Russia and Red China may spat between themselves over who is going to be 'top dog' in the Communist world; but, at the final countdown, neighter of them can hardly afford the luxury of letting fellow Communists go down in defeat to the U.S. or any freedom-type nation without a hard try.

It seems possible that our high government officials are just keeping the Vietnames war going in the hope that some miracle will bring Russia to its senses since Red China is conceded by many reasonable Western minds to be completely hopeless in this aspect. The hope is that Russiand the the U.S. can eventually team-up and put down Red China and the Communist in Southeast Asia.

This is probably the most wishful thinking of the 20th Century. No more than Red China can Russia afford to let a comrad-in-arms lose a war for "liberation" without exerting every

Continued from p-2

expressed our attitude and our position on Viet Nam.

Our position is that we must be in Viet Nam. We must be there to win, not merely to appease Communism or to contain it. We believe that some of these cries for Peace, etc., that they are using — are merely clouding the issue. Well, what are we going to do? Are we going to let the Communists take over Viet Nam as they mean to do, and as they certainly will if we leave? We are confronted with a situation of international power politics. On one side of Viet Nam is the International Communist conspiracy and on the other side is the United States of America. With us are many anti-Communist Asian allies.

Young Americans for Freedom believes that the United States should ask more of these Asian allies to participate in this thing: Korea, Free China, the Philippines and others. Let's take Chiang Kai-shek's forces, for instance. Our National YAF chairman, Tom Huston, has just finished a 21-day tour of Southeast Asia where he met many anti-Communist leaders, including Chiang Kai-shek, and discussed these things with them. And it's our position that we must win in Viet Nam, and we must stay there until we do win.

DEAN MANION: How strong is the Young Americans for Freedom Organization? I asked Cox, the California State Chairman, to explain this.

MR. COX: I think YAF has grown terrifically in the United States over the past several years. I think throughout the country we really have responsible, well-organized young people in great numbers. California is probably one of the most active States in the Union for Young Americans for Freedom, but New York is also very active. So are many of our chapters in the Midwest. Over-all, we've grown tremendously. We have well over 500 chapters all around the Nation.

The Students for a dEmocratic Society has only 30 or 40, but the thing to remember is that some of these chapters of the SDS are very well-organized and they are very well financed. Some of the budgets of these organizations, these Left Wing organizations are tremendous. I am informed that a year and a half ago the ultra-Left, along with the Communist Party itself, raised $300,000 in Los Angeles County alone to finance Left Wing causes and to finance their publication, "The People's World."

DEAN MANION: Personally, I have often wondered where all of this Left Wing money comes from. I adked Cox for his opinion.

know that there is such an active organization of patriotic young people which is striving to counter and oppose the Communist inspired organizations that have suddenly been spawned on the campuses of our American universities — particularly the big ones. These young patriots are fighting hard and effectively to keep our student bodies from being taken in and taken over by the pompous preachments and crocodile tears of the Intellectual Left Wing.

But, whereas, the Left Wingers have limitless resources, patriots like the Young Americans for Freedom are living and working on very short rations and under very severe handicaps. In most instances the official campus publications and campus radio stations are Socialist oriented and under the influence of Liberal faculty advisors who think that American patriotism is an atavistic vulgarity and that academic freedom should protest everything from filthy free speech to unlimited free love.

For many years American taxpayers and American philanthropists have made a fetish of education and demi-gods of eductors. If the big college campuses are to become breeding grounds for Socialist subversion, now would seem to be the time for the involved universities to make a moral accounting to the people of the United States.

FBI & Cops Net Pacifist

Murphy Dowouis, 24, a folk-singing pacifist from Louisiana, was outmaneuvered by FBI men and the cops yesterday. They intercepted him before what was to have been, for him, a shining hour.

Reporters, alerted that Dowduis was to give himself up to the FBI, with flourishes, on a charge of draft-dodging, stationed themselves in front of Catholic Worker Movement heaquarters at 175 Chrystie St. to await the big moment.

They Close In

But the FBI men wanted to avoid any chance of a pacifist demonstration.

They closed in on him a block and a half from the Catholic Worker headquarters, as he walked from his lodgings at 58 Kenmare St. The FBI men were accompanied by a couple of uniformed cops.

Dowouis went limp and was carried to a waiting auto which took him to the Federal Building in Foley Square.

There, he was held in $2,500 bail for hearing Nov. 24 on a move to remove him to Louisiana. Dowouis said he would not try to make bail and would not fight the removal proceedings.

SELMA is Bouncing Back!

grams to the President, the Attorney General, Mayor Boutwell, and Gov. George Wallace demanding that State Toopers (the ole meanies) be removed from Birmingham and replaced by the (more benovolent) U.S. Army.

The recent Selma march by a group of so called "Concerned White Citizens," ;ed by Elwanger, Kraus, and Ted Kilicke (the latter two men receive their salaries out of your pocekts) was another ACHR front operation. These gentlemen demonstrated support for King's invasion of our state by their march.

The January 7, 1965 Bulletin of the ACHR indicated that a strong membership drive was to be conducted this year.

The following persons were selected to head up the mebership drive: Peggy (mrs. John) Fuller, Birmingha; Father Brice Joyce and Phillip Huckaby, Florence; Dr. Ralph Lee, Huntsville; Rev. J. C. Wilson and Jerry Roden, Lee-Macon Counties; Mr. Gordon Decourdres, Talladega; Mrs. James Wood, Mobile; Mr. Moreland Smith and Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery and Dr. Ray Fowler in Tuscaloosa. Virginia Durr is also actively recruiting new members for the ACHR.

The Jan. 7, 1965 Bulletin of the Alabama Council on Human Relations stressed the formation of "Student Human Relations Groups" on colleges campuses. An article by Hayes Mizell of Atlanta indicated that these college organizations would play an important part in future operations of the ACHR.

According to Mizell, these college chapter units would "be affiliated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The chapters would give radical students "an opportunity to meet other students of like mind so they can band together to solve problems." Mizell said that these chapters would also give students "an opportunity to broaden their horizons by holding state conferences where they can discover new ideas and new personalities, as well as learn new dimensions of old problems."

--Continued from P-4

Communist nations, Russia and Red China may spat between themselves over who is going to be 'top dog' in the Communist world; but, at the final countdown, neighter of them can hardly afford the luxury of letting fellow Communists go down in defeat to the U.S. or any freedom-type nation without a hard try.

It seems possible that our high government officials are just keeping the Vietnames war going in the hope that some miracle will bring Russia to its senses since Red China is conceded by many reasonable Western minds to be completely hopeless in this aspect. The hope is that Russiand the the U.S. can eventually team-up and put down Red China and the Communist in Southeast Asia.

This is probably the most wishful thinking of the 20th Century. No more than Red China can Russia afford to let a comrad-in-arms lose a war for "liberation" without exerting every effort to prevent it. For Russia to do this would be letting a fellow Communist country down; it would demoralize every Communist satellite, contemporary or potential. Further, Red China could seize upon such an action by Russia as a tremendous propaganda weapon to propel itself into No. I position in the Communist World.

The United States can allow this war to drag on for ten or more years (as some reports are now estimating it will do), hoping for a better day for negotiations, continuously losing American men and youth in a war being fought on the enemy's terms. At the end of such time, we may very well be brought up short to realize that Red China has had ample time to build up a nuclear delivery system which can be turned on her next door neighbor, Russia, or any part of Southeast Asia.

Therefore, unless we have the courage to see our duty and the boldness to carry it out, more and more South Viet Nams may be compelled ultimately to live in darkness rather than FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE.

Most state employment service offices of the State Department of Industrial Relations maintain an active list of workers with special and unique skills.

With the exception of July, nonfarm employment in Alabama each month has been higher than for the previous period, said Governor George C. Wallace.

Current nonagricultural employment of 878,000 is a new high for Alabama, according to estimates by the State Department of Industrial Relations.

have responsible, well-organized young people in great numbers. California is probably one of the most active States in the Union for Young Americans for Freedom, but New York is also very active. So are many of our chapters in the Midwest. Over-all, we've grown tremendously. We have well over 500 chapters all around the Nation.

The Students for a dEmocratic Society has only 30 or 40, but the thing to remember is that some of these chapters of the SDS are very well-organized and they are very well financed. Some of the budgets of these organizations, these Left Wing organizations are tremendous. I am informed that a year and a half ago the ultra-Left, along with the Communist Party itself, raised $300,000 in Los Angeles County alone to finance Left Wing causes and to finance their publication, "The People's World."

DEAN MANION: Personally, I have often wondered where all of this Left Wing money comes from. I adked Cox for his opinion.

MR. COX: We too wonder sometimes just where this money comes from. I wouldn't venture a guess as to say specifically, but I am sure that it comes from many areas and many individuals who are not dedicated to the well-being of the United States of America.

DEAN MANION: That is all from Jack Cox, the dyxamic California President of Young Americans for Freedom. It is encouraging to

been, for him, a shining hour.

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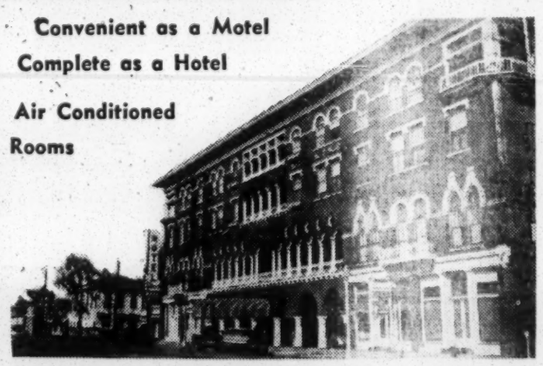
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June 28, 1957

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
The South Carolina Council on Human
Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

You may have seen the enclosed editorial from the Charleston News and Courier. Tom Waring got mad because Bem Price called me moderate.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter that I wrote to Waring in reply to his charges against SRC. I have considerable doubt that Waring will publish it. Whether he does or not, feel free to make any use of the letter that you care to.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Ltr. to Thomas Waring dated 6/28/57
Copy of editorial from Charleston News and Courier
dated 6/25/57

June 28, 1957

Mr. Lewis Hawkins
Associated Press
Journal-Constitution Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hawkins:

As you may already know, Bem Price's story of last Sunday drew editorial criticism from the Charleston News and Courier.

I thought you would want to have the enclosed copy of my letter to Thomas Waring setting the record straight. I am also enclosing a copy of the editorial in case you have not seen it.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Ltr. to Thomas Waring, dated June 28, 1957
Copy of editorial from Charleston News & Courier, dated June 25, 1957

Criticisms
News + courier
Thomas Waring

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 3-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 28, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Mr. Thomas Waring, Editor
The News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Waring:

Your editorial of June 25 titled "SRC and Red Records" seeks to discredit the Southern Regional Council. I trust that in the interest of fairness you will publish this reply.

There is little point in quarreling about interpretations of "moderate" -- except to say that, by your reasoning, the News and Courier can be no more moderate than the Ku Klux Klan, since both have the objective of maintaining a completely segregated school system.

You are correct in saying that the SRC has received grants-in-aid from the Fund for the Republic. So have the Southern Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Episcopalians, the Catholic Committee of the South, and most of the other major religious groups in the South. One of the beneficiaries of a Fund for the Republic grant -- that to the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows -- was the editor of the News and Courier himself, who received a fellowship under the Fund-financed program.

More importantly, you quote the Firing Line as establishing "a definite trend of interrelationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct communist front organization." The "evidence" cited in support of this statement is that "16 former and nine present directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." The obvious implication is that these directors have infected the SRC with pro-communist sympathies.

This charge is utterly false and is supported by "evidence" of the most dishonest sort. The "nine current directors" are Southerners of unimpeachable character, including two presidents of state-supported colleges, a labor official who serves by

appointment on a state commission, the presidents of three of the South's leading Negro institutions of higher learning, the president emeritus of a Georgia Methodist college, a past president of the Georgia League of Women Voters, and a past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

The high crime of which these persons stand convicted in your eyes is shared by the Hon. James F. Byrnes, who prominently graced a dinner staged by the Southern Conference in 1945. Is one to believe that Mr. Byrnes is a carrier of the dread infection you ascribe to nine of SRC's 80 board members?

Among the past SRC board members indicted by the Firing Line is the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University. Until his recent death, Dr. Johnson served on the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service -- along with the editor of the News and Courier. Does this mean that the SERS and the worthy editor are tainted by this "definite trend of interrelationship"?

Among the other SRC directors cited by the Firing Line is that distinguished North Carolina scholar, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum. Dr. Odum was one of the chief authorities relied on by Attorney Robert McC. Figg in his brief defending the Clarendon County school authorities. What is one to make of this "interrelationship"?

The cynical formula that you have so readily applied to the SRC can be used to damage the reputation of any body of citizens. The SRC is and has always been squarely opposed to communism and all other totalitarian doctrines. I respectfully suggest that the News and Courier would serve its cause better if it based its criticisms on real differences of opinion rather than unfounded character attacks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

An Editorial Taken From:

THE NEWS AND COURIER
Charleston, South Carolina
Tuesday, June 25, 1957

SRC AND RED RECORDS

The Associated Press has distributed to member newspapers an article by Bem Price on Harold C. Fleming of Atlanta. Mr. Fleming is director of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Price describes Mr. Fleming as an "advocate of the moderate approach to the South's ancient racial problem." Mr. Fleming and the Southern Regional Council are moderate only if one believes the NAACP is also moderate. The objectives of the SRC and the NAACP are the same--an end to separate public schools in the South.

The Southern Regional Council has received many thousands of dollars from the Fund for the Republic, a Northern foundation that acts as paymaster for integration in the South.

The May 15 issue of Firing Line, a publication of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, says:

"Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct communist front organization."

Last December, an official of the SRC denied that the organization is the successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

A documented study of the SRC in the Legion publication states that 16 former and nine present directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This important information was not in Bem Price's article.

-:-

6/28/57

Enclosure: Ltr. from NEWS & COURIER

Board

July 15, 1957

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Here is how Mr. Waring handled my letter. It was severely cut, but it is something that he used it at all.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

1867 1957

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MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 2, 1957

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for sending me a copy of the letter you sent to Mr. Thomas Waring of the Charleston News and Courier. I sincerely hope he will be fair enough to carry your reply to the very unfactual article which the paper carried.

Again thanking you and with kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:km

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, August 25, 1957

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

—Thomas Jefferson

The Editor's Prerogative

ONE of the easiest—and most dishonest — ways to assail someone's character is through the "guilt association" route. One of the easiest — and most dishonest — ways to win an argument is to censor the answers of the person assailed.

A case in point is the recent exchange between the editor of the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C., Thomas Waring, and the Southern Regional Council, of which Harold C. Fleming is executive director and the editor of the Delta Democrat-Times is a director.

Editor Waring fired a broadside at the Southern Regional Council, intimating it was Communist-inspired because "sixteen former and nine present directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare,' and quoting the American Legion magazine, Firing Line, as a source of information that the Southern Conference was a "defunct communist front organization," noting that the Southern Regional Council "has received many thousands of dollars from the Fund for the Republic, a Northern foundation that acts as paymaster for integration in the South."

Editor Waring also said, mockingly, that "Mr. Fleming and the Southern Regional Council are moderate only if one believes the NAACP is also moderate. The objectives of the SRC and the NAACP are the same — an end to separate schools in the South"

Mr. Fleming replied that on the basis of Waring's kind of argument "the News and Courier can be no more moderate than the Ku Klux Klan, since both have the objective of maintaining a completely segregated school system," but Editor Waring chose to delete this when he printed the letter in his newspaper.

In fact, out of ten paragraphs, the News and Courier only printed four in reply to its own completely unfair, vicious editorial which attempted to link the Southern Regional Council to the defunct and unsavory Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

May we emphasize here that we hold no brief for the Southern Conference, which, like many such organizations, started out with some directors, supporters and members of good intent but fell into bad hands. These men dropped out of the organization when they began to learn of its true motivations.

The News and Courier should have printed Mr. Fleming's letter in toto if it believes in fair play The paragraphs deleted were cut out with what one can only assume was malicious intent because they were the ones that gave the whole letter meaning.

What remained was an innocuous denial filled with generalities such as "This charge is utterly false and is supported by 'evidence' of the most dishonest sort."

What Editor Waring censored were vital bits of evidence in behalf of the Southern Regional Council:

1. The Fund for the Republic has also supplied money to Southern Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians and Catholics. One of the beneficiaries was the Southern Association of Neiman Fellows and Editor Waring was granted, and accepted, a fellowship under this Fund-financed program. We wonder if his fingers felt as ditry then as his conscience must now.

2. South Carolina Governor James F. Byrnes was a prominent speaker at a dinner staged by that now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1945. ("Is one to believe that Mr. Byrnes is a carrier of the dread disease you ascribe to nine of SRC's 80 board members?" asked Fleming. The question was omitted in the News and Courier).

3. One of the past SRC board members, indicted by the Firing Line was the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, who also served on the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service along with Editor Waring of the News and Courier. Mr. Waring also gets money for that too—from the same Ford Foundation that established the Fund for the Republic. (We hope that in gratitude for what might be called a double-tit situation, Mr. Waring at least is driving a Ford or maybe a Mercury). Mr. Fleming wondered if "this means that the SERS and the worthy editor are tainted by this "definite trend of interrelationship"?

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4. Another Southern Regional Council director was the late Dr. Howard W. Odom, the South's most noted sociologist, and one of the chief authorities relied upon by Attorney Robert McC. Figg in defending the Clarendon County school authorities who resisted racial integration of their schools in one of the cases involved in the original Supreme Court decision on school integration.

The deleted paragraphs of Mr. Fleming's letter would have made Editor Waring at least as guilty by his associations as he attempted to make Mr. Fleming. As a matter of fact, Editor Waring is guilty only of a very special kind of yellow journalism.

FILE COPY

September 2, 1958

The Editor
The News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

In a recent issue you publish another in Mr. Stanley F. Horne's long series of diatribes. This one, characteristically, seeks to sully the reputation of Mr. James H. Dabbs by feverish charges against the Southern Regional Council, of which Mr. Dabbs is president.

Mr. Horne is the evidently willing collaborator in a myth originated by the Communists themselves, in their Daily Worker.

Rather than answer once again these tired and absurd charges ourselves, we refer to the enclosed editorial from the conservative Richmond Times-Dispatch, from which we cite the following passages:

"(The Southern Regional Council) not only was no 'offshoot' of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it...

"As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this.... The Daily worker's statement

that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet....

"While we disagree strongly and completely with (the Council's) present position on (integration), we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

cc: Mr. Dabbs
Mrs. Spearman
Mr. Siceloff
Mr. John Morris

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

W. D. Workman, Jr.

REGARDING:

Critical review of Dabbs' book THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE appearing in Charleston News and Courier, August 17, 1958.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

State Organizations - SCHR, Alice Spearman - ltr. dtd. Sept. 16, 1958

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

Well Harold —

It finally published your letter in full, though it was a note to refute the letter. Obviously they checked with their chief contributor before printing your letter; why they didn't accord you the same opportunity when his letter was printed is also obvious.

Got to see Bill & Lucia briefly the other day & they'll be returning tomorrow night. Elizabeth realized she had met him at a Thanksgiving dinner long ago.

Courtney

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

Thomas R. Waring, Editor — Arthur M. Wilcox, Associate Editor — Anthony Harrigan, Editorial Writer

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

SILHOUETTES AT DAWN — *Photo By A. E. Gibbs*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The News and Courier welcomes letters to the editor when they are concise (no longer than 200 words) and bear the writer's signature in longhand. They also must carry the sender's address and be plainly written, preferable typed. All letters are subject to rejection or editing. None will be returned.

Red Origin Denied

To The News and Courier:

In a recent issue you published another in Mr. Stanley F. Morse's long series of diatribes. This one, characteristically, seeks to sully the reputation of Mr. James M. Dabbs by feverish charges against the Southern Regional Council, of which Mr. Dabbs is president.

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"As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this . . . The Daily Worker's statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet . . . .

"While we disagree strongly and completely with (the Council's) present position on (integration), we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

HAROLD C. FLEMING
(Executive Director, Southern Regional Council)
Atlanta.

(Editor's note: Mr. Morse quoted The American Legion Firing Line as authority for the statement that 16 former directors and nine current directors of the Southern Regional Council were members or affiliates of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and that two of the five incorporators of the Council belonged to the Conference. He said he quoted The Daily Worker with respect to James E. Jackson Jr. because it was the official spokesman of the Communist Party.)

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

Harold —

Can't win, huh? Next they'll be quoting Matthews, Martin Dies, & McCarthy.

Courtney

Who Is Wrong?

To The News and Courier:

A letter by Harold C. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council which appeared in the Sept. 16 issue of The News and Courier. In his letter Fleming denies Communist ties with the Southern Regional Council by quoting from an editorial which he says appeared in The Richmond Times-Dispatch. These quotations refer to the origins of the council and are mostly in the past tense.

By contrast a look at the March 9, 1957, issue of The News and Courier is very interesting. Here appeared a special dispatch written by Phil Stroupe regarding testimony presented before the Louisiana State Legislature committee investigating causes of racial unrest in the South. According to this dispatch Manning Johnson, a director of research for the U. S. Dept. of Justice, a Negro and formerly a Communist of 10 years standing, testified that the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference of Human Welfare "are transmission belts for Communism in the South."

What says Harold Fleming?

R. J. ZEHNDER.

Box 265
Summerville.

News + Courier
Sept 18, '58

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

File

Harold —

It was a good letter. Glad to see it was published in full + so soon.

I had one in last week in which they "edited" my statement of "your censorship" to "your comments" + omitted the following sentence developing the effects of censorship.

So well on hell

Carolyn

lenge must be growth and we have.

9/26/58

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The News and Courier welcomes letters to the editor when they are concise (no longer than 200 words) and bear the writer's signature in longhand. They also must carry the sender's address and be plainly written, preferably typed. All letters are subject to rejection or editing. None will be returned.

Reply From SRC

To The News and Courier:

I have no wish to prolong a debate in your columns with the tireless detractors of the Southern Regional Council. But R. J. Zehnder's letter of Sept. 18 seems to require a reply.

He cites the testimony of one Manning Johnson, before the segregationist Rainach Committee of Louisiana, as reflecting on SRC's present activities. Mr. Zehnder is misinformed about Mr. Johnson, as follows:

(1) Johnson is not and never has been "a director of research" for the U.S. Dept. of Justice. I understand the department itself advised The News and Courier of this inaccuracy in Phil Stroupe's article of March 9, 1957, and reportedly a correction was published on March 12, 1957.

(2) The Justice Department has specifically dissociated itself from Johnson's testimony before the Rainach Committee.

(3) Earlier, on Aug. 11, 1956, the U. S. Subversive Activities Control Board expunged from its records what it termed "tainted" testimony given by Johnson.

Johnson, in short, is a thoroughly discredited professional ex-Communist. His charges against SRC, whether concerning the past or the present, are utterly unfounded.

It's a bitter pill, but SRC just doesn't have any use for Communists — or for their cousins of the right who also prefer character assassination to honest disagreement.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
(Executive Director, Southern Regional Council)
63 Auburn Ave. NE,
Atlanta.

September 23, 1958

The Editor
The News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

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Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf